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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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सत्यमेव जयते

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NOTE.—Dr. D. C. Sircar retired from the post of the Government Epigraphist for India with effect from 8-6-1962. Before proceeding on leave preparatory to retirement on 14-6-1961 he had sent the material to the Press for Parts I to VII of this Volume, of which he is therefore the Editor.





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**ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS**  
**EPIGRAPHIA INDICA**  
**VOLUME XXXIII**

Page 265, lines 32-35.—*Read Solanpur* (Lat. 20° 52' & Long. 84° 21' in the Bhadrak Sub-Division of Balasore District, Orissa) on the bank of the Vaitarani, about 2 miles from Jāipur town, suggests itself as a possible representative of Salāsapura.

**VOLUME XXXIV**

Page 215, line 21.—*For contemporaneously read contemporaneously*

.. 236, f.n. 13 (line 2).—*For ved read engraved*

.. 237, f.n. 6.—*For erasure read erasure*

.. 246, line 2.—*Read about 3/4*

**VOLUME XXXV**

Page 6, line 30.—*For c. 275-345 A.D. read c. 265-335 A.D.*

.. 16, line 18.—*For ācśanika read ācśanika*

.. 37, lines 9-10.—*For fortunately read fortunately*

.. 37, line 12.—*For except read except for*

.. 37, line 17.—*For consonants read consonants*

.. 44, line 36.—*For rammar read grammar.*

.. 49, f.n. 2.—*Read : (ibid vol. XXXI, Plate etc.*

.. 49, f.n. 14.—*for vol. XXI, read vol. XXXI.*

.. 51, line 21.—*For Śaṅkavergaḷe read Śaṅkavergaḷe*

.. 51, line 32.—*For governor of the Yādava king read governor under the Yādava king*

.. 54, f.n. 2.—*Read seems*

.. 64, f.n. 3.—*Correct into Read pravēśat = Chhandōga-Bhāradvāja*

.. 66, line 23.—*For general read generally*

.. 66, f.n. 3 (line 2).—*For palaeography read palaeography*

.. 68, f.n. 3.—*For Gṛīhahastin read Grahahastin*

.. 71, line 26.—*For Sanskrī read Sanskrit*

.. 73, line 7.—*For it read It*

.. 73, line 10.—*For Sātakarni- read Sātakarṣi-*

- Page 73, line 11.—For *Maharashtrin* read *Mahārāshtrin*
- „ 73, line 12.—For *Rashtrin* read *Rāshtrin*
- „ 73, line 13.—For *rashtrin* read *rāshtrin*
- „ 73, line 14.—For *Rashtrabūta* read *Rāshtrabūta*
- „ 73, line 14.—For *rāshtra* read *rāshtra*
- „ 73, line 14.—For *Gramakuta* read *Grāmakūta*
- „ 73, line 15.—For *grama* read *grāma*
- „ 73, f.n. 1 (line 9).—For *usoka* read *Asoka*
- „ 73, f.n. 1 (line 13).—For *Maharathi* read *Mahārathi*
- „ 73, f.n. 1 (line 14).—For *Sātikānām* read *Śātikānām*
- „ 73, f.n. 1 (line 15).—For *Sāntika* read *Śāntika*
- „ 73, f.n. 2 (line 2).—For *Rāshtrika* ..... *Rashika* read *Rāshtrika* ..... *Rashika*
- „ 74, line 4.—For *made ont* read *made out*
- „ 74, f.n. 4 (line 1).—For *the* read *the*
- „ 77, line 21.—For *Chufukularga* read *Chufukulasya*
- „ 81, line 2.—For *2t* read *It*
- „ 81, line 4.—For *Tikrama* read *Vikrama*
- „ 81, line 5.—For *on* read *of*
- „ 81, line 5.—Read *Bihar*
- „ 81, line 7.—For *safer* read *tefer*
- „ 81, line 17.—For *to* read *the*
- „ 81, line 21.—For *tae* read *the*
- „ 81, line 23.—For *apparectly* read *apparently*
- „ 81, line 23.—For *wath* read *with*
- „ 81, line 25.—For *Rishipati* read *Pishipati*
- „ 81, line 27.—For *meditatsug* read *meditating*
- „ 81, line 33.—For *works Pacharakshā*, read *work Pañcharakṣā*
- „ 82, line 16.—For *Pishipati* read *Āchārya*
- „ 87, lines 2-3.—For *Indravāin* read *Indrakēsin*
- „ 88, text line 8.—For *\*doreē* read *\*doreyam*



Page 88, text line 11.—For *idam=aḥi*\* read *idam=aḥi*\*

„ 90, line 13.—For *to succeed* read *from succeeding*

„ 91, line 2.—For *taken parts* read *taken part*

„ 96, line 16.—For *spellings* read *spelling*

„ 97, line 10.—For *abov* read *above*

„ 99, line 7.—For *salughter* read *slaughter*

„ 99, f.n. 8 (line 1).—For *halief* read *belief*

„ 100, line 8.—For *ambā-kapīlīka* read *ambā-kapīlikā*

„ 100, line 22.—For *may have been* read *may have been*

„ 101, line 16.—For *plaeography* read *palaeography*

„ 101, line 28.—For *Gupta-Vallabhi* read *Gupta-Valabhi*

„ 102, last line.—For *chatsu* read *Chatsu*

„ 106, line 37.—For *line them* read *like them*

„ 107, f.n. 3 (line 1).—For *or a temple as mentioned in the Chūfchani* read *of a temple mentioned in the Chūfchani*.

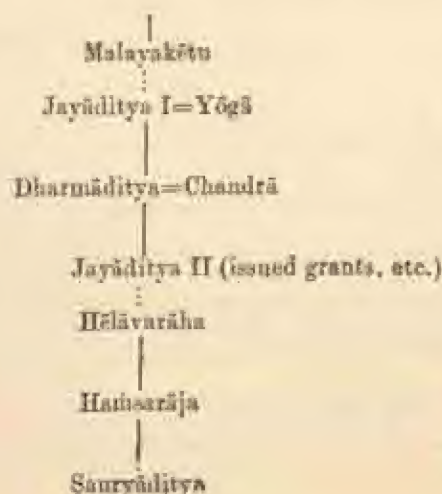
„ 110, line 23.—For *relations* read *associations*

„ 111, f.n. 5.—For *Ind. Aut.* read *Ind. Aut.*

„ 129, text line 10.—For *=astu=bhavatām* read *=astu bhavatām*

„ 129, text line 16.—For *-[ārībe]* read *-[ārīhē]*

„ 131, the tabulated genealogy should be read as :





- Page 139, f.n. 1 (line 1).—For *before* read *before*
- .. 140, line 23.—For *lā* read *kā*
- .. 148, f.n. 6 (line 1).—For *sentence* read *sentence*
- .. 151, line 35.—Add *or* in the middle of *Malaya-rājya* after *Antarmalaya-rājya*
- .. 152, line 7.—Add *or* *Malaya-rājya* after *Antarmalaya-rājya*
- .. 152, text line 10.—For *plavat[īn\*]i* read *plava[ur\*]ti*
- .. 154, line 18.—For (lines 11-12) ; read (lines 10-11) ;
- .. 154, line 41.—For *Vrātēnājya* read *Vālēnatya*
- .. 156, text line 10.—For *ayara(cha)ndrō* read *īayara(cha)ndrō*
- .. 157, text line 21.—For *viru-va(dvā)* read *viru-vā(dvā)*
- .. 160, last line.—For *twenty thousand* read *two thousand*.
- .. 165, text line 22.—For *ahutiā* read *āhutiā*
- .. 166, text line 62.—For *anayātara* read *a(ch=ā)nyātra*
- .. 167, text line 75.—For *ha-pati=atavyō* read *ha-pati-atavyō*
- .. 167, text line 93.—For *dēnā* read *dēvā*
- .. 167, f.n. 2.—Delete the foot-note
- .. 170, line 17.—For *alligiance* read *allegiance*
- .. 175, text line 12.—For [ अत्रा ] read [ ओत्रा ]
- .. 180, line 330.—For *disloyed* read *dislodged*
- .. 182, line 8.—For (Iāna) read (Īāna)
- .. 187, line 26.—For *Bhailasvāmīdevapura* read *Bhailasvāmīdevapura*
- .. 194, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For *tha* read *that*
- .. 203, line 7.—For *hould* read *should*
- .. 203, line 42.—Add *verse 13 Arjū* after *Sragdharā*
- .. 207, line 2.—For *Vijayachandradēva* read *Vijayachandradēva*
- .. 207, line 4.—For *Jayachchandradēva* read *Jayachchandradēva*
- .. 207, line 6.—For *Hari-chandradēvō* read *Hariśchandradēvō*
- .. 207, line 27.—For *Gauruvita* read *Gaurivita*
- .. 207, f.n. 1 (line 5).—For *cha-nārahāṣō* read *chandrahāṣō*
- .. 211, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For *pradattāh* read *pradattāh*

Page 212, line 4.—For *avour* read *favour*

„ 212, f.n. 4 (line 1).—For *śrīmad*=*Edakūṇḍyām* read *śrīmad-Edakūṇḍyām*

„ 212, f.n. 4 (line 2).—For *Haris* read *Haris-*

„ 216, f.n. 3.—For *redundant* read *redundant*

„ 218, line 34.—For *Thaklura* read *Thakkura*

„ 221, line 21.—For *Taṣṭivāḍa* read *Tāṣṭivāḍa*

„ 221, line 24.—For *56* read *88*

„ 221, f.n. 3.—For *difficult* read *difficult*

„ 223, text line 2.—For *बोल (ति)* read *बोलि*

„ 225, line 8.—For *three-fourths* read *three-fourths*

„ 236, f.n. 2.—For *Gugulin* read *Guggulin*

„ 237, line 2.—For *accuring* read *accruing*

„ 237, line 6.—For *Bhāhmapas* read *Brāhmapas*

„ 237, line 8.—For *whoever* read *whosoever*

„ 237, line 21.—For *authorities* read *authorities*

„ 237, line 29.—For *number* read *number*

„ 238, text line 15.—For *Paṁā(dam)nābhō* read *Pahma(dma)nābhō*

„ 238, Postscript, line 4.—For *ndependent* read *independent*

„ 238, Postscript, line 5.—For *year has* read *years are*

„ 238, f. n. 5.—For *Jatāpī* read *Jatīpī*

„ 239, line 14.—For *as having brought* read *as having been brought*

„ 239, f.n. 2.—For *No. 5* read *No. 55*

„ 242, f.n. 8.—For *Saukrit* read *Sanskrit*

„ 244, f.n. 5 (line 2).—For *gatisho-idānām is intended* read *gatisho-idānām is intended*

„ 245, f.n. 2 (line 3).—For *articles* read *articles*

„ 245, line 5.—For *resopot* read *respect*

„ 248, line 20.—For *Shāthakayā* read *Shathakaya*

„ 248, f.n. 2 (line 3).—For *Hātakayisha* read *Hātakayisa*

„ 251, f.n. 3.—For *Unity* read *Unity*

„ 251, f.n. 4 (line 6).—For *als* read *also*

„ 259, text line 25.—Read *ma(mā)ṇḍalika*



Page 260, text line 47.—For Pittu[ga]ma[m] read Pittu[ga]ma[m]ḥ

- .. 261, f.n. 5 (line 3).—For king read king
- .. 267, line 9.—For former read latter
- .. 268, line 1.—For Vēṅgai- read Vēṅgai- and for Virarājendra's read Virarājendra's
- .. 270, f.n. 3 (line 2).—For 19-20 read 319-20
- .. 271, line 4.—For *adhikārika* read *ādihikārika*
- .. 274, line 10.—For was read were
- .. 274, f.n. 7 (line 2).—For Rāshtrakūta read Rāshtrakūta
- .. 275, line 10.—For inscriptions read inscription
- .. 275, line 15.—For of two rivers read by two rivers
- .. 276, text line 8.—For \*ṣpārijita read \*ṣpārjita
- .. 277, text line 25.—For mah-ānubhāvō(vah) prahata read mah-ānubhāvō=prahata
- .. 277, text line 27.—For samudr-āntikūm= read samudr-āntikū(ka)m=
- .. 278, text line 39.—For \*hāri read \*hā(kā)ri
- .. 278, f.n. 3.—For reads read read
- .. 279, text line 53.—For sad-āmṛitamayatva-guṇi(n-ō)-(days)= cha read sad=āmṛitamaya-tva-guṇi nayān-cha.
- .. 279, text line 65.—For bhōjayataḥ read bhōjayataḥ
- .. 281, f.n. 5 (line 3).—For Kālavād read Kāṭāvād
- .. 282, line 6.—For its writer was *Divirapati* Haragana read its writer was *Divirapati* Saṅkaragana, son of *Divirapati* Haragana.
- .. 282, f.n. 5 (line 1).—Add to after according
- .. 285, f.n. 10.—For \*vikram-bḥ read \*vikramā=
- .. 286, text line 42.—For \*lōya-sashitam read \*dēya-varjitam
- .. 286, f.n. 7.—For full-stop is indicated read full-stop is indicated
- .. 288, line 4.—For Gjuarat read Gujarat
- .. 290, line 13.—For *vyavahārika* read *vyāvahārika*
- .. 290, f.n. 13 (line 1).—For \*ānupurvi cha dēśam read \*ānupūrvīḥ cha dēśam
- .. 291, line 33.—For Chinchini read Chinchani
- .. 292, f.n. 6 (lines 1-2).—For *nagaravaruchchai* read *naḡavaravuchchai*



4235, pt I

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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No. 1—MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA ✓

(6 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 18.3.1960)

1. Two Ikshvāku Inscriptions dated in the Cyclic year Vijaya

A. Inscription of Virapurushadatta, 273 A.D.

This inscription, now preserved in the Nāgārjunikonda Museum, is indeed one of the most important among the Ikshvāku epigrapha so far discovered. It was edited by J. Ph. Vogel along with a large number of Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions published in Vols. XX and XXI of this journal. Unfortunately Vogel's transcript and translation of this particular record, which appears in Vol. XXI, pp. 63-64 (Pillar Inscription No. L), are both full of errors. His failure to read and interpret the inscription correctly seems to be largely due to the fact that its impressions examined by him were unsatisfactory. This may also be the reason why the then editor of the journal was unable to improve upon Vogel's reading to any considerable extent. The impressions of the inscription prepared under my supervision in February 1960, one of which is illustrated herewith, are better than its illustration in Vogel's paper in op. cit., Plate facing p. 63. The record contains thirteen lines of writing covering an area about 14½ inches in height and 13 inches in breadth. It is in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation. Its characters are similar to those of other epigraphs of the Ikshvākus and its language is Prakrit.

The most serious flaw in Vogel's treatment of the epigraph concerns its date. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta and, in lines 2-3, Vogel reads: *rañā<sup>1</sup> Mādhariputasa Ikshākasañ siri-Virapurisadattasa vasasanaya samvachhara vimsayam vāsa-pakham prathamam dīnamam bītiyam*. The passage has been translated by him as: "In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Mādhariputta siri-Virapurisadatta of [the house of] the Ikshākus, ... in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the second day." There are two glaring errors in the above reading of the passage. The first of these is *vasasanaya*<sup>2</sup> which is quite meaningless and, it will be seen, has been actually left out in Vogel's translation. The correct reading is certainly *vasa-satāya* which occurs in some early inscriptions and, as we have explained above,<sup>3</sup> stands for Sanskrit *varsha-satāya*. This seems to indicate that the pious work recorded in the inscription was performed with the desire that the reigning king might live for one hundred years. It is interesting to note that this expression as well as the similar *varsha-sahasrāya* occurs in inscriptions between the name of the king and the date falling in his reign.

<sup>1</sup> Macron over *a* and *o* has not been used in this article.

<sup>2</sup> The same word has been read by Vogel elsewhere also as *vasasanaya* (above, Vol. XXI, p. 66, Pillar inscription M-3, text line 5). But the then editor of the journal suggested that it possibly reads *vasasatāya* (ibid., p. 71, note 1). Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. XXXIV, p. 244, note 1.



The other mistake is in Vogel's reading of *vishaya* after *amavachhara*, which has been translated as 'twentieth'. Apparently he has taken *vishaya* to stand for Sanskrit *vandaka*. The reading of the two words is, however, clearly *amavachhara*[sh] *Vijaya*[sh]. I see no *anuvāda* sign for *vi* in the second of the two words and there cannot be any doubt about the reading of its second *akshara* as it is exactly the same as the second *akshara* in *Vijaya* in the line immediately following (i.e. line 4). The word is therefore certainly *Vijaya* and not *vishaya* as read by Vogel.

It is clear that, unlike all other published inscriptions of the Ikshvākus which bear dates only in regnal years, the inscription under study mentions instead the **name of the year according to Jupiter's sixty-year cycle** as counted in South India. This is of exceptional importance for two reasons. In the first place, it offers the earliest instance of the use of the cyclic year in Indian inscriptions. We know that the use of the cyclic years was much more popular in South India than in the North, the instances of its use in Northern epigraphs being much rarer and later.<sup>1</sup> So far, however, the earliest instance of its use in the South was traced in the Mahākūṣa pillar inscription<sup>2</sup> of the Early Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa, which is dated in the year *Sukhārtha* taken as corresponding to 602-03 A.D. according to the moon-sign system. But our inscription shows that the cyclic years were used in South Indian epigraphs as early as the third century A.D., i.e. several centuries earlier. Secondly, it is also well known that the Ikshvākus flourished in the Krishna-Guntur region after the decline of the Sātavāhanas about the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D. and before the Pallava conquest of the said area in the fourth century A.D. and that the rule of the second Ikshvāku king Virapurnahadatta, who was the son and successor of Chāntamūla and the father and predecessor of Ehuṇḍa Chāntamūla (whose latest date is his 24th regnal year), can be assigned to about the third quarter of the third century A.D.<sup>3</sup> The only year falling in the period in question, which can be equated with the cyclic year *Vijaya* according to the South Indian system, is 273-74 A.D. The earlier and later years corresponding to *Vijaya* are 213-14 and 333-34 A.D., both of which appear to be wide off the mark. Thus the present inscription is the only record so far discovered, which proves that the rains in 273 A.D. fell in the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapurnahadatta. This is a very important addition to our knowledge of the history of the Southern Ikshvākus in particular and of the early history of South India in general.

It may be argued that, since no other published Ikshvāku epigraph is known to be dated in a cyclic year, the passage *amavachhara* *Vijaya* should better be interpreted in a different way. But we find it difficult to agree with such a view. Firstly, the passage can hardly be explained in any other satisfactory way. Secondly, it has to be noted that, among the records of the early rulers of the Chālukya home of Bādāmi, the cyclic year is mentioned only in the Mahākūṣa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa and that, even as late as the seventh century A.D., the mention of cyclic years was not a regular feature of the dates of South Indian documents. One justification for the mention of the year *Vijaya* alone in the Ikshvāku records may be that it was originally regarded as the first year of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription begins with the word *siddham* (*siddham*) and introduces the date of the record as the cyclic year *Vijaya*, the second day of the first fortnight of the rainy season (probably Śrāvamāsi 2),<sup>5</sup> falling in the reign of Rājya Māthariputra Virapurnahadatta of the Ikshvāku family, who was the son of Mahārāja Chāntamūla, described in this context as the performer of the *Āvamedha*

<sup>1</sup> The earliest record dated in the V.S. and the cyclic year, as noticed in Bhattacharya's List, is the Guṇḍa inscription of 1178 A.D. (No. 270).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 348-49.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 9, 10. In this work, Virapurnahadatta's rule was tentatively assigned to c. 240-65 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> *Apoc. Sans. Exp. Ind.*, i. v.; Monier-Williams, *Sansk. Exp. Dict.*, s. v. Note that the Ikshvāku capital was called Vijayapura probably for its foundation in the year *Vijaya*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 110, note 3; p. 124, note 6; p. 484.



and the bestower of many crores of gold [coins]. Then it states that the *chhāyā-thabha* (*chhāyā-stambha*, i.e. the memorial pillar on which the inscription is engraved) of the *saga-gata* (*svarga-gata*, i.e. deceased) *Rājasa Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrāmā Chāntamūla* [was raised] by some ladies who were his sisters, mothers (i.e. mother and step-mothers or only step-mothers) and queens. As in some other records, Chāntamūla is described in this context as the performer of the Agnihotra, Agnistoma, Vājapeya and Āśvamedha sacrifices, as the bestower of crores of gold [coins] and of lakhs of heads of cattle as well as of lakhs of *kala* measures of land and as one whose will was unimpeded in all matters. It may be pointed out that both Vogel and the then editor of this journal failed to read the expression *chhāyā-thabha* in this record. The memorial pillar seems to have been raised many years after Chāntamūla's death.

The list of the ladies responsible for raising the memorial pillar does not clearly indicate as to who were Chāntamūla's sisters, his mothers and his queens. But there seems to be a punctuation mark in line 9 and another in line 11 and they may suggest that the said list was divided into three sections indicating respectively the sisters, mothers and queens of the dead king. If such was the case, the list of Chāntamūla's sisters includes the names : Anantaśrī, Skandāśrī, Vindhyaśrī, Mitraśrī, Samudrī (Samudrāśrī ?), Nāgavasūśrī, Maṅguśrī, Skandakoṭīśrī, Mahāśrī, Kundamaśrī, Mūlaśrī, Āryakoṭīśrī and Mūlīśrī. The king's mothers then were Nāgaśrī, Kāmaśrī (or Rāmaśrī), Golaśrī, Khaliśrī, Bodhiśrī, Skandāśrī, Satlīśrī, Perajatiśrī, Paṇḍitaśrī, Śivanāgaśrī and Samudrāśrī. The names of the king's queens likewise were : Bappīśrī, Nadiśrī or Nandīśrī, Āryaśrī, Kṛishṇaśrī and Śivanāgaśrī. The word *śrī* suffixed to all these names is no doubt an honorific. Some of these names were wrongly read by Vogel.

The above list of the ladies is followed by the names of two other women whose names are not endowed with the honorific word *śrī*. They are Saraśikā and Kusumalatā described in the record as *abhatarikā* (Sanskrit *abhyantarikā*), 'an intimate female friend', possibly used to indicate 'a concubine'. The official designation *abhyantarika* is, however, often understood in the sense of 'a guard of the harem'. Vogel read the word as *subhatarikā* which he failed to interpret.

#### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Siddhanti [12] mahārājasa āśvamedha-yājisa aneka-hiranyak[o]ti-padā[yisa]
- 2 sri-Chāntamūlāsa putasa rāmā Mā[dha]ri-putasa Ikhākuna sri-Virapurisadāta[sa]
- 3 vasa-antāya<sup>2</sup> savachhara[m] Vijaya[m]<sup>3</sup> vāsa-pakharā prathamam 1 divasa  
hitiya[m] saga-gata
- 4 rāmā agnihot-āgih[o]ma-vājapey-āśvamedha-yājisa hiraṇy-k[o]ti-go-satasahas-
- 5 kala-satasahas-padāyisa say-athesu a[pa]tibata-samkapasa V[āsiṣṭhī]-putasa
- 6 Ikhākuna sāmī-sri-Cha[m]tamulasa saba(ho)darāhi matāhi mā[ha]d[e]vihi Anatasiriya<sup>4</sup>
- 7 Khadulasiriya Vijab[o]dhisiriya<sup>5</sup> Mita[sī]riya<sup>6</sup> Samudāsiriya<sup>7</sup> Nāgavasūsiya
- 8 Maṅguśiriya<sup>8</sup> Khandakoṭisiriya Mahāśiriya Kondamāsiriya<sup>9</sup> Mula[sī]riya

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. Minor differences with Vogel's transcript are not indicated here.

<sup>2</sup> Vogel reads *vasasāntāya* which is meaningless.

<sup>3</sup> Vogel reads *vinayana* and interprets the word as 'twentieth'.

<sup>4</sup> Vogel : *Śivastisiriya* (1).

<sup>5</sup> Vogel : *Vijahāsiriya*.

<sup>6</sup> Vogel : *Mitasiriya*.

<sup>7</sup> The intended reading may be *Samudāsiriya* as in line 11.

<sup>8</sup> Vogel : *Nāgasiriya*.

<sup>9</sup> Vogel : *Rajamati*.



- 9 Ayakoṣasiriya Maduvāsiriya<sup>1</sup> Nāgasiriya [Kā]masiriya<sup>2</sup> Golasiriya  
 10 Kballisiriya<sup>3</sup> [Bo]ḍhisiriya<sup>4</sup> Khadasiriya Satilasiriya<sup>5</sup> Parajattasiriya<sup>6</sup>  
 11 Pathḍittasiriya Sivanāgasiriya Samudāsiriya<sup>7</sup> Bāpisiriya Nādisiriya  
 12 Ayaasiriya Kaṇinhasiriya<sup>8</sup> Si[vanāga]siriya abhatarikāḥi<sup>9</sup> cha  
 13 Sarasikāya Bhā[Ka]ṣṇasatāya cha chhāyā<sup>10</sup>-thabho<sup>11</sup>

*B. Inscription of Ehuṇḍa Chāntamūla, 333 A. D.*

This inscription<sup>12</sup> is engraved lengthwise on a lime stone pillar found at the site named by the excavators as the Burning (Ghāt). There are eight lines of writing, the last of them being a little less than six feet long and the others a little above four feet in length. The writing covers three sides of the pillar, lines 1-3 being inscribed on one side, lines 4-5 on the next side and lines 6-7 on the third side. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, the letters in most parts being more or less rubbed off. A number of letters in each one of the lines cannot be read at all.

The characters of the inscription belong to the usual Ikshvāku alphabet and its language is Prakrit. The most important section of the record is its date. It refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku Rājan Ehuṇḍa Chāntamūla, the son of Rājan Virapurushadatta and the grandson of Mahārāja Chāntamūla who is described, as in some other epigraphs, as the performer of the Aśvameḥa and the bestower of many crores of gold [coins]. The date is quoted as the first day of the second fortnight of the summer season (probably Chaitra-andī 1) in the year Vijaya falling in the reign of Ehuṇḍa Chāntamūla. It is the second epigraph of the Ikshvākus, which is dated in the cyclic year instead of the usual regnal reckoning. Another inscription dated in the cyclic year Vijaya falling in the reign of Virapurushadatta has been edited above. As will be seen below the date of the present inscription would correspond to 333 A. D. and is of great importance to the student of South Indian history.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *siddham* (*siddham*) and an adoration to a deity whose name is uncertain although it may be *Bhagavat Nodagīvarasvāmīn*. The name of the same god occurs also in line 4. But the reading of the first three akṣaras is doubtful in both the cases. The adoration to the deity is followed in lines 1-2 by the date, viz., the year Vijaya, the second fortnight of summer, the first day, falling in the reign of the Ikshvāku king Vāsantīputra Ehuṇḍa Chāntamūla, the son of king Virapurushadatta and the grandson of king Chāntamūla. The following sentence in lines 2 ff. states that certain persons made the *devakula* and *thala* (*sthala*) of Lord Nodagīvarasvāmīn and created an *akṣaya-nīr* (permanent endowment) apparently for the maintenance of the religious establishments in question. The word *devakula* means 'a shrine' while

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be a punctuation mark after this name.

<sup>2</sup> The reading may also be *Kāmo*\* as in Vogel's transcript.

<sup>3</sup> Vogel: *Vai*.\*

<sup>4</sup> Vogel: *Bhāsisiriya*.

<sup>5</sup> Vogel: *Satila*.\*

<sup>6</sup> Vogel: *Para*.\*

<sup>7</sup> There seems to be a punctuation mark after this name.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Kaṇha*.\* Vogel read *Kaṇhasiriya*; but the correct reading was suggested in an editorial note.

<sup>9</sup> Vogel reads *abhatarikāḥi* which is meaningless.

<sup>10</sup> Vogel reads *igam*, while the editor seems to suggest *dāya*.

<sup>11</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a slightly slanting horizontal line. The word *thabho* is to be understood (cf. No. 3, line 7, below).

<sup>12</sup> This is *A. R. Ep.* 1938-59, No. B 78. *Ind. Arch.*, 1938-59, p. 8, wrongly describes the pillar bearing the inscription as a *deva-stambha* relating to the god Bhagīvara.



MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE I  
1A.—Inscription of Virapurushadatta, 273 A.D.

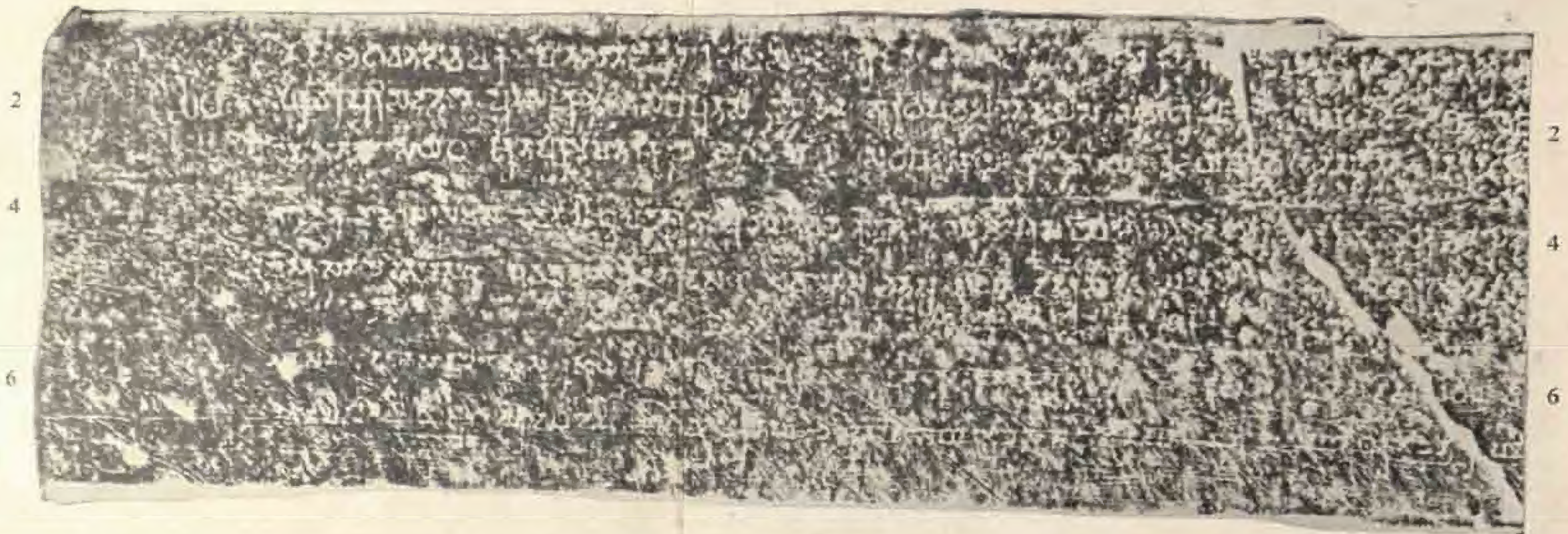


Scale : One-third



1B.—INSCRIPTION OF EHUVULA CHANTAMULA, 333 A.D.

Left Half



Right Half



(from Photographs)



*sthala* seems to indicate, in the present context, a *śālā* in a spacious area surrounded by a wall. The said pious acts are stated to have been performed for the victory and longevity of the king, i.e. the reigning monarch Khuvula Chāntamūla. Unfortunately, the name of the main figure responsible for the deeds cannot be deciphered. Only a few names of the *saha-matis* of the said person can be read with certainty. These are the *antaḥpura-mahattarikā* Bhūgaratā and the *śreṣṭhī-bālikā* (daughter of a *śreṣṭhī* or banker) Ratavaśī (or Rativaśī). Since they are ladies, it is possible that the main person responsible for the pious deed was also a lady. The word *saha-mati* seems to mean 'a person with the same intention', used here to indicate several persons who helped one in the performance of the pious deeds in question,<sup>1</sup> i.e. contributed to the construction of the *devakula* and *sthala* as well as to the creation of the *akshaya-nīvi*. The list of these collaborators is introduced in our inscription by the word *seyatha* (Pali *seyyathā*, Sanskrit *sat-yathā*) meaning 'namely'. *Antaḥpura-mahattarikā* was apparently a female officer in charge of the harem of the Ikshvāku king.

In connection with the *akshaya-nīvi* or permanent endowment, reference is made to the interest accruing to it month by month (*akshaya-nīvi cha kalāpa masanumāsikāsa vadhisa*—Sanskrit *akshaya-nīvin cha bruta māsanumāsikyāḥ vridhgyāḥ*). But the details as to the utilisation of the amount are not clear. It appears from the partially decipherable writing in lines 4-5, that, for the purpose of creating the endowment, the sum of one hundred *dināris* was deposited in four different guilds, seventy *dināris* in one of them and ten *dināris* in each one of the others. The coin called *dināri* may be the same as *dināri-māshaka* known from other Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions or the coin of which the *dināri-māshaka* was the  $\frac{1}{16}$ th part in weight or value.<sup>2</sup> *Dināri* is derived from the Roman coin named *denarius*; but it is difficult to say whether it meant original Roman coins which are known to have been in circulation in the area or local imitations of the Roman coins. The fact that only ten *dināris* were deposited in the guilds in several cases suggests that it was probably a gold coin. Among the guilds, the name of two can be satisfactorily read. They are called *panika-seni* and *pusika-seni*. The first of these may be Sanskrit *pāṇika-śreṇī*, i.e., the guild of the sellers or growers of leaves (betel leaves), while the second is certainly Pali *pūsika-seni* meaning 'the guild of confectioners'. The existence of several such guilds at the Ikshvāku capital or its neighbourhood is interesting to note.<sup>3</sup>

Very little can be made out of the writing in line 6 and the first half of line 7. The legible part of line 7 appears to begin with some personal names such as Parādika, Bhagaphula and Sathapa. Whether the persons mentioned were witnesses or trustees cannot be determined. These names are followed by two sentences with which the inscription concludes. These state that the embellishment (*ohitana*—Sanskrit *ohitaya*),<sup>4</sup> apparently of the *devakula* and *sthala*, should have to be done by the person responsible for the creation of the religious institutions and that, in case the said person could not do it, the council of the citizens headed by the *śreṣṭhī* (*śreṣṭhi-pamakhaniyasa*), probably meaning a board like the *Pañchāyat*,<sup>5</sup> should get it done.

As we have seen, one of the inscriptions of Khuvula Chāntamūla's father king Virapurushadatta, is also dated in the cyclic year Vijaya, apparently corresponding to 273-74 A. D. As the son must

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tamil *oṭi-āṭi* (literally, 'similar desire') meaning 'help'.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 222; *Successors of the Śāhmanas*, p. 27, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> For *ohitana* in another Nāgārjunikonda inscription and in an inscription from Nashik, see above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the board of administrators consisting of the *Nagara-śreṣṭhī*, *Kārtikavāha*, *Prathama-kūṭa* and *Prathama-Kāpottika*, known from the early inscriptions of East India and the Chaulukya (Chaturjataka) headed by the Nagar-śreṣṭhī in Rajasthan. See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 60, note 2; Vol. XXXIII, p. 193; Vol. XXXIV, p. 142.



have ruled after the father, the year Vijaya when the present record was engraved must correspond to 333-34 A. D., since the seasons mentioned in the two records seem to preclude the possibility of the date of the record of the son's time falling in the latter part of the year 373-74 A. D. As we have suggested above, the mention of the cyclic year Vijaya alone in the Ikshvāku epigraphs seems to be due to its importance as the first year of the cycle.

On the basis of the data available previously, we were formerly inclined to believe that the Ikshvāku dynasty was overthrown by the Pallavas in the first quarter of the fourth century A. D. The date of the inscription under study, however, shows that the Ikshvākus were not overthrown much earlier than the middle of that century. The latest known date of Virapurushadatta is his twentieth regnal year<sup>1</sup> while those of his son Ehuva Chāntamāla and grandson Rudrapurushadatta (Rajapurushadatta) are respectively their twenty-fourth and eleventh regnal years.<sup>2</sup> The long intervening period between Virapurushadatta's record of 273 A. D. and Ehuva Chāntamāla's inscription of 333 A. D. would suggest that the year 333 A. D. fell near about the end of his reign and that Rudrapurushadatta probably ended his rule sometime before 350 A. D. Thus the Pallava conquest of the Krishna-Guntur region, evidenced by the Mañchikallu inscription<sup>3</sup> of Simhavarmān and the Mayidavolu plates<sup>4</sup> of Śivaskandavarman, took place about the middle of the fourth century A. D. This would also suggest that Pallava Simhavarmān of the Mañchikallu inscription and Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli plates<sup>5</sup> ruled about the fourth and fifth decades of the fourth century A. D. This is no doubt a very important addition to our knowledge of the chronology of both the Ikshvākus and the Pallavas.

We also know that the Ābhīra king Vanushoga ruled over the Krishna-Guntur area for sometime in the last quarter of the third century or in the first half of the fourth.<sup>6</sup> The date of Vanushoga's inscription, viz. year 30, if referred to the era of 248 A. D., which is generally believed to be an Ābhīra institution, would yield 278-79 A. D. and, in that case, we may suggest that Virapurushadatta ruling in 273 A. D. was overthrown by the Ābhīra king. If such was the case, the reign of Virapurushadatta, covering about twenty years may be assigned to c. 255-75 A. D., the Ābhīra interregnum to c. 275-80 A. D., and the reign of Ehuva Chāntamāla to c. 280-335 A. D. In case, however, it is believed that the Ābhīras and the Pallavas led a joint attack on the Ikshvākus who were overthrown as a result thereof, we may assign the reign of Virapurushadatta and his son and grandson to c. 275-345 A. D. In the former alternative, we have to think that the Ikshvākus succeeded in ousting the Ābhīras and re-established their hold on the Krishna-Guntur region within a few years. In the second alternative, we have possibly to suggest that the Ābhīras ruled over some parts of the erstwhile Ikshvāku kingdom after the overthrow of the Ikshvākus and that they were ousted by their erstwhile allies, viz. the Pallavas, a few years later.

### TEXT

Silharā |\*

1 namo bhagavate(ito) sava-loka-mahitasa [Nodag!]<sup>†</sup> varasāmisa [!]<sup>‡</sup> [muhā]rājasa [ucamedha-  
yājisa anuka-hirapa-koṭi-paḍāyina siri-Chatamulasa putasa].....<sup>§</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.; below, No. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 207 ff.

\* From impressions.

<sup>†</sup> The word is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of line 2.

<sup>‡</sup> The words *raja* and *Mañchikallu* may have been engraved here.



- 2 siri-Virapurisadatasa putasa rakhō Vasīhiputasa [Ikhā]kuna siri-Ehuvula-Chatamulasa  
savachharari Vija...<sup>1</sup>[maha]-pa [2] diva 1 [raño] veja[yi]ka syn-vadham[ka] cha  
apana
- 3 saha-mati[pa] seyatha atepura-mahatarikāya Bhagava[tāya] seṭhi-bāhkiya Ra[tava]saya  
viḍaya.....
- 4 bhagavato [Noḍagī]parasāmaia devakula thala [cha kār]itā akhaya-nivi cha katāna  
masanummasikasa vadhiya.....dhika-seniya [dināri]<sup>2</sup>.....<sup>3</sup>  
[dināri] dasa 10
- 5 pamka-seniya dināri dasa 10 puvika-seniya dināri dasa 10 [\*] eva[ā] senisu chatusu.....  
dinari-sa[ta].
- 6 ..... sara chhaya ..... paraputa ..... nī .....  
vakāya sadha
- 7 ..... thika ..... tarapa [Pa]raḍika Bhagaphula Sathapa [\*]  
apanā cha chitanadi katavadi [\*] eva cha akaramta seṭhi-pamakha nigam[o] kara-  
yanti<sup>4</sup> ||<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Two Inscriptions of the time of Ehuvula Chāntamūla, Year 8

The first of these two epigraphs, hereinafter mentioned as **A**, is engraved on a broken pillar found in a *Mayāpa* in Site No. 9 (Longhurst's Stūpa No. 9). The second record, hereinafter called **B**, is engraved on another broken pillar which, as the internal evidence suggests, was likewise found from the same site.<sup>6</sup>

Each of the two records, which are damaged and fragmentary, contains seventeen lines of writing. The writing in **A** covers an area about 29½ inches in height and 12½ inches in breadth while, in **B**, it covers a space about 28 inches high and 14 inches broad. The characters of the epigraphs belong to the usual Ikshvāku alphabet and the language is Prakrit. Like some Prakrit inscriptions of the time of Ehuvula Chāntamūla, reduplicated consonants are used in the inscriptions under study, though only in a few cases. Both the records bear the same date which is the **fifteenth day of the fourth fortnight of the summer season** (probably Valāḥka-sudi 15) in the **eighth regnal year of the Ikshvāku king-Ehuvula Chāntamūla**. The king is mentioned in **A** as the son of Virapurushadatta, but in **B** both as the son of Virapurushadatta and as the grandson of Chāntamūla.

Both the epigraphs record, in similar language, the pious activities of an *upāsaka* (lay follower of the Buddha) named Chadasiri (Chandraśiri) who was the dear brother of Nāgasiri (Nāgaśiri). He is further described as the bestower of many religious gifts at various localities such as cities, hills and market-towns in connection with the celebration of religious ceremonies or festivals in

<sup>1</sup> The two damaged akṣaras here are no doubt "yāh pi".

<sup>2</sup> The context suggests that 70 *dināris* were deposited in the *śrta* in question.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the guild here cannot be deciphered.

<sup>4</sup> The word is used in the sense of Sanskrit *śrayyaś*.

<sup>5</sup> The punctuation seems to be indicated by a few vertical strokes.

<sup>6</sup> An inaccurate notice of the first of these two records appears in *A.E.P.*, 1935-39, pp. 57 (No. 452), 71.



honour of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha (*Buddha-Dharmā-Saṅgha-maṅgala-nagaratara-givara-negumavara-baḥu-degadhama-kūṛaka*). The place where Chandrāśrī performed the pious deeds recorded in the inscriptions is described as the Śeṭhivara-vaḍhamāna (Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna) in the Mahā-nikāya of the Aparamahāvinsāilīyas at Vijayapura on the Śrīparvata. The word *nikāya* in *Mahā-nikāya* seems to mean, in the present context, a dwelling rather than a fraternity. The name of Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna reminds us of Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna at Vijayapura, which is mentioned in another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription edited below (No. 7, B II). The real meaning of *vaḍhamāna* is difficult to determine. Since, however, this Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna was situated within the Mahā-nikāya of the monks of the Aparamahāvinsāilīya sect, it seems to mean a religious institution probably maintained by the chief *śreṣṭhī* or banker.<sup>1</sup>

Inscription A states that Chandrāśrī made a *śala-maḍapa* (*śāla-maḍapa*), i.e. a pavilion made of stone, and a *bhara-sālā* for a particular Ārya-saṅgha (Ārya-saṅgha), i.e. a community of Buddhist monks, with a view to attaining *Nirvāṇa*. The name of the Ārya-saṅgha is not readable in either of the two inscriptions. The expression *bhara-sālā* seems to be a mistake for *bhāṣā-sālā* (Sanskrit *bhāṣā-sālā*) meaning 'a store-room'. Line 13 refers to the above pious activities of Chandrāśrī as having been done for the longevity of the king (i.e. Phyuḷa Chāntamūla). Lines 14-17, which are damaged and fragmentary, appear to suggest that Chandrāśrī also built a *śālā* (probably 'a hall') in the name of his parents with a prayer for attaining happiness (*sukh-āthanaḍya* = Sanskrit *sukh-ārthanagā*).

Inscription B records that the same Chandrāśrī built a *śālā* for the *Theras* (senior Buddhist monks) residing at the *śāla-maḍapa* of the Ārya-saṅgha mentioned in A. This act was also done for the king's longevity. Lines 14-17 contain some of the expressions in the concluding part of A such as the reference to the honoring of the parents and the prayer for attaining happiness. But the nature of the pious work referred to in this section is not clear.

The geographical names Vijayapura and Śrīparvata, mentioned in both the records, are well known.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

##### A

- 1 ..... \* s[i]r[i]-Vīrapurasa[da]sa.....
- 2 ..... \* rāṇo Vāseṭhi-puta[sa] [i]kha.....<sup>3</sup>
- 3 Ehuṇḷa-Chāntamūlāsa savachhara.....<sup>4</sup>
- 4 [ma] gimha-pakha chavutha divasa pa.....<sup>5</sup>
- 5 [pa]vate Vijayapure Apama[hā]vima.....<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ukhari-vaḍhamāna (B&L. *Nikāyaśrī*-conferred), 'a vaḍhamāna maintained by a person named Ukhari', known from the Ghaptāḍā inscriptions, was a similar institution at ancient Kaṇṭakāsula (modern Ghaptāḍā), although Vogel regarded it as the old name of Guptaḍā itself (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 2).

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> The damaged characters appear to be *vaḍhamāna*.

<sup>4</sup> The word lost at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 is *peṭasa*.

<sup>5</sup> The last characters are "Ehuṇḷa rāṇo" as suggested by B.

<sup>6</sup> The last characters are *vaḍha*, as suggested by B.

<sup>7</sup> The last characters are "divasa Sira" as suggested by B.

<sup>8</sup> The last characters are "sala" as suggested by B.



MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE II

2. Two Inscriptions of the time of Ehuvara Chantamula, Year 8

A



(from Photograph)



*B*



(from Photograph)



- 6 yānā mahā-nigāye Sethivara-vaḍham[āne].....  
 7 ....<sup>1</sup>śikara Ariya-saṅgha[sa] se .....<sup>2</sup>  
 8 [dā]va padithapeti bhara<sup>3</sup>[sa]lani niva[na] .....<sup>4</sup>  
 9 v[e]ṭṭi Buddha-Dhamma-Saṅgha-[ma]gala...  
 10 ...<sup>5</sup>vara-girivara-su[gaṇa]...  
 11 ...<sup>6</sup>bahu-[de]yadhamo-kāraka  
 12 [u]pā[pā]sako Cha[dā]siri cha [Nā]...  
 13 ...<sup>7</sup>piya-bhātuk[o] rañño ā[ya] .....<sup>8</sup>  
 14 ...apana mātā-pituno.....<sup>9</sup>  
 15 ...<sup>10</sup>riyake nimitta sālā .....  
 16 ... purat[o] [kā]rāpitā .....  
 17 ... [mahe] sukka-athanāya .....

B<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Sīdha | mahārājasa saamedha-yāji-  
 2 sa s[na]ka-hirasa-ko[ṭṭi]-padāyina siri-Chaṇ[ta]mu-  
 3 lasa p[u]tasa mahārājasa siri-[Vī]ra[pu]-  
 4 risadattasa putasa rañño Vāse[hi]-putasa Ikka-  
 5 [ku]na siri-[E]havu[la]<sup>11</sup>-Chantamūlasa sava[chha]ra aṭṭama gi-  
 6 mba-pakha chavuthā divasa padarasa Siripavate  
 7 Vīṇayapure Aparamahāvīrasa[ṇṇi]yānath ma[ha]-  
 8 [vīna]saliyānath<sup>12</sup> mahā-nigāye Sethivara-vaḍhamāne  
 9 .....kasa Ariya-saṅghasa sala-[maḍava]-

<sup>1</sup> The damaged aksharas at the beginning of the line look like 'Udāra'.

<sup>2</sup> The lost aksharas are "lo-ma".

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading seems to be bhādāra or bhadrāra.

<sup>4</sup> The lost aksharas are "pa vitha".

<sup>5</sup> The word lost at the end of line 9 and at the beginning of line 10 is sagara as suggested by B.

<sup>6</sup> The word lost at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 is vara as suggested by B.

<sup>7</sup> The aksharas lost at the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 are "siri" as suggested by B.

<sup>8</sup> The word lost here is sathanāya as suggested by B.

<sup>9</sup> The word pāḍa (probably pāḍya, 'for honouring') occurs here in B.

<sup>10</sup> B suggests that the aksharas lost here is āḥa.

<sup>11</sup> This is A. B. Ep., 1254-28, No. B 84.

<sup>12</sup> The letter is written slightly above the line.

<sup>13</sup> The aksharas ma[ha]saliyānath are redundant.

10 [vathavana] thevana sālā nivaṇaya [na]ṭha[.]ṭi<sup>1</sup> [Buddha]-Dhama...

11 ...<sup>2</sup>magala-nagaravara-girivara-naigama[vara]-bahu-deya...

12 ... karako<sup>3</sup> upāsako Chadasiri cha Nāgasiri ...

13 ... ko<sup>4</sup> raño āyu-vadhanika kata ...

14 ... a[pano] mātā-pituno pōṣa ...

15 ... [na]puta bhuriyako n[mi]ṭṭa sa .....

16 ..... ma-bhāgati<sup>5</sup> purāṇa dātā apa .....

17 ..... neva ..... gama[ne] sukha-athanaya .....

### 3. Inscription of the time of Ehuṇṇa Chāntamūla, Year 13

This inscription is engraved on a pillar found in an area to the north of the sixteen-pillared *Maṇḍapa* in Section IV of Site No. 61. There are 7 lines of writing covering an area about 7½ inches in height and 10½ inches in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in the upper three lines of the inscription.

The characters are the same as in many other epigraphs of the place, which can be assigned to dates about the third or fourth century A.D. The language of the inscription is Prakrit. It is dated the seventh day of the fifth fortnight of the summer season in the thirteenth regnal year of the Ikshvāku king Vāsishṭhiputra Ehuṇṇa Chāntamūla who flourished about the close of the third and the early part of the fourth century A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhaya-thambha* (*chhāyā-stambha*, i.e. a memorial pillar bearing the representation of the deceased person in whose memory it was raised) of *Mahāsēnāpati Kumāra* Eli Ehuṇṇadāsamaka. In this name, *asamaka* is a suffix and no part of the actual name while *Ehuṇṇa* is the same as *Khurula* and its variants. Eli Ehuṇṇadāsa is stated to have been the son of Mahavalabhikā Yakhiṇikā who was a *mahisikā* (i.e. queen) of the Ikshvāku king Māthari-putra Virapurushadatta. We know that king Virapurushadatta was the father and predecessor of Ehuṇṇa Chāntamūla probably born of Vāsishṭhi Bhāṭidevā, another queen of Virapurushadatta.<sup>6</sup> Eli Ehuṇṇadāsa thus seems to have been a step-brother of king Ehuṇṇa Chāntamūla, during the thirteenth year of whose reign the memorial pillar bearing the inscription under study was raised.

Prince (Kumāra) Eli Ehuṇṇadāsa was a *Mahāsēnāpati* (literally, 'the great commander of the forces') no doubt in the service of his step-brother, king Ehuṇṇa Chāntamūla. Opposite Nāgarjunikonda, there is a locality called Elēṣvaram on the other bank of the Krishna in the Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh. This place has yielded antiquities of the Ikshvāku age and also of earlier and subsequent periods.<sup>7</sup> The name of the locality is apparently that of a god called

<sup>1</sup> The intended word seems to be *atthareḥ*, 'emptiness'.

<sup>2</sup> The word lost at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 is *Saṅga* (*Saṅga*) as suggested by A.

<sup>3</sup> The word lost between *deya* and *karako* is *dāsa* as suggested by A.

<sup>4</sup> The expression partially lost at the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 is *papa-bhāṇa* as suggested by A.

<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to say whether the intended expression is *paṭama-bhāṇa*.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XX, pp. 22-24, Inscription No. G, text line 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1967-68, pp. 9-10; 1953-59, p. 11.



Eleśvara probably installed by a person named EH. Whether the name of Eleśvaram can thus be associated with Prince Eli Ehuvalādāsa of the Dohvāku family, known from the inscription under study, cannot of course be determined without further evidence. The word *eli*, probably connected with Telugu *eli* (from *eli*, 'to govern') meaning 'a ruler, king, master', is also found in the name of Talavara Elārī mentioned in a Nāgārjunikonda inscription<sup>1</sup> of the eleventh regnal year of Ehuvalārī (i.e. Ehuvala Chāntamūla).

The name of Eli Ehuvalādāsa's mother, who was one of the queens of Virapuruṣadatta, is given in the inscription as Mahavalabhikā Yakhilīnikā. In this, *nikā* (i.e. *anīkā*) is a suffix added to the personal name Yakhilī.<sup>2</sup> Mahavalabhikā seems to be an epithet derived from the name of the place whence the queen hailed. Unfortunately, we do not know any place called Mahavalabhī although the name no doubt reminds us of Valabhī in Kathiawar, which was the capital of the Maitraka kings from the sixth century A.D.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

1. Sidham | sāmīna rā[ñō] Vāse[thipu]tasa Ikḥākusa
2. ari-Ehuvala-[Cha]tamūlasa savachhara ta[te]rasa[ma]
3. gīm[h]anarī pakha pañchama 5 divasa satama 7 ra[ñō]
4. [Mā]ghari-pūtasā Ikḥākusa[m] sa[si]ri-Virapūruṣadatasā
5. mahisī[ya] Mahavalabhikāya<sup>4</sup> Yakhilīnikāya pu-
6. tasa mahāsenapatisa kum[s]rasa EH-Ehu[ā]-
7. lādāsaminakasa chhaya-tha[d]bb[o] thāpito<sup>5</sup>

4. Inscription of the time of Ehuvala Chāntamūla, Year 2<sup>6</sup>

The inscription under study was briefly noticed in the *Indian Archaeology 1956-57—A Review*, p. 36, and the sculptured stone bearing it was also illustrated there in Plate LVII, A. The inscribed slab has been described as 'a sculptured frieze in a Buddha-chaitya' and the inscription is stated to record 'the installation of a Buddha image in the Chaitya by one Kumāranandin, a *śreṣṭhīn* (tradesman)'. There is, however, no mention of a Chaitya in the epigraph.

The frieze, 8 feet 6 inches in length, bears the representation of four principal incidents of the Buddha's life in medallions in deep relief along with *mukha* figures at five places in bas-relief so arranged that a figure of the Buddha is flanked by the *mukha* in each case. The inscription is engraved in a single line in the lower part of the frieze, the letters being small (a little below  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in height) and the line of writing nearly 2 feet in length. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory in some parts. A number of letters are broken here and there while recent marks on the inscription show that the writing was further damaged during the process of digging out the slab from the earth.

The characters of the inscription are the same as in the other records edited above. Its language is Sanskrit, though the orthography is somewhat influenced by Prakrit. The record

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the male name Yakhilī in a Barhut inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 237, No. 123).

<sup>3</sup> From impressions. This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 70.

<sup>4</sup> Probably we should not take it as *mahisī-anātha*.

<sup>5</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a curved stroke preceded by a *visarga*-like sign.



refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala Chāntamāla and is dated the fifth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season (probably Bhādrapada-sudi 5) in the king's twenty-fourth regnal year. Year 24 is the latest known date of Ehuvala Chāntamāla's reign.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *siddham*. This is rather unusual especially in an early inscription.<sup>1</sup> The symbol and word are followed by the date referred to above. The object of the inscription is then recorded in a single sentence. It is stated that the stone image (*śailamayī pratimā*) of the Bhāgavat Buddha, i.e. the frieze bearing Lord Buddha's representations and the inscription under study, was installed by Kumāranandin at the Mahādevī-pariveśa at Vijayapuri on the Śrīparvata. We know that Vijayapuri was the name of the Ikshvāku capital situated in the Nāgārjunikonda valley while the Nāgārjunikonda hills form a part of the ancient Śrīparvata, i.e. the modern Nallamalai range. The word *pariveśa* means 'the cell or hut forming a monk's private chamber in a Buddhist monastery'. The name Mahādevī-pariveśa suggests that the inscribed frieze was fixed in the residence of a Buddhist monk in a local monastery and that the hut in question had been built by an Ikshvāku queen. The queen referred to may have been one of the wives of king Ehuvala Chāntamāla.

Besides the epithet *Bhāgavat*, the Buddha has been endowed with three other epithets, viz. *Samyak-sambuddha* (one who is perfectly enlightened), *Sarva-sattva-isthana* (one who is the best among all beings) and *sarva-guṇa-pārami-prāpta* (one who has attained perfection in all the virtues). The word *pārami* and *pāramitā* are used in Pālī in the same sense.

Kumāranandin is described as a *śreṣṭhī* (i.e. a banker) from the Syandaka-parvata apparently meaning a locality at the foot of the hill called Syandaka. Unfortunately no such hill is known to us. The *śreṣṭhī* is stated to have performed the meritorious deed along with his wife the *śreṣṭhīnī*, his son named *Iśvarabhartṛ* or 'bhāṭṭi', as well as his other kinsmen and relatives (*śvajana-sambandhi-burja*). The purpose was the attainment of welfare and happiness for his ownself and for all the beings. Kumāranandin is further described as the son of *Iśvaradatta* belonging to a sect, probably called *Baranakiya*, which belonged to a *śāśa* (clan), possibly called *Iruśaka*.

An interesting feature of this Buddhist inscription is that it ends in a stanza of the nature of the benedictory verses generally found at the end of copper-plate grants. It expresses the wish in the Mahāyāna style that the world might attain Nirvāṇa as a result of whatever merit was achieved as a consequence of Kumāranandin's donation of the *dāya-dharma*, i.e. the gift of the slab bearing the representations of the Buddha, which had no doubt been installed for worship.

Of the geographical names in the record, mention has already been made of Vijayapuri, Śrīparvata and Syandaka-parvata. The epithet looking like *Baranakiya* applied to the name of *Iśvaradatta*, father of Kumāranandin, also seems to contain a geographical name like *Baranaka*, although its identification is uncertain.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

Siddham<sup>3</sup> siddham [□] mahārājasya Ikshvākūnām (pām) śrī<sup>4</sup> Ehuvala-Chāntamālasya samva(samva)tsarath chaturvīśam varsha-pakṣam chatu(ritha)m divasam pañchamam<sup>5</sup> Śrī(parvate) [Vijaya]pū(ṇa)ryyam Ma(hā)devī-[pa]rve[śa] Iruśaka(?)nām

<sup>1</sup> For a similar feature, see, e.g., above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 121, text line 1.

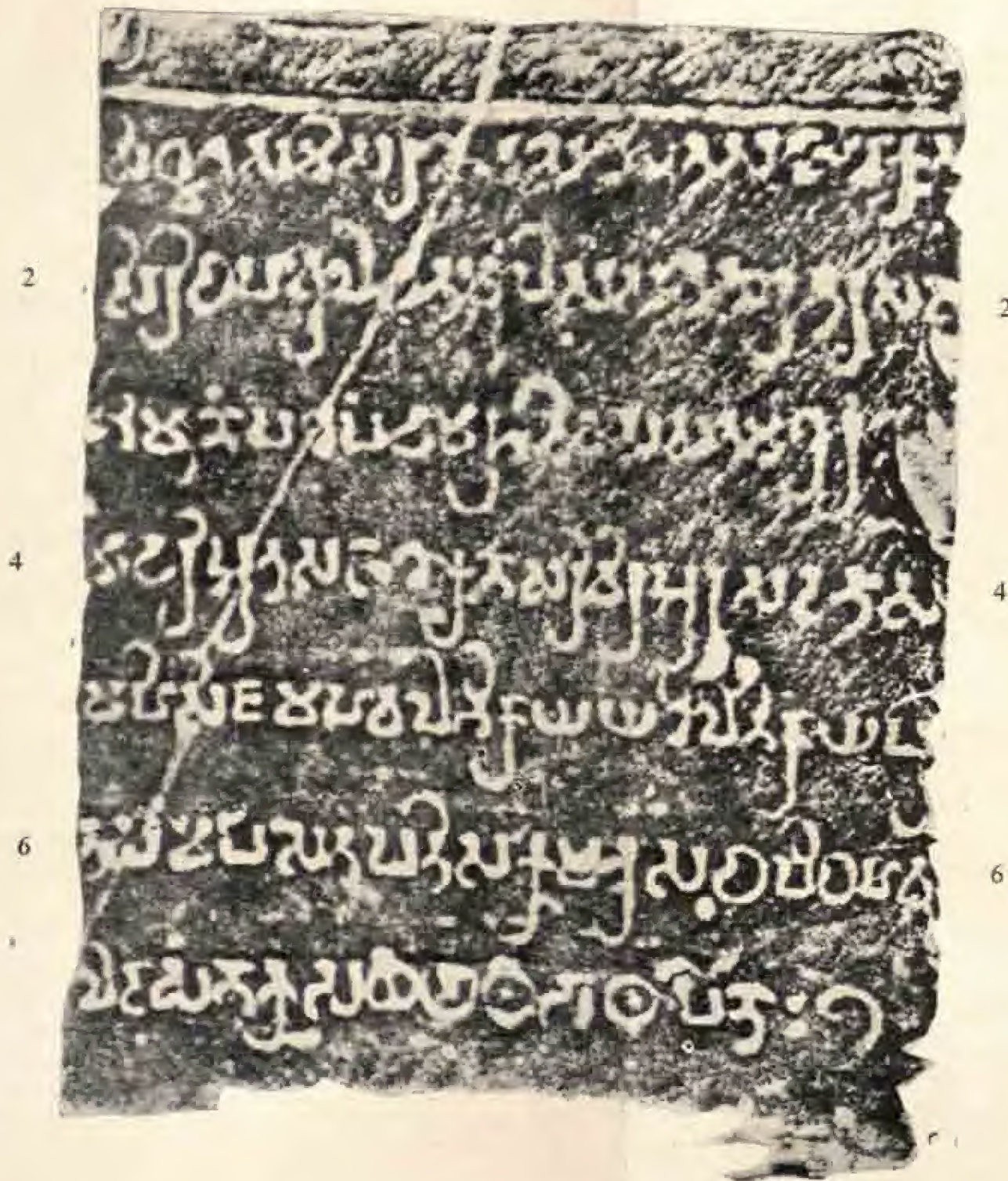
<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol. Note that the word *siddham* follows the symbol indicating the same word apparently due to the inderference of the scribe.

<sup>4</sup> *Śrī* has not been observed here.

<sup>5</sup> Read *samvatsarath chaturvīśam varsha-pakṣam chatu(ritha)m divasam pañchamam*.



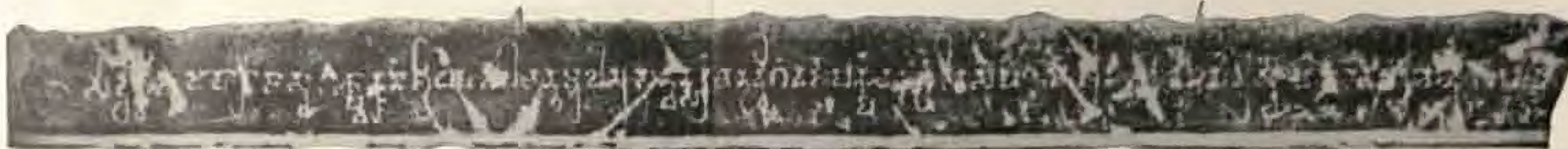


(from Photograph)

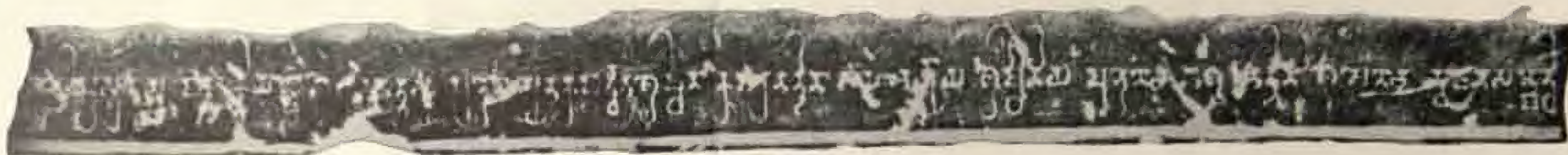


4. Inscription of the time of Ehuvala Chantamula, Year 24

Section I



Section II



Section III



Section IV



(from Photograph)







The characters are similar to those in the other records edited here; but their size is bigger, individual letters, excluding the conjuncts and those endowed with vowel-marks, etc., being nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. The elongation of the letters is less prominent in this record than in others. The initial vowel *o* and the consonant *f* occur in the epigraph. No king is mentioned and there is no date. The language of the record is Prakrit.

The inscription begins with the word *siddham* (*siddham*) and records that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāyā-stambha* (*chhāyā-stambha*) of Chantapula of the Kuṣhaka family. It is not impossible that *Chantapula* is just a variant of the name Chāntamūla, while the Kuṣhakas are certainly the same as the Kuṣhakas mentioned in some of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

Chantapula, in whose memory the pillar bearing the inscription was raised, is called a *Mahā-senāpati*, though which king he served in the capacity of a commander of the forces is not known. Three other epithets are also applied to his name, of which *amita-janasa dapa-damana* (Sanskrit *amita-janasya darpa-damanā*), 'the subduer of the arrogance of the enemyfolk', is easy to understand. The other two are *khaṇḍhāvārāna okhamdhaka* and *olabaku-hathi-gāhaka* which are both difficult to explain. In Sanskrit, the first of these two epithets may stand as *khaṇḍhāvārāna-avaskandaka* meaning 'one who attacked or subdued the camps [of the enemies' forces]'. The expression *hathi-gāhaka* (*hasti-grāhaka*) means 'one who seizes the elephants [of the enemies] or catches elephants [from the forests]', while we may also have here *ku-hathi* (a wicked elephant) instead of *hathi*. The expression *olabaku-hathi-gāhaka* may thus mean 'one who seized the elephants of an enemy named Olabaku', or 'one who used to catch elephants in the forest called Olabaku', or 'one who captured an elephant named Olabaku' or 'one who captured a wicked elephant at or belonging to or in the shape of Olaba'.

#### TEXT\*

1. Siddham [1\*] khaṇḍhāvārāna okhamdhakasa amita-
2. janasa dapa-damanasa Olabaku-
3. hathi-gāhakasa mahāsenā-
4. patisa Kuṣhakānath siri-Chamta-
5. pulasa chhāyā-stambha [1]

#### B

Several memorial pillars bearing small inscriptions in a few lines were discovered at Site No. 113. They are referred to in the records as *chhāyā-stambhas* which are stated to have been raised each in the memory of a group of soldiers. The soldiers are described as *padita* (= *pāṭita*) apparently meaning 'killed [in a battle]'. But their numbers are not indicated in any of the cases. The characters of the records are similar to the other inscriptions edited above and their language is Prakrit.

These inscriptions show that sometimes a single memorial pillar was raised for a number of dead persons.<sup>2</sup> Although the word *chhāyā-stambha* suggests that the pillar bore the figures of the soldiers in whose memory it was raised it is doubtful whether it was possible to represent

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XX, p. 18 (Inscriptions No. B 4, line 3), p. 22 (Inscriptions No. E, line 3).

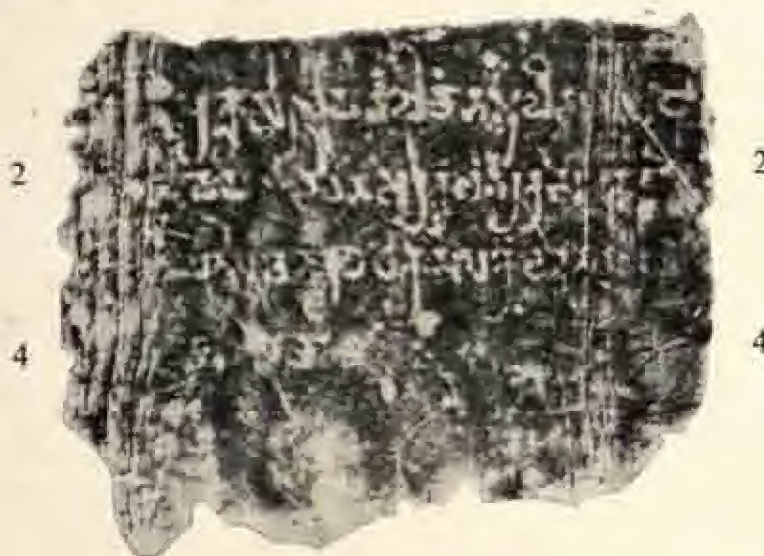
<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 209.



# MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE IV

## 5. Another Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chantamula



Size : One-fourth

## 6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

A

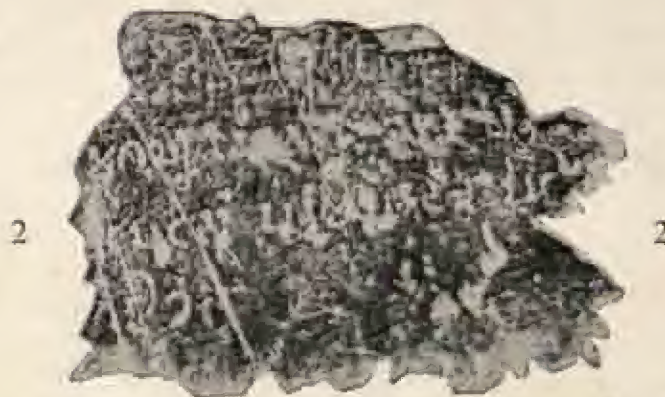


Size : One-fourth

*B, I*



*B, II*



*B, III*



Size : One-fourth



all the dead soldiers when their number was high. The inscriptions also suggest that a great battle was fought probably by the partisans of an Ikshvāku king against some enemies. Unfortunately, no king or date is mentioned in any of these records and little can be definitely said about the battle indirectly referred to. Whether the battle was fought at the site where the inscriptions have been found is uncertain. But it is interesting to note that the leaders of the soldiers, as mentioned in the different epigraphs, all hailed from a single locality called **Magalarāṇa** (probably Maṅgalāranya).<sup>1</sup> The location of this place is uncertain; but its importance is indicated by the fact that there were many leaders of forces stationed therein.

## I

This is an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory, though a few letters are damaged at the end of the second line.

The record states that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāyā-stambha* of the dead soldiers who had enjoyed the favour of *Raṭhika* Bhata (probably Sanskrit Bhakta) who was an inhabitant of Magalarāṇa. The word *raṭhika* stands for Sanskrit *rāṣṭrika* meaning 'the governor of a *rāṣṭra* (i.e. a small territorial unit of a kingdom)'. The *Rāṣṭrika* mentioned in our record was apparently the subordinate of an Ikshvāku king.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Maga[la]raṇa-vathavasa
- 2 raṭhikasa Bhatasa pā[sa] .....<sup>3</sup>
- 3 bhaḍasa[m] padita[na]m chhāyā-tha[bho] [||\*]

## II

This is also an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The language is similar to that of No. I above. But the leader of the dead soldiers in this case is called a *Senāpati*. The first letter of the name of this *Senāpati* is doubtful. But the name was possibly Rataputa.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Magalarāṇa-va[tha]va[sa] sa[nā]pat[isa]
- 2 [Ra<sup>5</sup>]aputasa pata[tanam] bhaḍanam pata .....<sup>6</sup>
- 3 .... \*[yā]-kham[bho] [||\*]

## III

This is an inscription in three lines like Nos. I-II. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. The leader of the forces mentioned in this record is called Karadaru-kumāra, 'Prince Karadaru', who was a *Senāpati* hailing from Magalarāṇa. It is, however, difficult to determine whether he was an Ikshvāku prince stationed at Magalarāṇa.

<sup>1</sup> See above Vol. XXXIV, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions. It is A. R. Ep., 1956-57, No. B 34.

<sup>3</sup> The intended word seems to be *paśādīṇam* (Sanskrit *parādīṇam*).

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

<sup>5</sup> The intended word seems to be *paśādīṇam* as in No. I above, though in the other records this word comes before *bhaḍanam*.

<sup>6</sup> The last akṣara is apparently *āḥā*.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [Mava(ga)la]raṇa-vathava[sa sa]nāpati-
- 2 [sa] Karudaru-kumārāsa [paṣa] . . . hha[ḍa]raṇa
- 3 paditana[ḍa] chhaya-khaḍhha [?]

## IV

It is a record in four lines. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. The leader of the soldiers in this case was a *Rājika* (*Rājāśikā*, 'governor of a *cūḍāra*'), whose name was probably *Haraka*.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Magalaraya-vathavaṇa rajhikasa
- 2 [Harakasa paṇḍatana-patata]-
- 3 ta[ni] ma[ḥa]da . . .
- 4 chha[ra]-kha[hha] [?]

## C

## I

This inscription is engraved on a pillar discovered at Site No. 52. It is stated in it that the pillar in question was the *cāḍyā-stambha* of a person named *Mūlabhūta* (or 'hhōti) who was an *śreṇika* hailing from *Parayāta*. The word *śreṇika* (*śreṇika*) meaning 'the foreman of artisans' occurs in early epigraphs such as the Sāñchi inscription of the Śātavāhana monarch Śātakarṇi and the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions of the Ikshvāku king Virapuruṣadatta.<sup>3</sup> *Mūlabhūta* seems to have been an *śreṇika* in the service of the Ikshvāku kings. It is difficult to explain the epithet *tamaṇiyakara* applied to *Mūlabhūta* in the inscription. It may be the name of the family to which the person belonged. Otherwise we have to take it as another personal name and insert the word *cha* to indicate that the pillar was raised for both *Tamaṇiyakara* and *Mūlabhūta*.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Pa[ra]yātakasa
- 2 śreṇikasa
- 3 Tamaṇiyakasa
- 4 M[ū]labhūta
- 5 chhaya-cha[hha] [?]

## II

This inscription is engraved on a memorial pillar bearing sculptured panels, which was found in Site No. 60 in Sector IV. According to the inscription, written in three lines, the pillar was the

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> The bracketed word appears to be *paṇḍita* or *paṇḍitana* as in Nos. I-II above.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1928-27, No. B 12.

<sup>4</sup> See Lüders' List, Nos. 346, 1203-04.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1928-29, No. B 82.



# MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE V

## 6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

*B, IV*



Size : One-fourth

*C, I*



Size : One-fourth



6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars  
*C, II*



Size : One-third

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions  
*A*



Size : One-fourth



*cāhāyā-stambha* of *Mahāsenāpati Mahātālavara Aryabhūti* (Āryabhūti). An epithet of this person seems to read *Araka-Mahakoṣavaka*, in which *araka* may stand for Sanskrit *ārgaka*. But the meaning of *Koṣavaka* is uncertain though *Koṣura*, to which the word *mahat* (big) has been prefixed, may be the name of a place whence Āryabhūti hailed.

## TEXT

- 1 . . .<sup>2</sup> mahāse[nāpa]tisa mahātala . . . . .<sup>3</sup>
- 2 [Araka<sup>4</sup>-Ma]ha-Koṣavakasa Aya[bhūti]sa
- 3 cihaya-khabho |

## 7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

## A

This inscription is engraved on a broken pillar excavated from a site of what is called a University by the excavators though the reason for the nomenclature is unknown. The extant portion represents the lower right hand section of the record. There are altogether five lines of writing in the inscription, the left half of all of them being almost totally lost. Each line originally contained 24 or more *akṣaras*, about 12 in a line being now found in the well-preserved section of the epigraph. As we shall see below, there is reason to believe that the whole inscription was originally written in twenty lines, of which only the right hand part of the last quarter at the bottom now remains. The inscribed area on the slab is 9 inches in height while the breadth of the space covered by the well-preserved section of the writing is 7½ inches.

The characters of the record are similar to the other inscriptions edited above. The language is Sanskrit and the epigraph seems to have been written entirely in verse. The extant portion of the inscription contains parts of three stanzas of which the first is composed in *Pañcha-rāmam* or *Tēpaka* and the second and third are in the *Varṇasātha* metre. It is interesting to note that these three stanzas are numbered in the record as verses 8, 9 and 10. This fact shows that the inscription was originally composed in ten stanzas, with half of a verse engraved in each of the lines of writing. This kind of arrangement of the words of verses as well as the numbering of the stanzas is found in some early inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> The extant part of our epigraph does not contain any date. It may, however, be pointed out that Sanskrit inscriptions from Nāgarjunikoṇḍa, which are generally Brahmanical, belong to the post-Viṣṇuśadatta age. The present inscription in Sanskrit is a **Buddhist record**.

The purport of the inscription is not satisfactorily clear from the fragment at our disposal. The last quarter of verse 8 in line 1 mentions the principal cooks engaged in some establishment, while the second quarter of verse 9 in line 2 refers to a *maṇḍapa* having a hundred (or more than a hundred) pillars and belonging to the same establishment. The nature of the *maṇḍapa* is unknown. But if the cooks mentioned earlier were associated with it, as they appear to have been, the reference may really be to a *śāstra* or free feeding establishment. The last quarter of the stanza in line 3 refers to a person as firm-minded (*dhṛit-ātman*) and self-subdued (*jāt-ātman*) probably as one who maintained the *maṇḍapa* attached to the religious establishment in question.

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. It is *A. K. Ep.*, 1938-39, No. B 33.

<sup>2</sup> The damaged word here may be *śāstra*.

<sup>3</sup> The lost *akṣaras* are no doubt *varṇas*.

<sup>4</sup> Better read *Arakasa* separately from the compound.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 6, Plate I.



The second quarter in verse 10 in line 4 speaks of a monastery (*vihāra-mukhya*, literally, 'the chief monastery') either as the same as, or as containing in it, what has been called a *vigata-jvarālaya*. In the said expression, *vigatajvara* (literally, 'freed from mental distress', or 'exempt from decay') seems to indicate a Buddhist monk or the Buddha regarded as the best of monks. Thus the expression *vigatajvar-ālaya* in the sense of 'a residence of the Buddhist monks' may be regarded as an adjective qualifying *vihāra-mukhya*, i.e. the monastery mentioned in the context, or the reference may be to a shrine (*ālaya*) of the Buddha that existed within the monastery in question. Some writers on Nāgārjunikonda are inclined to understand *vigatajvar-ālaya* in the sense of 'a hospital'.<sup>1</sup> Of course, *vigata-jvara* may also mean 'a person recovered from fever'. But *vigata-jvar-ālaya* would then mean a sanatorium for the convalescence of such persons. It is difficult to believe in the existence of a sanatorium for housing only people recovered from fever even though there is enough evidence to prove the existence of hospitals called *śālā*, *ātura-śālā*, *punya-śālā* or *śrōgya-śālā*.<sup>2</sup>

The last quarter of the said stanza (verse 10) says that a *vihāra-bāhā*, 'a wing of the monastery', was made in the monastic establishment mentioned in its second quarter. It seems to refer either to the *maṇḍapa* mentioned in line 2 or to some institution associated with the *maṇḍapa*. As already indicated above, from the reference to the cooks in line 1, the wing of the *vihāra* mentioned here may be supposed to have been a free feeding establishment. The person who made it is described as *vipul-ārtha-kāśāhina* the expression being probably used in the sense of Pali *atthakāma* (Sanskrit *artha-kāma*), i.e. 'one who is interested in the welfare of others'. It is also possible to take the expression *vipul-ārtha* in the passage in the sense of 'salvation'.<sup>3</sup>

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1    ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — mukhya-pāchakā [Uka]-  
hva[ɣ] [e] [i] [u] [a] [ɔ] [ɛ] [ɜ]
- 2    ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — [sa ma]pāpa stamba(mbha)-[śat]-ādhik-ojva(jjva)la[ɣ] [i] [u]
- 3    ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — [ji]t-ātman-ānuā, dhri[t]o dhrit-ātmānā [i] [u] [a] [ɔ] [ɛ] [ɜ]
- 4    ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — [śo]bhane vihāra-mukhye vigatajvar-ālaye [i] [u] [a] [ɔ] [ɛ] [ɜ]
- 5    ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — [nirvātā] vihāra-bāhā vipul-ārtha-kāśāhina [i] [u] [a] [ɔ] [ɛ] [ɜ]

## B

Out of the numerous fragments of small inscriptions, some may be noticed here. The characters of these are the same as in the other inscriptions edited here. The language of the records is Prakrit. The word *vijaya* is written in one of the epigraphs (No. II) as *vichaya*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. R. Ramachandra Rao, *The Art of Nagarjunikonda*, p. 25; R. Subrahmanyam in *Nagarjunikonda Sasanis*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> See P. K. Gode in *N. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 4-6, April-June 1946, pp. 76-79; cf. *śālā* and *śālā-śālā* in Tamil records (above Vol. XXIV, p. 94 and note).

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> The intended reading seems to be *ak-āśāhina*, though it is uncertain whether *ak* is the name of an object or a locality. The metre of the stanza is probably *Paśchachōḍara*. It may also be *Tūpaka*, though in the latter case the number of syllables in this line would be 30 while the other lines would have 24 only. There are, however, other instances of this kind. Cf. verses 1-8 in lines 1-16 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 6). If it is believed that there were only nine syllables in a foot, the metre may be *Kāminī* as well, though such short stanzas (except *Asanāśūka*) are rarely known from inscriptions.

<sup>5</sup> The metre of this stanza and the following one is *Paśchachōḍara*.



1844

1845

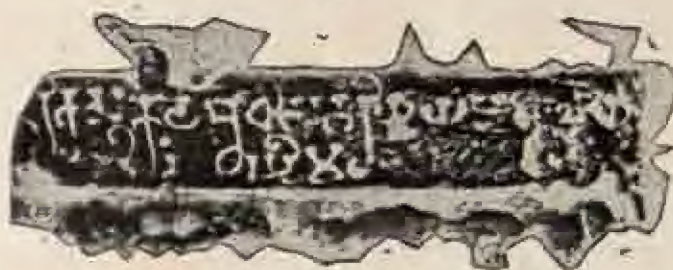
1846

1847

1848

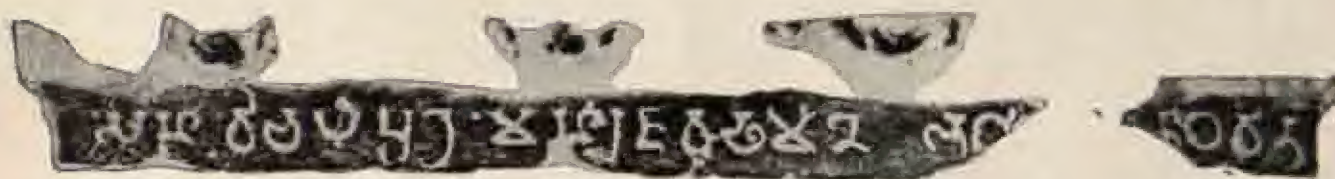
MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE VI

## 7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

*B, I*

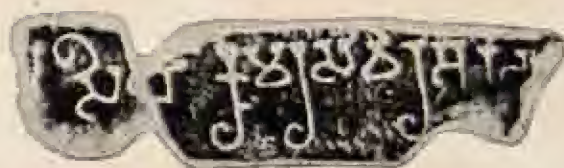
Size : One-third

B, II



Size : One-third

B. III



Size : One-half



which reminds us of names like Rāchamalla (for Sanskrit *Rājamalla*) found in medieval South Indian inscriptions and of words like *prājyuti* changed in Pali to *pāchehi*.

## I

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image of the Buddha discovered at Site No. 9. It states that the image (*padīma*=Sanskrit *pratīmā*) in question was installed by a lady who was the wife of Koṭabudhi. The reading of the name of the lady is, however, doubtful.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

1 .... rikasa<sup>2</sup> Koṭabudhisa bhariyāya [Makā<sup>3</sup>]lāya....

2 .. \*ti[thāv]jitaṃ padīma [i\*]

## II

This inscription in a single line is engraved on the lower part of a sculptured panel discovered at Site No. 23. A small piece of stone bearing the *aksharas* [*ti*]thavita (i.e. *patitthavita*, 'set up') is stated to have formed part of the above. The extant part of the epigraph begins with the word *saha* indicating that the person responsible for the pious deed recorded in the inscription performed it along with others.<sup>4</sup> The said deed, which seems to be the setting up of the sculptured stone bearing the inscription, was apparently performed at Mahārāja-vardhamāna (Mahārāja-vardhamāna) within Vichayapura, no doubt the same as Vijayapura or Vijayapuri, the Ikshvāku capital in the Nāgārjunikonda valley. Mahārāja-vardhamāna reminds us of Sethivara-vardhamāna (Śreṣṭhivara-vardhamāna) of two other Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions (No. 2, A-B) which was probably a Buddhist religious establishment maintained by a *śreṣṭhin* or banker. Mahārāja-vardhamāna of the present record may have been a similar religious establishment maintained by an Ikshvāku king. The elongation of the letters is not marked in the record owing to the narrowness of the space.

TEXT<sup>5</sup>

..... saha Vichayapure Mahārāja-vardhamāne bha[ti]<sup>6</sup>.....

.....[ti]thavita<sup>7</sup>

## III

This is the beginning of an inscription in one line. The inscribed stone was discovered from the site of Stūpa No. 9. It mentions a *kumāra* (prince) called Vira-Aribha...., the concluding letter or letters of the name having broken away. The prince's name reminds us of that of Virapurushadatta of the Ikshvāku family. The absence of *vaadhi* joining *vira* and *ari* in the

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. This is *A.N.Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 77.

<sup>2</sup> The intended word was something like *adgurika* (i.e. belonging to the city of Vijayapuri) or *pāvērika* (Sanskrit *prāvērika*) which is found in some early inscriptions (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 66 (No. II, 97). A *prāvērika* was probably the maker of *prāvēras*, i.e. cloaks used by monks.

<sup>3</sup> The last *akshara* is no doubt *ya* so that the intended word is *patitthavita*.

<sup>4</sup> It is also not altogether impossible that the pious deed referred to was performed along with some other pious deeds.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions.

<sup>6</sup> The intended word may be *bhāṭarika* (Sanskrit *bhāṭarika*).

<sup>7</sup> The word is apparently *patitthavita*.



name of the prince makes it clear that *vīra* was essentially an epithet. Similarly, in the name Virapurushadatta, Purushadatta is the real personal name and *vīra* is an epithet even though it is treated as an integral part of the name.<sup>1</sup>

## TEXT\*

Si[dha]m [I\*] kumarasa Vira-Ar[ibha].....

## IV

There are four fragments of an inscription, which cannot be connected with one another. The first of these reads .... [Virap]urushadatta sa ...., the last *śākhara* being apparently the beginning of the word *śaṅkhara*. This shows that the inscription was engraved during the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta. The second fragment reads *bhaga[ra]* (Sanskrit *Bhagavat*) which either formed part of a passage like *nama bhagavata* at the beginning of the record or referred to a deity whose installation may have been the object of the inscription. The third and fourth fragments respectively read: *sumuda* and *matudasa*. The letters *sumuda* remind us of the female name Samudāsiri (Samudrasīri) known from another Nāgārjunikopā inscription edited above (IA, line 1)), while *matudasa* may stand for Sanskrit *Makundasya*, Makunda being a well-known personal name.

## GLOSSARY†

*a-karamā* (IB, 1.8) = Skt. *a-karanti*, ' [one] not having done [the work] '.

*akshaya-nī(nī)vi* (XXXIV, 19, 1.10). See *akshaya-nīvi*, etc.

*akshaya-nīvi* (XXXIV, 210, 1.6), *akshaya-nīvi* (XXXIV, 210, 1.7), *akshaya-nīvi* (IB, 1.4) = Skt. *akshaya-nīvi* or *nīvi*, ' a permanent endowment '.

*akshaya-nīvīkā* (XXXIV, 210, 1.3) = Skt. *akshaya-nīvīkā*. Same as *akshaya-nīvi*, etc.

*agnihotra-vājapeya-āśvamedha-yājī* (IA, 1.4) = Skt. *agnihotra-āgnihotoma-vājapeya-āśvamedha-yājīn*, ' performer of the Agnihotra, Vājapeya and Āśvamedha sacrifices ', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

*agnihotoma-vājapeya-āśvamedha-bahusavarṇaka-yājīn* (XXXIV, 19, ll. 2-3), ' performer of the Agnihotoma, Vājapeya, Āśvamedha and Bahusavarṇaka sacrifices ', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, p. 22, note 1. Cf. Purushadatta of the Mathura coins and the choja brothers Rājendra and Virarājendra.

\* From impressions.

† Each of Vogel's two big articles on the Nāgārjunikopā inscriptions, published above, Vol. XX (pp. 1-36; cf. p. 37) and XXI (pp. 61-71) contains a Glossary which has been considered very useful by students of Indian epigraphy. The reference to the line of the inscription in which a word occurs has been indicated in our Glossary prepared more or less on the same plan. Since, for unavoidable reasons, it was not possible for us to arrange for the publication of all the recently discovered Nāgārjunikopā inscriptions together in a single paper, we considered it wise to include in the present Glossary words occurring in the Nāgārjunikopā inscriptions published recently in the pages of this journal, e.g. Vol. XXIX, pp. 137-39; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147-49, pp. 247-50; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 17-22, pp. 197-204, pp. 298-1E. Two Ikshvāku inscriptions, discovered in the neighbourhood of Nāgārjunikopā (one at Gurnala and the other at Uppanandur) and published above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 123-25, and Vol. XXXIII, pp. 189-91, respectively, have also been taken into account for this purpose. In these cases, the number of the volume and page, where the epigraphic texts in question have been printed, have been indicated.



*Achāntarāj-āchariya* (XXXIV, 211, ll. 5-6)=Skt. *°āchārya*, 'a teacher of the Achāntarāja School.'

*aṣṭama* (XXXIV, 22, l. 8, etc.)=Skt. *aṣṭama*, 'eighth'.

*Ayikkī* (XXXIII, 149, l. 4), personal name of a *Senāpati*.

*atāṭheya* (XXXIV, 210, l. 8)=Skt. *ātāṭheya*, 'hospitable'.

*atibhakti* (XXXIII, 149, l. 3), 'intense devotion'.

*atepura-mahatarikā* (1B, l. 3)=Skt. *antahpura-mahattarikā*, 'a female officer in charge of the harem'.

*Anatasiri* (1A, l. 6)=Skt. *Anantāśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*aneka-hiraya-koṭi-padāyi* (1A, l. 1, etc.)=Skt. *aneka-hiranya-koṭi-pradāyin*, 'one who bestowed many crores of gold [coins]', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

*aneka-hirashina-koṭi-go-satasahasra-hala-satasahasra-padāyi* (XXXIV, 22, ll. 1-2)=Skt. *aneka-hiranya-koṭi-go-satasahasra-hala-satasahasra-pradāyin*, 'one who bestowed many crores of gold [coins], lakhs of cows and lakhs of *halas* (plough measures of land)', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

*annaka* (XXXIII, 191, l. 5, etc.)=*annaka*, a suffix often added to the names of males.

*annikā* (XXXIII, 191, l. 6, etc.)=*annikā*, a suffix often added to the names of females.

*apana* (XXVI, 125), *apana* (1B, l. 2, 2A, l. 14), *apana* (2B, l. 14)=Skt. *ātmanā*, 'of one's own'.

*apanā* (1B, l. 8)=Skt. *ātmanā*, 'by oneself'.

*Aparamahāvīṇaseliya* (2A, l. 5; 2B, l. 7; XXXIV, 210, l. 5), name of a community of Buddhist monks.

*abhatarikā* (1A, l. 12)=Skt. *ābhyantarikā*, 'an intimate female friend', i.e. 'a concubine', or 'the female guard of the harem'.

*Amātya* (XXXIV, 203, l. 6), official designation of a minister or administrative officer, applied to Tishyāsarmān. Sometimes, *amātya* is explained as *deś-ādī-kārya-nirvāhaka* while *mantrin* is interpreted as *vyavahāra-draśṭrī* (Ind. Cult., Vol. VIII, p. 121).

*amita-janasa-depa-damanasa* (6A, ll. 1-2)=Skt. *amitra-janasya darpa-damanasya*, 'of one who has subdued the pride of the enemyfolk', used in the description of *Mahāsenāpati* Chāntapūṣa.

*Ayakoṣasiri* (1A, l. 9), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Ayabhūti* (6C III, l. 2)=Skt. *Āryabhūti*, personal name of a male.

*Ayasiri* (1A, l. 12)=Skt. *Āyāśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*(=śrī) suffixed to it.

*āyu-radhanika* (1B, l. 2; XXVI, 125—wrongly read)=Skt. *āyur-raddhanika*, 'giving long life'. Same as *āyu-radhanika*.

*araka* (6C II, l. 2)=Skt. *āryaka*, honorific prefixed to the name of *Mahāsenāpati* *Mahātalaṭara* *Ayabhūti* (*Āryabhūti*) hailing from *Maha-Koṭuva* (the big *Koṭuva*). Cf. 3, l. 1, where the same honorific is possibly prefixed to the name of the Ikshvāku king *Ehuvula* *Chāntamūla*.

*araka-bhaṭaraka* (5, l. 2)=Skt. *āryaka-bhaṭṭāraka*, probably the epithet of a religious personage.

*ariya-vassā-pureṇi-dhara* (XXXIII, 250, l. 2)=Skt. *ārya-vassā-praveṇī-dhara*, 'one who known the traditions of the [four] classes of [Buddhist] recluses by heart'.

*ariya-saṅgha* (2A, l. 7; 2B, l. 9)=Skt. *ārya-saṅgha*, 'a community of Buddhist monks'.



*a-viḥavā* (XXIX, 139) 'a lady whose husband is living'.

*Aśṭaṣa*(*śh*(*abhu*)*janāmā*) (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), name of a deity identified with Viṣṇu.

*Asamedha-yājī* (1A, 1.1; 1B, 1.1; 2B, 1.1; 4; XXXIV, 22, 1.1)=Skt. *Asamedha-yājī*, 'performer of the Asvamedha sacrifice', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

*ahan* (XXXIII, 149, 1.2), 'a day'.

*āchārya* (XXXIII, 250, 1.1)=Skt. *āchārya*, 'a teacher'.

*Ābhīra* (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), name of a people.

*āyu-vadhaṇika* (2A, 1.13; B, 1.13). See *āyu-vadhaṇika*.

*Avantaka* (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), correctly *Avantika*, 'resident of Avantī (i.e. the city of Ujjayinī)', epithet of Śaka Rudradāman.

*āvesanika* (6C I, 1.2)=Skt. *āvesanika*, 'a foreman of artisans'.

*Ikshvāku* (4; XXXIV, 19, 11.4, 5, 8), name of the family of king Ikshvāku.

*Ikshākumār* (1A, 1.2; 3, 1.4; XXXIII, 191, 1.2), *Ikshākumār* (XXXIV, 22, 1.5)=Skt. *Ikshākū-gām*, 'of the Ikshvākus (i.e. of those belonging to the Ikshvāku family)'.

*Ikshākuma* (3, 1.1)=Skt. *Aikshākūṣ*, 'of one belonging to the Ikshvāku dynasty'.

*Irasaka* (†) (4), name of a family.

*Īśvaradatta* (4), personal name of a male.

*Īśvarabhartṛiśā* (4), correctly 'bhartṛā, 'bhartṛiśā, 'together with Īśvarabhartṛi or Īśvarabhartṛi'.

*Ukaśaya* (7A, 1.1), probably *Uk-āśaya*, 'in what is called Uka'.

*Uta*(*ita*)*ra-mahātalaṣara-bhāginēyī* (XXXIV, 19, 1.7), 'a daughter of the sister of Mahātalaṣara Uttara', epithet of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula-Chāntamūla.

*upāsaka* (2A, 1.12; 2B, 1.12), 'a lay follower of the Buddha'.

*ulākṣhoga* (XXXIV, 203, 1.6)=Skt. *ullekṣhaka*, 'engraver'.

*ekkāra* (XXXIV, 22, 1.7)=Skt. *ekādaśa* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), 'eleventh'.

*Elī-Ekavuladāmanaka* (3, 11.6-7), personal name of an Ikshvāku prince, in which *amaka* is a suffix.

*Elīśrī* (XXXIII, 149, 1.6), personal name of a Talarava with the honorific *śrī* suffixed to it.

*evam* (XXXIII, 191, 1.9), 'thus'.

*esā* (XXXIV, 210, 1.7), 'this'.

*Ekavula-Chāntamūla* (5, 1.1; XXIX, 139), 'Chāntamūla' (XXXIV, 19, 11.2, 6-7; XXXIV, 22, 1.4), 'Chāntamūla' (4), personal name of an Ikshvāku king.

*Ekavulaśrī* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), personal name of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula Chāntamūla, with the honorific *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Ekavula-Chāntamūla* (2B, 1.5); 'Chāntamūla' (3, 1.2). Same as *Ekavula-Chāntamūla*.

*Ekavula-Chāntamūla* (2A, 1.3). Same as *Ekavula-Chāntamūla*.

*ekhandhaka* (6A, 1.1)=Skt. *avasthānaka*, 'one who subdues'.

*Olakakubāthi-grāhaka* (6A, 11.2-3)=Skt. 'hasti-grāhaka or 'kuhasti-grāhaka, epithet of Mahāśaṇḍaputī Chaditapūja.



*Kakolurā* (XXXIV, 210, L4), probably the name of a village.

*Kaṁbhachavūtra* (XXXIV, 20, L12), personal name of a male.

*Kaṁbhaphala* (XXXIV, 20, L12), personal name of a male.

*katavāṁ* (1B, L8)=Skt. *kartavyam*, 'has to be done'.

*katāṇa* (1B, L4)=Skt. *kṛtvā*, 'having done'.

*Kaṁbhāsiri* (1A, L12)=Skt. *Kṛishṇāsiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Karadaru-kumāra* (6B III, L2), 'Karadaru, the prince', name of a prince (*kumāra*).

*karayajñi(tu)* (1B, L8)=Skt. *kārayajñ*, 'should be caused to be done'.

*Kāsmira* (XXXIII, 250, L1)=Skt. *Kāśmīra*, modern Kashmir.

*Kāmasiri* (1A, L9)=Skt. *Kāmasiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it. The reading may also be *Rāmasiri*=Skt. *Rāmasiri*.

*kārāpitā* (2A, L16)=Skt. *kāritā*, 'caused [something] to be done'.

*Kārttikeya* (XXXIII, 149, L5), name of a god.

*Kupṣasiri* (XXXIV, 19, L8), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamūla, with the honorific *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Kumara* (TB III)=Skt. *Kumāra*, title of a prince.

*Kumāra* (3, L6; 6B III, L2). See *Kumara*.

*Kumāra* (XXXIII, 149, L3), a name of the god Kārttikeya.

*kulaputa* (XXXIV, 209, II, L1) =Skt. *kulaputra*, 'born in a noble family'.

*kula-prasūta* (4), 'born in the family [of]'.

*kulika-pramukha* (XXXIV, 210, L7)=Skt. *kulika-pramukha*, 'headed by the chief of the guild', probably the epithet of a guild.

*Kurumalatā* (1A, L13), personal name of a female.

*Kuṣāhaka* (6A, L4), name of a family.

*Koṣṭabudhi* (7 BI, L1), personal name of a male.

*Koṣṭaraka* (5, L3), personal name of a male.

*Koṣṭavaka* (6C II, L2). See *Maha-Koṣṭavaka*.

*Kondamatisiri* (1A, L8)=Skt. *Kondamatisiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Kauśika-sagotra* (XXXIV, 202, L2) 'one belonging to the Kauśika gotra', epithet of Śivaśeṣa.

*Kharāḍvulā* (XXIX, 139), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamūla.

*Khadāsiri* (1A, L10)=Skt. *Skandāsiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it. See *Khadāsiri*.

*Khamḍakoṭisiri* (1A, L8)=Skt. *Skandakoṭisiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Khamḍasiri* (1A, L7)=Skt. *Skandāsiri*. See *Khadāsiri*.



*Khaṇḍahāla* (XXXIV, 19, 17), probably Skt. *Skandahāla*, personal name of a *Mahātalanavara*.

*khandhāvāra* (6A, 11) = Skt. *skandhāvāra*, 'a camp'.

*khāṇḍhikata* (5, 13) = Skt. *skandhikata*, 'borne on the shoulder'; i.e. 'highly honoured'.

*Khalisiri* (1A, 110), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*khāṇita* (XXXIV, 203, 14) = Skt. *khāṇita*, 'caused to be excavated'.

*khetā* (XXVI, 126) = Skt. *kshetra* 'a plot of land'.

*khyāta-kīrti* (XXXIII, 149, 14), 'one who has acquired wide renown', epithet of *Senāpati Apikī*.

*Gandhāra* (XXXIII, 250, 11) = *Gandhara*, the region about the modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts of West Pakistan.

*gahapati* (XXXIII, 191, 14) = Skt. *grihapati*, 'a householder'.

*Gāṇḍī-putra* (XXXIII, 149, 15), 'the son of Gāṇḍī', epithet of *Elārī*.

*gāma-pa[cha]* (XXXIV, 210, 13) = Skt. *grāma-pañchaka*, 'a group of five villages'.

*gi* (XXVI, 125), Pkt. abbreviation of Skt. *grishma-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the summer season (Chaitra-badi 1 to Āshāḍha-audi 15)', *grishma* being one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India, the two others being *sarshā* and *hemanta*.

*gi-pa* (XXXIV, 19, 12), abbreviation of Pkt. *gimha-pakha* = Skt. *grishma-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the summer season'.

*gimha-pakha* (2A, 14; 2B, 11.5-6; XXXIII, 191, 13; XXXIV, 211, 13) = Skt. *grishma-paksha*. See *gi-pa*.

*gimhasam* (3, 13) = Skt. *grishmasam*, 'of the summer season'.

*guṇa* (XXXIV, 203, 15), 'quality'.

*Golasiri* (1A, 19) = Skt. *Golaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*go-vṛta* (XXXIV, 203, 16), 'a herd of cattle'.

*go-satasahasra-hala-satasahasra-praddā* (XXXIV, 19, 13), 'one who distributed lakhs of cows and lakhs of *halas* (i.e. plough measures of land)', epithet of the Ikshvāku king *Chāntamūla*.

*chayā-śakti* (XXXIII, 149, 13), 'one wielding the terrible spear', epithet of the god *Kumāra* or *Kārttikeya*.

*Chaturvīda* (4), correctly *chaturvīṇḍa*, 'twentyfourth'.

*Chandāsiri* (2A-B, 112) = Skt. *Chandrasīrī*, personal name of a male, with the honorific *siri* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Chandapula* (6A, 11.4-5), personal name of a male. Cf. *Chāntamūla*.

*Chāntamūla* (1A, 12, etc.; XXXIV, 19, 14; XXXIV, 22, 12) = *Chāntamūla*, correctly *Śāntamūla*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king.

*Chandamāka* (XXXIII, 191, 17—incompletely read), personal name of a male, the real name being *Chanda* (Skt. *Chandra*) and *amāka* a suffix.

*chavutka* (2A, 14), *chavutā* (2B, 16) = Skt. *chaturthā* (4), 'fourth'.

*chitana* (1B, 18) = Skt. *chitrana*, 'decoration, embellishment'.



*chitūpita* (XXXIV, 203, 1.4)=Skt. *chitrīta*, 'caused [something] to be decorated'.

*Chula-Dharmagiri* (XXXIV, 211, 1.5)=Skt. *Kshudra-Dharmagiri*, 'the little Dharmagiri', name of a hill in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa area.

*chhaya-khabha* (6B IV, 1.4; 6C II, 1.3), *chhaya-khambha* (6B III, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 11.8-9), *chhāya-khabha* (5, 1.4), *chhāyā-khambha* (6B II, 1.3)=Skt. *chhāyā-stambha* (really *chhāyā-skambha*), 'a memorial pillar bearing the figure of the person or persons in whose memory it is raised'.

*chhāya-thabha* (6A, 1.5; 6C I, 1.5), *chhāya-thambha* (3, 1.7), *chhāyā-thabha* (1A, 11.3, etc.; 6B I, 1.3), *chhāy[ā]-thambha* (XXXIV, 209, II, 1.5), *chhāyān(yā)-thambha* (XXXIV, 209, I, 1.1)=Skt. *chhāyā-stambha*. See *chhaya-khabha*, etc.

*jīvapitā* (XXIX, 139)=Skt. *jīvapitrā*, 'a lady with her son or sons living (or, all of whose children are living)'.

*taḍḍa* (XXXIV, 203, 1.4), 'a tank'.

*Tamasiyakura* (6C I, 1.3), probably the name of a family or a person.

*Tambaparni-dīpa* (XXXIII, 250, 1.1)=Skt. *Tāmaparni-dīpa*, modern Ceylon.

*tala-rapa* (XXXIV, 203, 1.4)=Skt. *tāla-rana* or *tala-rana*, 'a grove of palmyra trees'.

*talavara-cara* (XXXIII, 149, 1.5), 'a prominent Talavara', epithet of Ellārī. See *Mahātālavara*.

*Tishyasahma* (XXXIV, 203, 1.6), correctly 'farman, personal name of an Amātya'.

*tethika* (XXXIV, 210, No. 3, 1.1)=Skt. *tairthika*, 'an adherent of a religious faith other than one's own'. Cf. *para-samaya* in *sakasamaya-parasamaya*.

*terasama* (3, 1.2)=Skt. *trayodaśa*, 'thirteenth'.

*thala* (1B, 1.4)=Skt. *sthala*, probably used in the sense of a place of worship in the form of a *redikā* surrounded by an enclosure (*JBS*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, 1953, p. 47).

*thāpita* (3, 1.7)=Skt. *sthāpita*, 'set up'.

*Thera* (2B, 1.10)=Skt. *Sthuvira*, 'an Elder among the Buddhist monks'.

*Theriga* (XXXIII, 250, 1.1)=Skt. *Stāvirīgā*, 'belonging to the Thera (Skt. *Sthuvira*, i.e. *Stāviravāda*) School [of Buddhist monks]'.

*ḍana* (XXXIV, 210, 1.3)=Skt. *datto* (XXXIV, 20, 1.11), 'given'.

*dapa-damana* (6A, 1.2)=Skt. *darpa-damana*, 'a subduer of the pride [of]'.

*dasa* (1B, 1.4-5)=Skt. *daśa*, 'ten'.

*dināri* (1B, 1.4-5), name of a coin.

*diva* (1B, 1.2; 5, 1.2; XXVI, 125; XXXIV, 19, 1.2), abbreviation of *dīvara*, 'a day'.

*divaḍḍha* (XXXIV, 210, 1.6)=Pali *dīvaḍḍha*, *divaḍḍha*, Skt. *divardha*, 'one and a half'.

*dīvara* (1A, 1.3; 2A, 1.4; 2B, 1.6; 3, 1.3; 4; XXXIII 191, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 1.8; XXXIV, 202, 1.2; 211, 1.2), 'the day [of the fortnight]'.



*diṇḍāra-māsa* (XXXIV, 210, 1.6)=Skt. *maṇḍuka*, name of a coin elsewhere called *diṇḍri-māsa* (above, Vol. XX, p. 19).

*deya-dharma* (4), 'a religious gift'.

*deva* (XXXIII, 149, 1.3), 'a god', epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.

*devakula* (1B, 1.4; XXXIV, 19, 1.10), 'a shrine'.

*deva-purāṇa-deva* (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), 'the supreme god among gods', epithet of the god Nārāyaṇa.

*dauhitri* (XXXIV, 19, 1.7), 'granddaughter (daughter's daughter)'.

*Dhāṇḍakaśa-pathava* (XXXIII, 191, 1.3)=Skt. *Dhāṇḍakaśa-nīatava*, 'an inhabitant of Dhāṇḍakaśa (old name of modern Dharapikōṣa near Amarāvati in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh)'.

*Dhamanikā* (XXXIII, 191, 1.8), personal name of a female, the real name being *Dhamā* (Skt. *Dharmā*) and *anikā* a suffix.

*Dhamasamaka* (XXXIV, 202, II, 1.3)=Skt. *Dharmasarmaka*, personal name of a nobleman.

*Dharmā-vāṇijya* (XXXIII, 191, 1.5)=Skt. *Dharma-vāṇijikāyā*, 'of Dharma-vāṇijikā'.

*dharma-phala* (XXXIV, 19, 1.10), 'resulting from the piety [of]'.

*dhaṇḍa-stabha(bha)* (XXXIV, 19, 1.10), 'flag-staff'.

*natuka* (XXXIII, 191, 1.4)=Skt. *napituka*, 'grandson (son's son)'.

*Nadiri* (1A, 1.11)=Skt. *Nadiri* or *Nandiri*, personal name of a lady, with honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*naptri* (XXXIV, 19, 1.6), 'a granddaughter (son's daughter)'.

*navāṅga-Saṭhu-saṇa-atha-vyajana-cinichhaya-risavada* (XXXIII, 250, 1.2)=Skt. *navāṅga-Śāstri-dāsa-ārtha-vyaṅjana-viniśchaya-viśārada*, 'one who is an expert in the determination of the meaning and implication of the ninefold teachings of the Śāstri (i. e. the Buddha)', epithet of certain Buddhist monks.

*Nāgasasiri* (1A, 1.7)=Skt. *Nāgasasiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it. Of the female name *Skandavatu* in an Ajaṇḍā inscription (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 262, text line 1).

*Nāgasammanikā* (XXXIII, 191, 1.9), personal name of a female, the real name being *Nāgasamā* (Skt. *Nāgasarmā*) and *anikā* a suffix.

*Nāgasi* (1A, 1.9)=Skt. *Nāgasi*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Nāgasi* (2A, 1.12; B, 1.12)=Skt. *Nāgasi*, personal name of a male, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Nāgilamaka* (XXXIII, 191, II.5, 8), personal name of the brother and of a son of Saṅghila, in which *anaka* is a suffix.

*Nārāyaṇa* (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), a name of the god Viṣṇu.

*naḡama* (1B, 1.8)=Skt. *naigama*, 'administrative board pertaining to a city'.

*niḡaveti* (2A, II.8-9; 2B, 1.10)=Skt. *nīśāḡavati*, 'completes'.



*nīpatīṭhapita* (XXXIII, 250, 1.3)=Skt. *nīpratīṣṭhāpita*, same as *pratīṣṭhāpita*, 'set up'.

*nimitta* (2A, 1.15; 2B, 1.15), 'cause' or 'on account of'.

*nīrvāṇa* (4). See *nīraṇa*, etc.

*nīraṇa* (2B, 1.10); *nīraṇa* (2A, 1.8)=Skt. *nīrvāṇa* (4), the Buddhist word for 'salvation'.

*nīraṇita* (7A, 1.5), 'founded, made'. Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 163, text line 10.

*Nelāchavata* (XXXIV, 210, 1.4), probably the name of a village.

*naiika-kirayya-koṭi-pradātā* (XXXIV, 19, 1.3), 'one who distributed many crores of gold [coins]', epithet of the Hshvāku king Chāntamūla.

[*Noḷagī*]*śivasāmi* (1B, 11, 1)=Skt. *śīvarasāmi*, name of a deity, with the word *sāmi* suffixed to it.

*Nodukaviri* (XXVI, 125)=Skt. *\*śrīṣ* (for *\*śrīgā*), personal name probably of a female. Note the nominative case used for instrumental. There are other cases of this type in the Nāgarjunikonda inscriptions. Cf. *Chāṭiviri*.....*khaṇḍham patīṭhapita* (above, Vol. XX, p. 16, C3, lines 10-12; cf. p. 19, B 5, line 4; C2, lines 6-8; etc.).

*pa* (1B, 1.2), abbreviation of *pakha*=Skt. *pakṣa*, 'a fortnight'.

*pakha* (3, 1.3). See *pa*.

*pañchama* (3, 1.3), *pañchama* (4), 'fifth'.

*pañana* (XXXIII, 19, 1.10)=Skt. *pañana*, 'township'.

*paḍi(dī)ta* (XXXIV, 209, II, 1.5)=Skt. *pāṭita*. See *padita*.

*paḍima* (7B I, 1.2)=Skt. *pratimā*, 'an image'.

*paḍhama* (XXXIV, 211, 1.3)=Skt. *prathama*, 'first'.

*Paṇḍitasiri* (1A, 1.11)=Skt. *Paṇḍitāśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*patata* (6B II, 1.2; 6B IV, 1.2)=Skt. *pāṭita*. See *padita*.

*patīṭhavita* (7B II), *patīṭhāvita* (7B I, 1.2)=Skt. *pratīṣṭhāpita*, 'set up'.

*patiya* (XXIX, 139)=Pkt. *pattiyā*=Skt. *patnyā*, 'by [one's] wife'. See *pattī*.

*pattī* (XXXIV, 22, 1.5)=Skt. *patnī*. See *patiya*.

*pathama* (XXXIV, 22, 1.8)=Skt. *prathama*, 'first'.

*pañchadaśa* (2B, 1.6)=Skt. *pañchadaśa*, 'fifteenth'.

*paṭīṭhapati* (2A, 1.8)=Skt. *pratīṣṭhāpāpati*, 'sets up'.

*padita* (6B I, 1.3; 6B III, 1.3)=Skt. *pāṭita*, 'killed [in battle]'. See *paḍi(dī)ta*, *patata*.

*pañika-samī* (1B, 1.5)=Skt. *pañīka-śreṇī*, 'the guild of the dealers in leaves (i.e. betel leaves)'.

*Paraḍika* (1B, 1.6), personal name of a male.

*para-samaya* (XXXIV, 211, 1.6). See *sakodamaya-parasamaya*.

*parityaj*; cf. *prāya[m=a\*]pi na pari[tya\*]kṣh[ya\*]jati* (XXXIV, 203, 1.5), 'would not spare even one's life'.

*pariveṣa* (4), 'a Buddhist monk's private chamber in a monastery'. See *Mahādevī-pariveṣa*.

*Paravātaka* (6C I, 1.1), probably 'a resident of Pavayāta'.

*paṇadata* (6B IV, 1.2), *paṇādita* (6B I, 1.2; 6B II, 1.2; 6B III, 1.2)=Skt. *praṇādita*, 'favoured'.



*pasāḍaka* (XXXIII, 230, L1)=Skt. *praśāḍaka*, literally 'one who causes serenity or happiness [in the minds of the people]', figuratively 'one who converts [people] to the Buddhist faith'.

*paśunāḥ* (XXXIV, 22, L3)=Skt. *prasnashā*, 'daughter-in-law's daughter-in-law', i. e. 'grandson's wife'.

*pāchaka* (7A, L1), 'a cook'.

*pāda-saṅghāḥ* (XXXIII, 230, L3)=Skt. *pāda-saṅghāta*, 'a pair of feet', i. e. 'foot-prints'.

*piya-bhātuka* (2A-B, L13)=Skt. *piya-bhāt/pīka*, 'dear brother'.

*Puḍokēḍa* (XXXIV, 19, L10), name of a village.

*puta* (1A, L2, etc.)=Skt. *putra*, 'a son'.

*putra* (XXXIV, 19, L1, 6, 8), 'a son'.

*Purāṣa-puruṣa* (XXXIV, 202, L1), 'the primeval male', epithet of the god Nātāyaka.

*puva-diśā-bhūge* (XXXIV, 311, ll.4-5)=Skt. *pūrna-dīśā-bhūge*, 'in the eastern direction [of]', 'to the east [of]'.

*purika-seni* (1B, L5)=Pali *pūrika-senī*, Skt. *pūpika-senī*, 'a guild of confectioners'.

*Pushabhadravāmīn* (XXXIV, 19, ll.1, 10), name of a deity (otherwise called Mahādeva), with the word *vāmīn* suffixed to it.

*Pushyakamḍiya* (XXXIV, 19, L6), probably a mistake for *Pushyakandīya*, name of a family.

*Perajatisiri* (1A, L10), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Peramañi-bhaṇḍa* (XXXIV, 209, l. 11; 11, L4)=Skt. *bhaṇḍa*, 'a soldier fighting under [the command of a general named] Peramañi'.

*Peribāḍha* (XXXIV, 202, L2), name of a family or clan.

*pauṣa* (XXXIII, 149, L4; XXXIV, 19, L5), 'grandson (son's son)'.

*pratimā* (4), 'an image'.

*pratishthāpita* (4; XXXIV, 19, L10), 'set up'.

*prathamā* (1A, L3), 'first'.

*praputra* (XXXIV, 19, L4), 'great-grandson (son of one's son's son)'.

*prabha* (XXXIII, 149, L1), 'the master', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula-Chāntamāla. Cf. *sāmi* and *vāmīn*.

*prākāra* (XXXIV, 203, L4), 'a wall'.

*prāsāda* (XXXIII, 149, L5), 'a temple'.

*Ba[raṇa]kīya* (4), probably 'a resident of Baraṇaka'.

*Bahaphala-sagotā* (XXXIV, 22, ll.6-7)=Skt. *Bṛhatphala-sagotā*, 'a lady belonging to the Bṛhatphala gotra', epithet of Varmahatā who was the daughter of a *Mahākshatrapa* and a queen of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula-Chāntamāla.

*Bāpatisiri* (1A, L11), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*bālaka* (XXXIII, 191, L7), 'a son'.

*bālaka* (XXXIII, 191, L8—wrongly read), 'a daughter'.



*biviga* (1A, L3 : XXXIV, 211, L3)=Skt. *dvīga*, 'second'.

*Buddha* (4), the great founder of Buddhism.

*Buddha-Dhamma-Saṅgha-maṅgala-nagara-ara-girivara-nigamavara-bahu-deyadhama-kāraka* (2A, ll. 9-11) : *\*girivara-nigamavara-bahu-deyadhama-kāraka* (2B, ll. 10-12)=Skt. *Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha-maṅgala-nagaravara-girivara-nigamavara-bahu-deyadhama-kāraka*, 'one who has bestowed many religious gifts at prominent cities and prominent townships as well as on prominent hills in connection with festivals celebrated in honour of the Buddhist Trinity, viz. the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha', epithet of a pious man named Chandraśrī (Chandraśrī).

*Buddhamañcā* (XXXIII, 191, L6), personal name of a female, in which the suffix *amañcā* is added to the name *Buddhā* (Skt. *Buddhā*).

*Bodhisiri* (1A, L10)=Skt. *Bodhisiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Bhagaphula* (1B, L7), personal name of a male.

*bhaga[ra]* (7B IV)=Skt. *bhagavat*, 'the lord', probably the epithet of a deity. See *bhagavat*.

*bhagavach-chakṛtyā* (XXXIV, 203, L6), 'by dint of divine power'.

*bhagavat*, epithet of divinities, (XXXIV, 203, L3), of the god Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin : (XXXIV, 202, L1), of the god Nārāyaṇa : (1B, ll. 1, 4), of the god [Naga]śvaraśvāmin : (XXXIV, 19, ll. 1, 10), of the god Puṣpakabhadraśvāmin : (4 : XXXIII, 191, L1 : 230, L3) of the Buddha : (XXVI, 135), of the god Halaṇḍipuraśvāmin. See *bhagava*.

*Bhagavatā* (1B, L3)=Skt. *Bhāgavatā* or *Bhagvatī*, personal name of a lady.

*bhagini* (XXXIII, 191, L5)=Skt. *bhagini*, 'sister' (correctly *bhaginīnuṣ*=Skt. *bhaginībhyām*).

*bha[ra]* (7B II), probably=Skt. *bhaṭṭāra*.

*bhaḍa* (6B I, L3 : 6B II, L2, 6B III, L2, 6B IV, L4)=Skt. *bhaḍa*, 'a soldier'.

*Bhata* (6B I, L2)=Skt. *Bhakta*, personal name of a male.

*Bhadaphula* (XXXIV, 210, L2), probably the personal name of a male.

*Bharadvāja-ayatra* (XXXIV, 203, L6), 'one belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra*', epithet of *Aśvāyaśa* Tishyasāman.

*bhāra-sala* (2A, L5), probably a mistake for *bhaḍāra-sālā*=Skt. *bhāḍāra-sālā*, 'store-room'.

*bhāriyaka* (2A, L15), *bhāriyaka* (2B, L15), probably=Skt. *bhāriyaka* ; but the meaning of the damaged passage is doubtful.

*bhāriyā* (7B I, L1 : XXXIII, 191, ll. 6, 7)=Skt. *bhāriyā*, 'wife'.

*bhāriyāya* (4), correctly *bhāriyāyā*, 'together with one's wife'.

*bhāginīyī* (XXXIV, 19, L7), 'one's sister's daughter'.

*bhātuno* (XXXIII, 191, L5)=Skt. *bhātub*, 'of one's brother'.

*bhātu-bhāriyā* (XXXIII, 191, ll. 6-7)=Skt. *bhātri-bhāriyā*, 'one's brother's wife'.

*bhāmjitava* (XXXIV, 210, L3)=Skt. *bhaktavya*, 'to be enjoyed'.

*bho* (XXXIV, 20, L12), probably an abbreviation of *bhogika* or *bhojaka*, possibly meaning 'an *āśmādā*'.

*[Makā]lā* (7B, I, L1), personal name of a female.

*Makula* (7B IV), probably=Skt. *Mukunda*, personal name of a male.



- Maṅgalaraṇya-cāstarya* (6B I, 1.1; 6B II, 1.1; 6B III, 1.1; 6B IV, 1.1; XXXIV, 209, II, 1.1) =Skt. *Maṅgalāraṇya-cāstarya*, 'a resident of Maṅgalāraṇya'.
- Maṅḡuniri* (1A, 1.3), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.
- maṇḍapa* (7A, 1.2), probably 'a hall'.
- mañā-pātu* (2A-B, 1.14)=Skt. *māñā-pitri*, 'parente'.
- matōga* (XXXIII, 191, 1.5)=Skt. *mātuh*, 'of [one's] mother'.
- matāhi* (1A, 1.6)=Skt. *mātrībhiḥ*, 'by [one's] mothers (i.e. mother and step-mothers)'. Cf. *mātūga*.
- Muluvaiśiri* (1A, 1.9)=Skt. *Mṛiduvāśiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.
- [*Me?*] *robāga* (XXXIV, 209, II, 1.2), probably=Skt. *Marabāṣam*, Maraba being the name of a family.
- masanumasika* (1B, 1.4)=Skt. *māsānumāsika*, 'accruing month by month'.
- Maka-Koḍuvaku* (6C II, 1.2), literally 'resident of the bigger Koḍuva', the place probably being the home of a *Mahā-mūpati-Mahātalaru*.
- Makotarikā* (1B, 1.3)=Skt. *Makattarikā*, feminine form of *Makattaraka*. See *Aicpara-makattarikā*.
- mahadeviḥi* (1A, 1.6)=Skt. *mahādevībhiḥ*, 'by one's queens', used in respect of the queens of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla. See *Mahādevi*.
- Maharaja-caṣṭhamāna* (7B II)=Skt. *Mahārāja-caṣṭhamāna*, a religious establishment maintained by a king. Cf. *Seṭṭhiura-caṣṭhamāna*.
- Mahavalabhikā* (3, 1.5), epithet of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta, referring to the locality (*Mahāvalabhī*) whence she hailed.
- Mahāvinasaliya* (2B, II.7-8). See *Aparamahāvinasaliya*.
- Mahākhatapa-dhātūga* (XXXIV, 22, 1.5)=Skt. *Mahākhatapa-dhātuh*, 'of the daughter of the *Mahākhatapa*', used in relation to a queen of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula-Chāntamūla.
- Mahāgrāma* (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), 'the ruler of a *Mahāgrāma* (group of villages; a district)' or 'an inhabitant of a locality called *Mahāgrāma*', epithet of *Mahātalaru Mahādanḍanāyaka* Śivalepa.
- Mahātalaru*, official designation of several persons: (6C II, 1.4), of *Mahā-mūpati* Ayabhuti (Āryabhūti); (XXXIV, 19, 1.7), of Uta(ita)ra; (XXXIV, 19, 1.6), of Khadulāhāla and of Skandagopa; (XXXIV, 204, 1.2) of Śivalepa; etc. In this designation, *talara* means *tukṣa-bhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭa-bandha-vibhūṣita-rājapūṇiṇya* (i.e. a viceroy or subordinate ruler) according to Vinayaviṇaya's *Subodhikā* commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* (above, Vol. XX, p. 7, note 1), though *talāra*, no doubt the same as *talavara*, is explained in Hemachandra's *Deśanāmamūlā* (V, 3), as *nagara-rakhaṇa* while *talāri*, another modification of the same word, is described as a *koṭwāl* (i.e. prefect of the police of a town) in the *Āyamaśākhya* and other works (*Bihar. Vid.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 127 ff.). The word is found in Telugu-Kannada as *talāri* and in Tamil as *talaiyāri*, 'the village workman, one of the subordinate officers of a village' (Wilson's Glossary).
- Mahādanḍanāyaka* (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), 'a chief leader of forces', official designation of a military officer often employed as the governor of a district or province.
- Mahādeva* (XXXIV, 19, 1.1), same as the god Śiva.
- Mahādevi*, title applied to the queens of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula-Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 19, II.8-9), to Kupapaśai; (XXIX, 139), to Khadujuvulā; (XXXIV, 22, 1.6), to Vaimabhaṭṭā. See *Mahādevi*.



*Mahādevī-parivṛṇa* (4), 'the private chamber of a Buddhist monk, which has been built by a queen'  
*Mahāsamudā* (XXXIV, 203, 1.4), name of a well.

*mahā-nigāya* (2A, 1.6, 2B, 1.8)=Skt. *mahā-nikāya*, probably the dwelling of Buddhist monks of a particular community.

*Mahārāja*, royal title applied to the Ikshvāku kings often also called *Kṛjan*; (4; XXIX, 139; XXXIV, 19, 11.1, 5, 9; 22, 1.4), to Eḥuvula-Chāntamūla; (1A, 1.1; B, 1.1; 2B, 1.1; XXXIV, 22, 1.1), to Chāntamūla; (XXVI, 125), to Ruṣapurushadatta (Rudrapurushadatta); (2B, 1.3; XXXIII, 191, 1.2; XXXIV, 19, 1.4; 22, 1.3), to Virapurushadatta.

*Mahārājakumāra* (XXXIV, 19, 1.8), designation of the Ikshvāku prince Virapurushadatta, son of king Eḥuvula-Chāntamūla.

*Mahāvihāra-vāsī* (XXXIII, 250, 1.2), 'a dweller in the Mahāvihāra [at ancient Vijayapura in the Nāgarjunikonda valley]'; explained by some as the name of a community of Ceylonese monks.

*Mahāsenapati*, *Mahāsenāpati*, 'a chief commander of the forces', official designation of several persons; (6C II, 1.1), of Ayabhatti (Āryabhatti); (3, 1.6), of the Ikshvāku prince EB-Ehāvula-dāsaminaka; (6A, 11.3-4), of Chaitapaḥa of the Kuṣāhaka family; (XXXIV, 19, 1.8), of the Ikshvāku prince Virapurushadatta.

*Mahīsarasirī* (1A, 1.8)=Skt. *Mahīśarāsirī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sirī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*mahisī* (3, 1.5)=Skt. *mahisā* (XXXIV, 19, 1.8), 'queen'.

*Māgha* (XXXIII, 149, 1.2), name of the eleventh lunar month.

*Māḥari-putra* (XXXIV, 19, 1.4), 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Māhara gotra', metonymic of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta.

*Māḥari-puta* (1A, 1.2), *Māḥari-pūta* (3, 1.4), *Māḥari-putra* (XXXIII, 191, 1.2)=Skt. *Māḥari-putra*, q. v.

*mātūga* (XXXIV, 22, 1.6)=Skt. *mātuh*, 'of [one's] mother (i.e. step-mother)'. Cf. *matūhā*.

*Mātasirī* (1A, 1.7)=Skt. *Mitrasirī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sirī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*mukhya-pāchaka* (7A, 1.1), 'the chief cook'.

*Muḍarā* (XXXIV, 203, 1.4), name of a locality.

*Mūlasirī* (1A, 1.8)=Skt. *Mūlāsirī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sirī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Mūlabhuta* (6C I, 1.4)=Skt. *bhūta* or *bhūti*, personal name of an *ācārika*.

*Yakṣikā* (3, 1.5), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta, in which *nīkā* (*annikā*) is a suffix.

*yati-samaya-kṣamadhikata* (5, 1.3)=Skt. *yati-śramaya-ekandhikṛita*, 'highly honoured by the Brāhmaṇical ascetics and Buddhist monks', epithet of a religious personage.

*Yavana* (XXXIII, 250, 1.1), probably the ancient Greek settlement in the Kābul valley in Afghanistan.

*Yorājibhī* (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), probably a mistake for *Yonorājibhī*=Skt. *Yavana-rājaiḥ*, 'by the Yavans (i.e. Greek) rulers'.

*rañño* (1A, 1.2, etc.), *rañṇa* (2A, 1.2; 3, 1.3; XXXIV, 23, 1.5)=Skt. *rājñah* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), 'the king's'. See *Rājan*.



[*Rat*]*aputa* (5B II, 1.2), personal name of a male.

*Rājāka* (5B I, 1.2; 6B IV, 1.1) = Skt. *Rājāka*, probably 'the governor of a territorial unit called *rājāka*'.

*Ratavasa* (1B, 1.3) = Skt. *Ratavāsā* or *Ratirāsā*, personal name of a female.

*Rājān*, royal title; (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), of the Ābhira king Vasaushena; (XXXIV, 19, 1.2, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 19, 1.7, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Eburula-Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 22, 1.5-6), of the Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta; (1A, 1.2, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta. Cf. *Mahārāja*.

*Rājamasiri-kulaka* (XXXIV, 209, 1.1.7), name of a family.

*Rāmasiri*. See *Kūmasiri*.

*Rāmārya* = *eva sarva-jan-ābhīrāmārya* (XXXIV, 19, 1.5) 'of one who is loved by all people like Rāma', used in the description of the Ikshvāku king Eburula-Chāntamūla.

*rāja* (XXXIV, 203, 1.5) = Skt. *rāja*, 'one who is] straightforward'.

*Rudrapurushadatta* (XXXIV, 22, 1.5-6) = Skt. *Rudrapurushadatta*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king. See *Rudrapurushadatta*.

*Rudradāmas* (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), personal name of a Śaka resident of Avanti.

*rudhara-bhava* (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), probably = Skt. *adunbham-bhava*, 'born (i.e. made out) of *adunbham* wood', epithet of the god Ashṭabhojavarāma.

*Rudrapurushadatta* (XXVI, 125—wrongly read), the same as Skt. *Rudrapurushadatta*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king. See *Rudrapurushadatta*.

*ropita* (XXXIV, 203, 1.5), 'caused to be planted'.

*saṅga-nyāsana-prema-nishṭha* (XXXIV, 203, 1.5-6), 'one who is steadfast in his love for planting *nyāsana* tree'.

*saṅghamāna* (2A, 1.6; 2B, 1.8; 7B II) = Skt. *saṅghamāna*, a kind of religious establishment.

*vadhi* (1B, 1.4) = Skt. *eridhi*, 'interest'.

*Vaṇavāsa* (XXXIII, 250, 1.1), the district round modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District of Mysore. See *Vāṇavāsa*.

*Vaṇavāsa* (XXXIV, 22, 1.7) = Skt. *Vaṇavāsa*, personal name of a lady who was a daughter of a *Mahākūṭaraja* and a queen of the Ikshvāku king Eburula-Chāntamūla.

*Vardhamāna* (XXXIV, 203, 1.6), personal name of a male.

*varsha* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), 'year'.

*vataha-jakaha* (1), 'a fortnight of the rainy season', the rainy season (Śrāvana-badī) 1 to Kārttika-suddī 15) being one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India and the two others being *grishma* and *hemanta*.

*vata-pata* (1A, 1.3) = Skt. *vataha-pata*, literally 'one hundred years', used in the sense of 'long life'.

*Vasīṭhi-pata* (1B, 1.2) = Skt. *Vasīṭhi-patra*, 'mm of a lady born in a family belonging to the *Vasīṭha* gotra', metonymy of the Ikshvāku king Eburula-Chāntamūla. See *Vasīṭhi-pata*, etc.

*Vasaushena* (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), personal name of an Ābhira king.

*Vāṇavāsa* (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), 'resident of *Vaṇavāsa* (modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District, Mysore)', epithet of Vishnupurushadatta-Sātakarṇi. See *Vaṇavāsa*.



*vā-pā* (XXXIV, 202, l.1), abbreviation of Pkt. *vāsa-pākha*=*vassa-pakkha*=Skt. *varsha-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the rainy season'. See *vāsa-pakha*, *varsha-paksha*.

*vāpi* (XXXIV, 203, l.4), 'a well'.

*vāsa-pakha* (1A, l.3), *vāsā-pakha* (XXXIV, 22, l.5)=Skt. *varsha* or *varshā-paksha* 'a fortnight of the rainy season'. See *vā-pā*.

*Vāsiṭhi-puta*, *Vāsiṭhi-putta*, *Vāsiṭhī-putra*, *Vāsiṭhī-puttra*, *Vāsethī-putra*, *Vāse(s)ṭhī-putra*=Skt. *Vāsiṭhī-putra*, 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Vāsiṭhī(ga gotra', metonymic of several rulers; (XXXIV, 202, l.1), of the Ābhīra king Vasudeva; (2B, l.4; XXXIV, 19, l.1), of the Ikshvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla; (1A, l.5; XXXIV, 19, l.2), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 22, l.5), of the Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta. See *Vasīṭhi-puta*.

*vigata-jvar-ālaya* (7A, l.4), probably 'the abode of recluses' or 'temple of the Recluse (Buddha)'.

*Vijayapura* (7B, II)=Skt. *Vijayapura*; q.v.

*Vijaya* (1A, l.3; 1B, l.2), name of a year of the Jupiter's sixty-year cycle, which was the first year of the cycle originally.

*Vijayapura* (2A, l.5; 2B, l.7), *Vijayapuri* (4; XXXIV, 211, l.4), name of the Ikshvāku capital in the Nāgarjunikonda valley.

*vijaya-vijayika* (XXXIV, 19, l.9), better *vajaya-vajayika*, 'yielding victory after victory'.

*Vijhambhisiṛi* (1A, l.7)=Skt. *Vindhyaśobhisiṛi*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siṛi*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*vipu-ārttha-kāṅkṣin* (7A, l.5), 'one who wishes for great welfare of all the beings', or 'one who wants salvation'.

*Vibhajavāda* (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Pali *Vibhajjavāda*, Skt. *Vibhajjavāda* or *Vibhajjavādin*, 'belonging to the Vibhajjavāda (Vibhajjavāda) School [of Buddhist monks]'.

*Vira-Arāḍa* . . . (7B, III), partially preserved name of a prince. Cf. the name *Virapurushadatta*.

*Virapurisadatta* (1B, l.2), *Virapurisadatta* (7B, IV), *Virapurisadatta* (2A, l.1), *Virapurisadatta* (XXXIII, 191, l.2; XXXIV, 22, l.3), *Virapurisadatta* (2B, ll. 3-4)=Skt. *Virapurushadatta* (really *Vira-Purushadatta*), personal name of an Ikshvāku king.

*Viśvavardraśivāśānanda-Sātataṇḍi* (XXXIV, 203, l.3), personal name of a resident of Vanavāsa.

*vihāra* (XXXIII, 250, l.3; XXXIV, 211, l.5), 'a Buddhist monastery'.

*vihāra-kāṭa* (7A, l.5), 'the wing of a [Buddhist] monastery'.

*vihāra-mukhya* (1A, l.4), 'the principal monastery'.

*Virapurushadatta* (XXXIV, 19, l.4). See *Virapurisadatta*, etc.

*Virapurushadatta* (XXXIV, 19, l.9), personal name of an Ikshvāku prince who was a son of king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla, and grandson of king Virapurushadatta.

*vijayika* (1B, l.2)=Skt. *vajayika*, 'yielding victory'.

*Vaira-nāyaka-puta* (XXXIII, 191, l.4)=Skt. *Vaira-nāyaka-putra*, 'son of Vaira, the merchant', epithet of Saṅgha II, grandson of Saṅgha I.

*Vairaviraṇaka* (XXXIII, 191, l.7), personal name of a male, the name being *Vairavira* (Skt. *Vairāṇḍī*), with the honorific *siṛi*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it, and also *naka* (*nāṇaka*), a suffix.

*Solo* (XXXIV, 203, l.3), name of a people.

*śatru-gaṇ-śamardīna* (XXXIV, 203, l.5), 'one who has subdued the hosts of one's enemies', epithet of an engraver.



*Siṃhasoba* (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), correctly *Siṃhasopa*, personal name of a male. Cf. the name *Siṃhasāyana* or *Siṃhasāyana*.

*śukla-pakṣa* (XXXIII, 149, 1.2), 'bright fortnight'.

*śailamūṛṭi* (4), 'made of stone'.

*śrī* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), honorific suffixed to the name of Bhavala, i.e. the Ikṣvāku king Bhuvula Chāntamūla. Cf. *śrī*.

*Śrīparvata* (4), ancient name of the Nallamalai range.

*śrīśāhāyā* (4), correctly *śrīśāhāyā*, 'together with the [śrīśāhā] wife'.

*sāma* (XXXIV, 19, 1.2), abbreviation of *samvatsāra*=Skt. *samvatsara*, 'the [regnal] year'.

*samvatsāra* (XXXIII, 191, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 1.7; XXXIV, 211, 1.2)=Skt. *samvatsara* (4; XXXIV, 202, 1.1), 'the [regnal] year'. See *samvatsāra*.

*sakasamaya-parasamaya* (XXXIV, 211, 1.6)=Skt. *sakasamaya-parasamaya*, 'one's own doctrine and other rival doctrines', not the Jain *saṃsamaya* and *para-samaya* explained in Kunda-kund-śāhāyā's *Samayasūtra* as respectively 'the soul which is consecrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and is self-absorbed' and 'the soul which stands in the condition determined by karma and is absorbed in non-self' (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 272).

*saga-gata* (1A, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 1.8)=Skt. *sarga-gata*, 'one who has gone to heaven (i.e. died)'.

*Sagara-Dilīpa-Ambarisha-Yudhishthira-tulya-dharmma-vijaya* (XXXIV, 19, 1.5), 'one who has lawfully obtained victories like Sagarā, Dilīpa, Ambarisha and Yudhishthira', epithet of the Ikṣvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla.

*sagatā* (XXXIV, 22, 1. 6-7)=Skt. *sagatā*. See *Bahupala-sagatā*.

*Samghamīdā* (XXXIII, 191, 1.7), personal name of a female, the real name being *Samghā* and *amīdā* (*amīdā*) a suffix.

*Samghala* (XXXIII, 191, 1.4), personal name of a householders as well as of his grandson (son's son).

*Saṃjayapurīca* (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), 'resident of Saṃjayapura (probably modern Sahjan in the Thana District of Bombay)'.

*Saṭhapa* (1B, 1.3; XXXIV, 210, 1.2), personal name of males. Cf. the name *Saṭhagopa* popular in the Tamil-speaking area.

*sata* (XXVI, 123), mistake for *sara*, Pkt. abbreviation of Skt. *samvatsara*, 'the [regnal] year'.

*sata* (XXXIV, 210, 1.6)=Skt. *sata*, 'a hundred'.

*sathama* (3, 1.3)=Skt. *saptama*, 'seventh'.

*Satīśvarī* (1A, 1.10)=Skt. *Satīśvarī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *śrī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*satya-vrata* (XXXIV, 203, 1.5), 'one who has taken a vow of truthfulness'.

*sa-sāhā-mīta-bāndha[re]* (XXXIII, 191, 1.9)=Skt. *sa-sāhā-mītra-bāndhaca*, 'together with one's kinsmen, friends and relations'.

*Samagundakā-sathama* (XXXIV, 210, 1.2)=Skt. *sāmaguṇḍa*, 'resident of [a locality called] Samagundaka'.

*Samara-vijaya* (XXXIII, 149, 1.4), 'victor in (or, by means of) battles', epithet of Saṃjayati Amīdā.

*Samudā* (1B IV)=Skt. *Samudā*, probably a personal name.

*Samudamīdā* (XXXIII, 191, 1.6), personal name of a female, the real name being *Samudā* (Skt. *Samudā*) and *mīdā* a suffix.

*Samudraśrī* (1A, 1. 11)=Skt. *Samudraśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *śrī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.



*Samusiri* (1A, 17), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it; possibly a mistake for *Samudasi*=Skt. *Samudraśrī*.

*sampadita* (XXVI, 125)=Skt. *sampradāta*, 'given'.

*Samāsambuddha* (XXXIII, 191, l. 1)=Skt. *Samyaksambuddha*, 'the perfectly enlightened one', i.e. the Buddha.

*Samyaksambuddha* (4), epithet of the Buddha.

*Sarasikā* (1A, l. 13), personal name of a female.

*sarva-guṇa-pārami(mā)-prāpta* (4), 'one who attained perfection in all the [good] qualities', epithet of the Buddha.

*Sarvadev-ādhipāya* (XXXIII, 149, l. 5), 'abode of the god Sarva (i.e. Śiva)', epithet of the *prāsāda* (temple) built by Talavara Eliśī.

*Sarva-satto-ottama* (4), 'the best among all beings', epithet of the Buddha.

*samvachhara* (1A, l. 3; 2A, l. 3; 7B IV; 2B, l. 5; 3, l. 2)=Skt. *saṃvatsara* 'the year'. See *samvachhara*.

*sarvathava apatīhata-samākṣaya* (1A, l. 5)=Skt. *sarvathāśakya apratīhata-samākṣaya*, 'of one whose will was unchecked in all matters', used in the description of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

*sarva-loka-mahita* (1B, l. 1)=Skt. *sarva-loka-mahita*, 'honoured by the whole world (or, all people)', epithet of the god Nalagiasarāśmi (=Narasavāmin).

*sarva-sattvām* (XXXIII, 200, l. 3)=Skt. *sarva-sattvām*, 'of all the beings'.

*sarva-sut-ottama* (XXXIII, 191, l. 1)=Skt. *sarva-sutta-ottama*, 'best among all the beings', epithet of the Samyaksambuddha (i.e. the Buddha).

*sakamati* (1B, l. 3), literally 'one who has the same mind or thought as another', i.e. 'an associate'.

*sahodarāhī* (1A, l. 6)=Skt. *sahodarāhī*, 'by [one's] sisters'.

*Sāgurashnikā* (XXXIII, 191, l. 6), personal name of a female, the real name being *Sāgura* and *ashnikā* a suffix.

*Sāntakarggi* (XXXIV, 203, l. 3). See *Vishvapurudraśivalīśvara-Sāntakarggi*.

*sāmi*=Skt. *sāmīn*, a royal title of foreign origin later adopted by some indigenous Indian kings including the Ikshvākus; (3, l. 1), title of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula Chāntamūla. See *sāmīn*.

*sāma* (1B, ll. 1, 4; XXVI, 125)=Skt. *sāmīn*, suffixed to the name of a god. See *sāmīn*.

*sālā* (2A, l. 15; 2B, l. 10)=Skt. *śālā*, probably 'a hall'.

*sari*=Skt. *śrī*, honorific prefixed to the names of many persons, especially rulers; (1B, l. 2; 2B, l. 5; 3, l. 2; 4; 5, l. 1, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula-Chāntamūla; (6A, ll. 4-5), of *Mahāsāpata* Chishtapala; (1A, l. 2 etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla; (1A-B, l. 3; 2A, l. 1; 2B, ll. 3-4; 3, l. 4), of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta.

*siri* (2A, l. 13; 2B, l. 13)=*śrī*, honorific suffixed to the names of males. Cf. *Khuvulaśrī* and *śrī*.

*siri* (1A, ll. 6-12)=Skt. *śrī*, honorific suffixed to the names of ladies.

*Siriparata* (2B, l. 6; XXXIV, 211, ll. 3-4)=Skt. *Sripārata*, ancient name of the Nallamata range.

*Sivanāgatsiri* (1A, ll. 11-12)=Skt. *Sivanāgatsrī*, personal name of a lady with the honorific *sri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Sisaba* (XXXIV, 209, ll. 3-4), personal name of a soldier.

*sukh-athana* (2B, l. 17), *sukh-athana* (2A, l. 17)=Skt. *sukh-āthana*, 'a prayer for the happiness [of]'. See *hita-sukh-athanāya*.

*sunkā* (XXXIV, 22, l. 4)=Skt. *sanskā*, 'daughter-in-law'.



- supagula* (XXXIV, 210, 1, 7) = Skt. *suprayukta*, 'well-fixed (i.e. well-deposited [in a guild])'.
- śeṣhi-pramukha* (IB, 1, 7) = Skt. *śeṣhī-pramukha*, 'a guild headed by the banker'.
- śeṣhi-bhūṭā* (IB, 1, 3) = Skt. *śeṣhī-bhūṭā*, 'daughter of a banker'.
- Śeṣhīnara-vardhamāna* (2A, 1, 6, 2B, 1, 5) = Skt. *śeṣhīnara-vardhamāna*, a religious institution maintained by a banker. Cf. *Maharaja-vardhamāna*.
- Seta-giri* (XXXIV, 203, 1, 4) = *Seta-giri*, name of a hill bordering the Nāgarjunikonda valley, mentioned as Seta-giri in a Nāsik inscription (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 197) in the description of the Bātavāhana king Gaṇiamputra Śāstakarni.
- Seṇapati*, 'a leader of forces', official designation of several persons; (XXXIII, 149, 1, 4), of Apikki; (6B III, 1, 1), of Karadara-śumāra; (6B II, 1, 1), of Rataputa.
- seṇa* (IB, 1, 5) = Skt. *śreṇi*, *śreṇī*, 'a guild'.
- Senbaka-Vardhamāna* (XXXIV, 203, 1, 6), 'Vardhamāna belonging to the Senbaka family or clan'.
- seṇṭha* (IB, 1, 3) = Pali *seyyathā*, Skt. *śat* = *yathā*, 'naturally'.
- śeṭa-maṇḍapa* (2A, II, 7-8; 2B, II, 9-10) = Skt. *śeṭa-maṇḍapa*, 'a stone-built hall'.
- Seṇṭamāpura* (XXXIV, 19, 1, 7), probably a person named *Māpura* of the *Seṇṭa* family.
- śuḍhita* (XXXIV, 203, 1, 4) = Skt. *śuḍhita*, 'cleaned (i.e. renovated)'.
- Śaṇḍagopa* (XXXIV, 19, 1, 6) = *Śaṇḍagopa*, personal name of a *Mahāśakrva*.
- śaṇḍa* (7A, 1, 2; XXXIV, 19, 1, 10), correctly *śaṇḍa*, 'a pillar'.
- Syandaka-parvata* (4), name of a hill.
- Syandaka-parvata-śreṣṭhīn* (4), 'a banker residing at [a place at the foot of] the Syandaka-parvata'.
- śra-viṣṭa-ārya-vijaya-kīrti* (XXXIV, 19, 1, 4), 'one who achieved fame for victories obtained by his own prowess', epithet of the Ikṣvāku king Chāntamūla.
- śāṇḍa*, royal title of foreign origin, adopted by indigenous Indian rulers; (XXXIV, 22, 1, 4), of the Ikṣvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla (XXXIV, 21, 1, 2), of the Ikṣvāku king Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 22, 1, 3), of the Ikṣvāku king Virapurnahadatta. See *śāṇḍa*.
- śāṇḍa* (XXXIV, 19, II, 1, 10), suffixed to the name of the god Puṣhpabhadra otherwise called Mahādeva. See *śāṇḍa*.
- Harata* (6B IV, 1, 7), personal name of a male.
- Haladipurasāmi* (XXVI, 120) = Skt. 'śāṇḍa', name of a deity.
- Hārīti-putra* (XXXIV, 19, 1, 8), 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Hārīti gotra', metonymy of the Ikṣvāku prince Virapurnahadatta, son of Bhuvula-Chāntamūla.
- hita-sukh-ātma-ya* (XXXIII, 226, 1, 3) = Skt. *hita-sukh-ātmanya*, 'with a prayer for the welfare and happiness [of]'.
- hiraṇya-koti-go-sahasaka-kala-sahasaka-pradāya* (1A, II, 4-5) = Skt. *hiraṇya-koti-go-sahasaka-kala-sahasaka-pradāya*, 'one who bestowed crores of gold [coins], lakhs of cows and lakhs of plough measures of land', epithet of the Ikṣvāku king Chāntamūla.
- Hamaṇḍa-kanya* (XXXIII, 149, 1, 3), 'son of the fire god', epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.
- h-ma* (5, 1, 2), abbreviation of *hemanta*, 'the winter season (Mārgaśrīra-tuṣī 1 to Phālguna-sudī 15)', one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India, the two others being *grishma* and *varsha*.



# No. 2—KILARATTI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA SOMESVARA I, SAKA 968

(1 Plate)

SHRINIVAS RIT I, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.4.1963)

In the course of my epigraphical survey of the Ling-nagar Taluk in the Raichur District, Mysore, in September 1959, I visited a village named Kilaratti. The inscription<sup>1</sup> edited here was discovered in that village. The stone bearing the inscription is now fixed into the ceiling of the Hanuman temple outside the village. The record is engraved in twenty lines and covers a space about 3 feet 4 inches in length and 3 feet in breadth. The stone is split in the middle; but fortunately no letters are lost. The first three lines of the inscription are, however, difficult to copy owing to the presence of a big stone beam.

The characters of the epigraph are Kannada and its language is Kannada prose, except a verse in Sanskrit in lines 18-19. As regards paleography, three different forms of the medial *a* sign are worth noticing: cf. *ju* in *\*dindāntamāra* (line 8), *ju* in *nelarāṇaṇa* (line 9) and *pu* in *puṇa-saṅgāra* (line 15). The *e* sign has sometimes a peculiar form; cf. *te* and *le* in *\*kēṇa nelarāṇaṇa* (line 9). The letter *ph* is distinguished from *p* by a loop in the left arm of *p*; cf. *phalam*=*utlu* (line 17). As regards orthography, notice may be made of the reduplication of certain consonants following *r*.

The date of the record is Śaka 968, Vyaya, Pushya ka. 9, Wednesday, Uttarāyana, Makara-saṅkrānti. The details regularly correspond to December 24, 1046 A.D.

The epigraph begins with the usual praśasti of the Western Chalukya kings and refers itself to the reign of Trailōkyamalla. Next is introduced the king's younger brother Samarasimhalla Kumāra Jayasimha as administering the Kuttambini-agrahaṇa of Bannigola, situated in the division of Karcāṭhal-300, from his headquarters at the fort of Pannāḷa. The purpose of the record is to register a grant of five maṇḍas of black-soil and five maṇḍas of red-soil land to the god Bhūḍēvara. The grant was entrusted to Dēvasiṅga-bhaḷāra. This portion is followed by imprecatory passages in Kannada and Sanskrit. The last line states that the record was written by Śaṅkha Bannasayya.

The inscription introduces to us the Chalukya prince Jayasimha who is described as the priya-śaṅka (the beloved younger brother) of the ruling king Trailōkyamalla who is none else than Somaśvara I, the son of Jagadēkamalla Jayasimha II, since the date of the record, viz. 1046 A.D. falls in the reign of Somaśvara I Aḥavamalla.

No inscription of a brother of Somaśvara I was so long known.<sup>2</sup> That, however, Somaśvara I had a younger brother is hinted at in a newly discovered inscription from Vāma<sup>3</sup> in the Deglur

<sup>1</sup> It is registered as No. B 494 of A. R. Ep., 1959-60.

<sup>2</sup> Somaśvara I is known to have had two sisters, viz. Hamā or Aravallī married to the Sravastha prince Bhūḍama III (Rasā. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, sheet facing p. 435), and Somaśuddhī (Hpt. Arch. Series, No. 18, Inscription No. 21).

<sup>3</sup> This inscription was copied in October 1962 by my colleague Mr. G. Bhattacharya. It is registered as No. B 216 of A. R. Ep., 1962-63.



Taluk of the Nanded District, while an inscription at Mōrigēri in the Haidargali Taluk of the Bellary District, mentions the name of this brother as Jayasinhha. The former, while giving a genealogical account of the family, describes Trailōkyamalla (Sōmāvara I) as the *agr-ātmaja*<sup>1</sup> or the elder son of Jayasinhha (i.e. Jayasinhha II). Similarly the Mōrigēri inscription describes Sōmāvara I as *Jayasinhha-callaḥḥ-āgraja*, thus indicating that he had a younger brother named Jayasinhha. Again a Tamil inscription from Maṇimaṅgalam, belonging to the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājendra, while describing the famous battle of Koppam which the Chōḷa king fought with Sōmāvara I, mentions Jayasinhha, a younger brother of the Chālukya king, among the heroes who fell in the battle.<sup>2</sup> The editor of the Maṇimaṅgalam record observed, 'This prince is not mentioned in the Western Chālukya inscriptions.' About the same prince, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri remarked, 'This could not have been the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI; he survived the battle of Koppam for many years'.<sup>3</sup> But there is no doubt now of the existence of Samaratamalla known as Jayasinhha, the younger brother of Sōmāvara I. The reason for the absence of the name of this prince in the usual genealogy of the Chālukya family is apparently his untimely death at the battle of Koppam which is supposed to have taken place in 1053 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

The present record states that, in 1046 A.D., prince Jayasinhha was governing Bannigōḷa from the fort of Pannāḷe where his paternal aunt Alkhōḍvi is known to have had her headquarters in 1050 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Bannigōḷa came to be administrated by Kāladāśvi, queen of Sōmāvara I, in 1055 A.D.<sup>6</sup>

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are Karaḍikāl-Ṣoḷ, Bannigōḷa and Pannāḷe. Karaḍikāl, the headquarters of the division, is the present Karaḍikāl about two miles away from Chikāvasi the headquarters of the Lōngengat Taluk. Bannigōḷa is the modern Bannigōḷ in the same Taluk. This village is described as a *Kuttamhatti-agraḥāra* in the present record as well as the Bannigōḷ inscription referred to above. It is difficult to make out the exact import of the expression *kuttamhatti* which also occurs as *kutti shayitti* in some other records. It may be suggested that this is a corrupt form of *kuṣumba-ṣṭhāna*, i.e. a holding given for the maintenance of one's family. I am unable to locate Pannāḷe<sup>7</sup> which was apparently somewhere near Bannigōḷ.

I am thankful to my colleague Mr. B. R. Gopal who kindly drew my attention to the Maṇimaṅgalam record referred to above.

<sup>1</sup> *SIJ*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Jayasinhha-Jayasinhhaśaśi tal-āgr-ātmajaśaśi mētra-nāḥḥam Trailōkyamallaśaśi* (lines 27-28).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *SIJ*, Vol. III, p. 60; *Chāḷukki-kimbi Jayasinhgum* (line 9).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 24, note.

<sup>5</sup> *The Ollas*, p. 278, note 74.

<sup>6</sup> S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> See *SIJ*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 86.

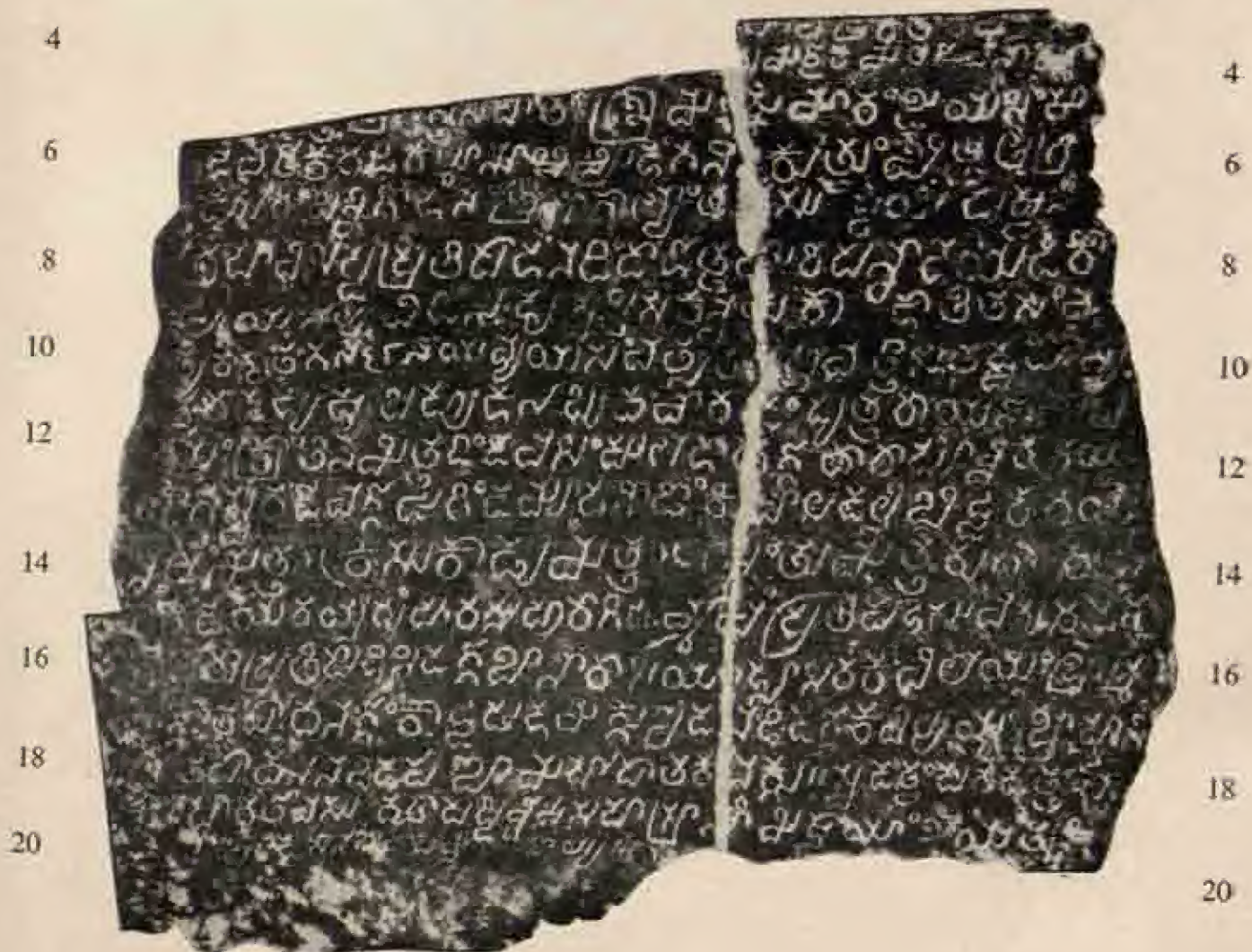
<sup>8</sup> A. R. Zp., 1907-08, No. B 342.

<sup>9</sup> The Śūlbaṇa shrines of Karaḍ were associated with a Pannāḷa-durga or Prānāḷa-durga which was identified by Fleet with Panhāḷa, twelve miles to the north-west of Kolhapur (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 246, 248). An inscription from Śūlbaṇa, Vol. XV, pp. 78 E.L. dated Saka 912, represents Alkhōḍvi as governing the divisions of Khekkhāḷa 70, Tōṅgēre 60 and Mhāvāḷi 140; from the *śaśi* of Pannāḷeys 10. In another inscription from Karaḍ (SIJ, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 86) dated Saka 972, the same lady is stated to have been governing the same divisions with an additional one, viz. Nigadage 70, from Pannāḷaḷa-bōḷa, which is apparently the same as Pannāḷeys 10 of the Śūlbaṇa record. Parasati, the editor of the latter record, followed Fleet in identifying Pannāḷeys 10. I doubt if the Pannāḷeys 10 mentioned in our record could be identified with Panhāḷa near Kolhapur, which is far away from Bannigōḷ.





# KILARATTI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA SOMESVARA I, SAKA 968



Size : One-fifth



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 .....<sup>2</sup>  
 2 .....[Chālukya-ābha]raṇam śrīma[\*]-Traiḷōkyamalladōvara vīja[ya]-  
 3 [rā]jyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi(vṛddhi)-pravarddhamā[na]m=āchamdrārka-tāracharac-  
 4 luttamire [[\*] Ta[\*]-priy-ānu]aś svasti-śrīmat-Samarāṅkamalladōv.-nām-ā-  
 5 di-samasta-prasa(sa)sti-sahitāś śrīmat-Kumārāś Jāyasīṅgha-  
 6 dōvar Karāḍikal-mūnūṇar=olagaṇa kuttumbitti-agra-  
 7 hārāś Bannigoḷanāś tribhōg-ābhyaṁtara-su(śi)ddhiyāś dūshṭa-ni-  
 8 graha-viśi(śi)hṭa-pratipā[śaradūmā=ā]uttamire Pannāḷeyada kō-  
 9 ṭeya nāleṣṭiṇoḷu Svasti Sa(Sa)ka-nripa-kāḷāṭṭa-saṁva-  
 10 tsara-śatamga[\*] 968 neya Vyaya-saṁvatsaram pravarṭtiśe tad-varaś-ābhyaś-  
 11 tarada Puṣhya bahuja 9 Budhavarādamāś-Uttarāyāṇa-Makha(ka)-  
 12 ra-saṁkrānti-mūhūttadāś Dēvasīṅghabha[śara[r\*]gga dhārā-pūrvvakam geydu  
 13 Bhōgōva(śva)radēva[r\*]gga śrīṁda mūḍaṇa dōṣhkiṇoladalli biṭṭa kariya  
 14 nēlaś matṭa\* 5 kiśu-kāḍu matṭa\* 5 aṁṭa matṭaru 10 [[\*] Idha<sup>4</sup>  
 15 Ūroḷeyar-aivarum purassaharāgi dharmavaraś pratipā[śavaru [\*] I(I)dan-ā-  
 16 r=ōrvvaraś pratipā[śaidargga Bāgarāśiyo[ś=śāsira kavileyum brāhma-  
 17 garggaś tapōdhanarggaś koṭṭa pha[am=akku [\*] Idan-a[śidargga(gge) kavileyum brāhma-  
 18 ṇarum tapōdhanah<sup>5</sup>=a[śida paṭṭha-mahā-pāṭakana(v=a)kku || Sva-dattar(tīdā)  
 paradattar(tīdā) vā  
 19 jō harēta vasuṁdhārā[m [\*] āśaṣṭir-vvārāśa-sahaśrāgi mi(vi)hṭā(śhṭhā)lām jāyāś kri-  
 [mih ||]  
 20 Baredaś Sēnabōvarāś Rammaṇayya ||<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.<sup>2</sup> This portion has been covered by the stone beam on which the inscribed slab rests.<sup>3</sup> The *anuvāsa* is a little towards the letter *ra* &c.<sup>4</sup> *Matṭa* stands for *Mattar*.<sup>5</sup> Read *śāśa*.<sup>6</sup> Read *Vārāṇasī* (Sanskrit *Vārāṇasī*).<sup>7</sup> Read *kavileyumam Brāhmagarumam tapōdhanarumam*.<sup>8</sup> This line is engraved in smaller characters.



### ✓ No. 3—FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM AMARAVATI

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 20.4.1960)

The Amarāvati (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscriptions published in Burgess's *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. I, were generally assigned to c. second century A.D. But the characters of one of them, appearing as No. 4 on Plate LVI and recording the gift of a pillar by a general named Muṇakataṭa, were rightly regarded as of the Mauryan type and it was observed on the strength of this evidence that 'though, in the second century, vast additions, if not almost entire reconstruction, were effected, the great *Chaitya* (i.e. the one at Amarāvati) dates originally from: perhaps about 200 B.C.' A number of such early inscriptions were unearthed in the course of later excavations at Amarāvati along with some records of later dates and, while publishing them in the pages of this journal, Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., R.P. Chanda thus observed on the palaeography of the earliest group of them: 'all the signs from the ancient Brāhmī epigraphs from Amarāvati agree with the southern variety of the Aśoka alphabet.'<sup>1</sup> Recently more such inscriptions, along with some of later dates, have been traced or dug up at Amarāvati and these are being noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1959-60. The most important among these epigraphs is a fragmentary record on the side face of a sand stone slab apparently cut out from an inscribed pillar of the Aśokan type probably for the purpose of using it as a stepping stone. It is stated to have been a surface find and was traced in the house of an inhabitant of the area near the great *Stūpa* at Amarāvati. This inscription is edited in the following lines.

The inscribed side of the slab measures about 10 inches in length and 17 inches in height. The fragmentary inscription contains only seven lines of writing and the maximum number of letters in a line of the extant writing is seven in line 5. The first few letters of line 6 and all the letters in line 7 are damaged. A number of letters are apparently lost both at the beginning and at the end of each of the lines. There is some trace of the original 'Mauryan polish' on the inscribed face of the slab, none of the other sides representing the surface of the pillar on which the inscription was originally incised. The Brāhmī characters and Prakrit language, in which the record is written, resemble those of some of the inscriptions of Aśoka discovered in Western and Southern India, especially the Rock Edicts at Girnar. As regards palaeography, it may be observed that the letter *r* is not of the cork-screw but of the straight-vertical type while the right limb of *h* is fashioned by a single vertical line and not by three strokes. The orthography of the inscription is characterised by the use of both *r* and *l*. Although the contents of the fragmentary inscription do not exactly tally with those of any of the known edicts of Aśoka, as will be seen below, the record certainly looks like an as yet unknown pillar edict of the Maurya king Aśoka (c. 269-232 B.C.). If its ascription to the Maurya king is justified, the record under study is the first pillar inscription of Aśoka so far discovered in South India.

<sup>1</sup> Maecron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 260.



It is generally believed that the Aśokan pillars were made at a quarry near Chunar in the Mirzapur District, U.P., and were transported to different places, some of them hundreds of miles away.<sup>1</sup> Historians have praised the ingenuity of the Mauryan engineers and craftsmen for the carriage of such unwieldy masses to great distances especially in view of the extreme difficulty of the conveyance of the Aśokan pillars from Topra in the Punjab and Meerut or U.P. to Delhi and their re-erection there, which is known to have been experienced by the engineers of Shāhān Firāz Tughluq (1351-88 A.D.) of Delhi and is vividly described by Shams-i-Sirāj.<sup>2</sup> The surprise of scholars would no doubt be even greater if Aśoka's artisans were really responsible for transporting one of the pillars from Chunar to Amaravati, a distance of nearly a thousand miles across rivers, forests and mountains.<sup>3</sup>

In the first line of the inscription, we can read *para(r)ṣa(tr)a abh(i)* which is followed by a damaged  $\pi$  so that the second word may be *abhiśata*. Both these words, viz. *paraśata*, 'in the future world', and *abhiśata* (Sanskrit *abhiśhīta*, 'unminded'), are often found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, although not both together in the same sentence. Since it is difficult to accommodate the ideas expressed by the two words in the same context, we may suggest a fullstop between them. The most important linguistic and palaeographical feature of this line of writing is probably noticed in the word *paraśata* in which *tra* appears to be written as *ta*. Both these features are found in the language and palaeography of the Girnar edicts of Aśoka and have not yet been noticed elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

The second line reads *(i)ka kha kkhita [ma]* in which *kha* seems to be the second letter of *idha* so that the words of the sentence stand for Sanskrit *iha khalu likhitaṃ mayā*, 'indeed [it] has been written here by me'. The style of the sentence is no doubt clearly Aśokan and all the four words are found in Aśoka's edicts. It is also well known that the fact of writing down the edicts and getting them inscribed on stone (i.e. rocks and pillars) is often referred to in the known edicts of Aśoka. The word *kha* (Sanskrit *khalu*) is quite common in Aśoka's records,<sup>5</sup> but is rare in other Prakrit inscriptions. The word *idha* occurs several times in the Girnar Rock Edicts (e.g. I, line 3; VI, line 12; XIII, lines 8 and 9) and once in Rock Edict IV at Dhauli.

The third line has *jano bahūni*, 'the people . . . many . . .', and both the words *jano* and *bahū* are found many times in the records of Aśoka. The form *jano* in masc. nom. sing. occurs in Girnar, VII, line 2; IX, lines 1 and 2; X, line 1; XIII, line 5; XIV, line 4; and also in Shahbuzgarhi VII, line 3; IX, line 18; XIII, line 6. The other word appears in the forms *bahūni* and *bahūni* in most versions of the edicts of Aśoka.

Line 4 has *amudagāhī* as followed by a damaged letter which may probably be read as *(me)*. This would stand in Sanskrit as *amudagāhī tat mayā*, '[They] regret. Therefore . . . by me.' The verb *amudagāhī* may also stand for Sanskrit *anudīrṣati*, 'to hear repeatedly as from a sacred authority'. In that case, *anudīrṣate tat mayā* would mean '[The texts] are, therefore, heard

<sup>1</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 1922, pp. 214-15. As is well known, the pillar inscriptions of Aśoka have been found at the following places: (1) Delhi (originally from Topra in the Ambala District, East Punjab), (2) Delhi (originally from Meerut, U.P.), (3) Allahabad (originally from Kocam in the Allahabad District, U.P.), (4-6) Ra-dhish (Lauriya Arera), Mathis (Lauriya Naramdagah or Nandangah) and Rampurva, all three in the Champarn District, North Bihar, (7-8) Rummidei and Nigahagar in the Nepalesa Terai, (9) Sarnath near Banaras, U.P., and (10) Sanchi near Bhilsa, M.P.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology in India, informs us that the pillar is of fine-grained quartzite (metamorphosed sandstone) of the Nallamalai range and not Chunar sandstone.

<sup>4</sup> See *epigraphica* *idha* in Girnar, X, line 3, which is found in Aśoka's other records as *pāṭhīdha* (Dhauli, Jaupada and Erragudi), *pāṭhīdha* (Kābi) and *paraśīdha* (Shahbuzgarhi and Manichra).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Girnar, IX, lines 2 and 3; X, line 4; Kābi, IX, line 23; X, line 28; XIII, line 14; Shahbuzgarhi, VI, line 10; IX, line 18; X, line 22; XIII, line 11; Manichra, VII, line 32; IX, lines 3 and 4; X, line 11; Dhauli, IX, line 3; Jaupada, IX, lines 2, 3 and 5; Pillar Edicts (Topra), I, line 5; III, line 18; VII, line 30; Sarnath, line 3; Calcutta-Bairat, line 2; Brahmagiri, lines 2 and 4; Sildhapura, lines 3, 6 and 9; Jatinga-Ramesvara, line 4.



by me repeatedly.' If there is really any reference to religious texts, they may of course be the *dharma paripya* enumerated in the Calcutta Rairat Minor Rock Edict.<sup>1</sup> This would then show that the inscription under study is almost certainly an Asokan edict. Whatever, however, may be the interpretation of the passage, it is in perfect Asokan style, though the word *amagayasi* is not found in the inscriptions of Asoka as far discovered.

Line 5 has *ra cchajiti vijaye* (Sanskrit . . . *cchajate vijaye*), in which *cchajiti* means 'is broken or cut or destroyed' and *vijaye*, 'in conquest', i.e. 'when one gets a victory (in a battle or war)'. The word *vijaye* may also be regarded as standing for Sanskrit *vijayāḥ* masc. nom. sing. instead of *mame. loc. sing.* This word reminds us of the concluding part of Rock Edict XIII wherein Asoka denounces the conquest of peoples by arms and applauds the conquest of their hearts through *Dharma* and wherein the word *vijaya* occurs several times. The word *cchajiti*, however, is not noticed in the known inscriptions of Asoka.

The extant *alsharas* of line 6 are [*pi cca*] *mama(ma) pi* (Sanskrit *api cca mama api*, 'and then again of myself also'). The last three *alsharas* may also be read as *ma(ma)pi*, 'me too', but that is less likely since, in that sense, *mama pi* would probably be the proper expression in an inscription of Asoka (cf. *ma(ma)* for Sanskrit *mama* in Pillar Edict VI). The first three letters of line 7 look like *pi* (also probably standing for Sanskrit *api* *tatra*, 'too . . . there').

As already indicated above, the language of the inscription closely resembles that of the Girnar version of Asoka's Rock Edicts. In this connection, we may note the retention of *ra* in *para* (to *tra*) without changing it to *la* and the form *jama* in *mame. nom. sing.* *Vijaye*, whether it is *mame. nom. sing.* or *mame. loc. sing.* would also suit the Girnar dialect. As regards *me*, the Girnar edicts have both *mama* and *me* as gen. sing. and *maga* as inst. sing., though the Minor Rock Edicts in Mysore have both *maga* and *me* as inst. sing. and *me* also as gen. sing. Considering the fragmentary nature of the line, it is not impossible to regard *me* in line 2 as gen. sing.

We have seen that the palaeography and language of the inscription under study do not go against its ascription to the Maurya emperor Asoka and that, on the other hand, its style seems to be perfectly Asokan while its contents remind us of those of some of the known edicts of Asoka. The ideas suggested by the words of the inscription are similar to those peculiar to the records of Asoka and have not yet been noticed in any other inscription. The use of the First Person singular is also rare in royal records excepting those of Asoka. These facts, when considered along with others that the inscription was engraved on a sand stone pillar like those of Asoka, that the pillar bore the so-called Mauryan polish and that the record has to be ascribed to the Maurya age on grounds of palaeography, indeed make it very probable that the epigraph belongs to Asoka who alone is known to have raised numerous inscribed pillars of the same type in various localities of his vast empire. The great *Stupa* at Amarāvati then seems to have been built not about 200 B.C. as suggested by Burgess but by Asoka about half a century earlier.

This is in consonance with the Buddhist tradition that the said Maurya emperor built no less than eighty-four thousand *Stupas* throughout his empire.<sup>2</sup> The Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-tsang, who travelled in India in the first half of the seventh century A.D., says that he found a *Stupa* built by Asoka as far south as Kāśchīpura near Madras.<sup>3</sup> Hsuen-tsang also visited the headquarters of the country called *T'ē-tā-kā-che-ka* (i.e. Dhānyakataka, i.e. Dharmagiri near Amarāvati) or *Ta-An-to-lo* (i.e. Great Amūlita).<sup>4</sup> He does not speak of any Asoka *Stupa* there, though he

<sup>1</sup> *CH*, Vol. I, pp. 172 f.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> *Watkins, On Some Chinese Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 216; Cunningham, *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 622. Hsuen-tsang places the *T'ē-tā-kā-che-ka* and *Amarāvati* to the east and west of the capital of the country.





FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM AMARAVATI



Size : One-half



return to one *Asoka Stūpa* at Ping-k'i-lo (probably Ping-k'i-pu-lo, i.e. Veṅgaṭpura), the capital of the neighbouring An-to-lo or Andhra country, and another at the capital of the Chin-li-ya country, i.e. the territory of the Telugu-Cholas.<sup>1</sup> But the silence of the Chinese pilgrim regarding the existence of a *Stūpa* built by *Asoka* at Dhānyakṣaka or Amarāvati cannot of course be regarded as definitely proving that none actually existed there. The present inscription seems to suggest that the Amarāvati *Stūpa* was built by *Asoka* about the middle of the third century B.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 para[?]ta(trs) [i\*] abl[ia]\*
- 2 [dia]\* kha likhite [in]\*
- 3 jano\* bahūn\*
- 4 anusayanti [i\*] sa\*
- 5 ra chhijiti vijaye\*
- 6 [pi cha] man[ie]\* pi
- 7 [pi tata tā]

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 209, 224. The pilgrim saw an *Asoka Stūpa* at the capital of Kalinga, probably at Kalīṅgaṅguro, modern Mukhalīngam near Śrīkākuṭam (ibid., p. 196), but may not have visited Sālikhaṅḍam, in the Srikakulam District, where also there was probably a *Stūpa* built by *Asoka* according to an early tradition (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 88, note 2).

\* From impressions.

\* The intended word may be *chhijita*.

\* The intended word may be *idā*.

\* Above this word, there are traces looking like the *asthara* *oro*. It is difficult to say whether they were actually inscribed or are mere marks on the stone.

\* The *asthara* after *sa* is unrecognisable.

\* The *asthara* following *sa*, which was endowed with an *e*-vowel, is unrecognisable, but may be *sa*.

\* The *asthara* following *sa* is unrecognisable.

\* Read *mano*. The reading of the last three *astharas* may also be *va[d]hucap*; but, as indicated above, that is less likely.

## No. 4—THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 1.1.1960)

### 1. Kabul Inscription of Shāhi Khingāla

In May 1956, the Government of India sent an Archaeological Delegation for exploration in Afghanistan. Cyclostyled copies of the Preliminary Report of the Delegation (with printed Plates), by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran and Dr. Y. D. Sharma, both officers of the Department of Archaeology, were distributed among the members of the Archaeological Advisory Board meeting at New Delhi in September 1956. This Report contains the notice of an interesting inscription.

The members of the Delegation learnt at Kabul that a marble image of Gaṇeśa had been discovered some years ago somewhere at **Gardex** (famous for its fortress called Bala Hissar) about 70 miles to the south of Kabul and that the image was later removed to **Kabul** where it was being worshipped by the Hindu residents of the city at **Dargah Pir Ratan Nāth** near the Pannir Cinema. At Gardex, however, the local people could not confirm the story of the discovery of the image at that place. The image under worship at Dargah Pir Ratan Nāth measures 28 inches in height and 14 inches in breadth. There is an inscription in two lines on its base. A photograph of the inscribed image appears in the Report, Plate II, A. Unfortunately the Delegation did not bring any inked impression of the record. The image has also been recently illustrated by Prof. G. Tucci in his article entitled 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat' appearing in the *East and West*, Vol. 9, No. 4, December 1958, pp. 276-223, figure 40 (at p. 323). The Report of Ramachandran and Sharma contains a Roman transcript (without diacritical marks) and a translation of the epigraph. Tucci also quotes the epigraphic text, as read by him on the basis of a photograph of the image, in footnote 29 (at pp. 327-28) of his article. But neither of the published transcripts of the inscription is free from errors. We edit the epigraph in the following pages from the photograph in the Report of Ramachandran and Sharma.

The characters of the Kabul Gaṇeśa image inscription belong to the North Indian (Siddha-mātpikā) alphabet of the sixth or seventh century A. D. That it is not much later than the middle of the seventh century is clear from the use of the tripartite form of the letter *g*. The latest occurrence of this form of the said letter has been noticed in Eastern India in such early seventh century inscriptions as the *Patiakella plate*<sup>1</sup> of Śambhuyāśa, dated 602 A. D., and the *Dubi plates*<sup>2</sup> of Bhāskara-varman (c. 600-50 A. D.), while in the Rajasthan area of Western India it is also found rarely in the late seventh century epigraphs like the *Dhulev plate*<sup>3</sup> of Bhāṭṭi dated in the Harsha year 73 corresponding to 679 A. D. The number 13 has been written in the inscription with the symbols for 10 and 3. In some cases (cf. *shāhi-pādaiḥ* in line 2), the letter *h* looks like *śā*. The language of our record is Sanskrit although there are a few errors of *samāsa* and orthography in the text.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, Plate between pp. 386 and 387.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 287 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Plate facing p. 4.







the middle of the seventh century, Kalhapa speaks of it as the capital of the Shāhi since the time of Lalliya Shāhi (c. 575-90 A. D.).<sup>1</sup> He further mentions Lalliya's kingdom as lying between the lands of the Darādā (i.e. Dardistan) and the Turushka (Turks).<sup>2</sup>

The name of Shāhi Khingāla reminds us of Khinikhila *alias* Narāndrāditya mentioned as an ancient king of Kashmir and as a successor of Mihirakula, apparently the Hūna king of that name who ruled in c. 519-35 A. D., in Kalhapa's *Rājatarangīnī*.<sup>3</sup> There are some copper coins with the legend *Khingā*<sup>4</sup> (the fuller form may have been *Khingāla*) while another coin is known to bear the legend *Diva-Shāhi-Khingāla*.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to say whether Khingāla of our inscription is identical with Khingāla of the coins and Khinikhila of the Kashmiri chronicle. His identification with Khinikhila Narāndrāditya would, however, suggest that, at the time of the ruler in question, Kashmir formed a part of the Shāhi empire.

The names of the following Shāhi kings have been recently revealed by the Gilgit manuscripts : (1) Paṭolādēva-shāhi Vajrāditya Nandīn ; (2) Śrī-Dēva-Shāhi Surēndravikramāditya Nanda (Nandīn) who seems to have had a queen named Śamudēvi Trailōkyadēvi ; and (3) *Shāhā-nushāhi* Paṭolā-shāhi Śrī-nava-Surēndrāditya Nandīdēva who had a queen named Anahgadēvi and is apparently identical with *Paramabhūṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramīśvara Paṭolā-shāhi Śrī-nava-Surēndrāditya Nandīdēva* claiming descent from the Bhāgsadatta family and mentioned in the Hatun inscription.<sup>6</sup> These Shāhis, who probably ruled about the seventh century A. D., have been supposed to have ruled over the Darād country in the upper valley of the Kishenganga. Their names, in which several names have been clubbed together, are interesting in view of the double name of the king mentioned in our record. Ōṭyāla-shāhi seems to be a second name of Shāhi Khingāla and is probably not connected with the territory over which he ruled.

The image of Gaṇeśa, called Mahā-Vināyaka in the inscription, represents the deity as standing in the *ālīkha* pose. His limbs are muscular. The trunk, which was turned to the left, is broken. The tusk, indicated on the left, is also broken. He has a close-fitting coronet on the head and a close-fitting necklace on the neck. The ears look like foliage. There were four hands, all of which are broken. The god has a snake as his *gaṇā-ḍeparita* and his under garment is decorated with a lion's or tiger's head and claws apparently to satisfy the prescription that Vināyaka's cloth should be the tiger's skin.<sup>7</sup> The image is characterised by the god's usual pot-belly (*kumbh-ḍhara*) and also the *ūrdhva-mūḍhara*. It is difficult to say whether the image represents a Brahmanical or a Buddhist deity.

The elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka is a non-Aryan divinity adopted in the Brahmanical pantheon not much earlier than the third or fourth century A. D.<sup>8</sup> The earliest images of the deity are supposed to be those found in the Sankisa mound (Etah District, U. P.) and Bhumnār (Satna District, Madhya Pradesh), both of about the fifth century A. D., while its representation on a terracotta bas-relief from Akra (Bannu District, West Pakistan) is also assigned to the same age.<sup>9</sup> The discovery of the Akra bas-relief and the image bearing the inscription under study points to the popularity of the god in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavarsa not long after he was adopted in the Brahmanical pantheon.

<sup>1</sup> Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 155.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I, 394 ; Stein's trans., Vol. I, verse 247, note 197.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 265, 267.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, 1893, pp. 97, 110, Plate VII, No. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Ind. Coll.*, Vol. IX, p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 14, note 7 ; Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 206-07.

<sup>9</sup> A. Getty, *Gautier*, p. 26.



THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE I

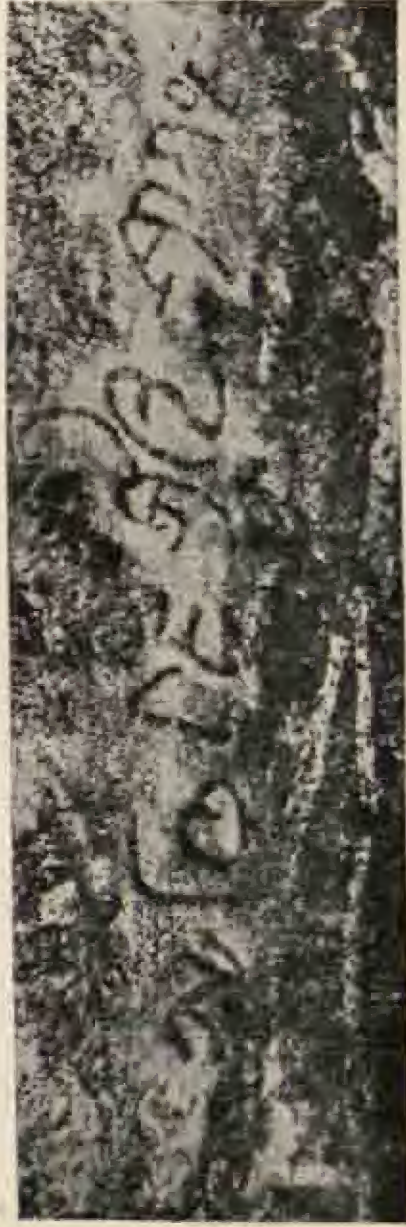
1. Kabul Inscription of Shani Khingala



(from Photograph)

2. Sitabhinji Inscription of Disabhanja

A



(from Photograph)

B

Eye copy

ଅବି ଲେ ଗୁଡ଼ି ମାତ୍ର



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [Siddham]<sup>2</sup> {||<sup>3</sup>} Sa[m]vatsarē-saṭtatamē<sup>4</sup> sam 8 Jyēshtha-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-tilau(thau) ttrayōdaśyāmi śu-di 10 3 ji(ri)k[sh]ā Viśākṣhē śubhē Sira[h]ē chij[traka]-<sup>5</sup>
- 2 [m] mahat pratishṭhāpitam-videth Mahā-Vināyaka<sup>6</sup> paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Shāhi-Khinṅāl-Autyāta<sup>7</sup>-shāhi-pādai[h]<sup>8</sup>

## TRANSLATION

May it be well! In the eighth year—year 8, on the thirteenth tithi of the bright half of the month of Jyēshtha—bright day 13, in the constellation Viśākṣha (and) the auspicious Siraṅha (daya), this lovely (and) big (image of) Mahā-Vināyaka has been installed by<sup>9</sup> the illustrious Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Shāhi Khinṅāla (alias) Ōtyāta-shāhi.

## 2. Śrābhīṅji Inscription of Dīśābhāṅja

Sometime ago an interesting tempera painting was found in a rock shelter called Rāvaṇa-śhāyā in the village of Śrābhīṅji in the Keonjhar District of Orissa. It depicts a king on the back of an elephant who is in a procession and is preceded by footmen, a horseman and a dancing woman and followed by a female attendant. There is a painted label in one line giving the name of the king as Dīśābhāṅja. This painted record was published in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XIX, pp. 191 ff. and Plate, by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran who assigns its characters to 'about the 4th century A.D.'<sup>1</sup> While writing on the Bhaṅjas of Khinṅāl-maṇḍala, we pointed out that the characters of the inscription belong to the Kalinga script (an admixture of the Northern and Southern alphabets) generally found in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Ganjam region, which are assignable to dates between the eighth and eleventh centuries A.D., and also raised the question whether Dīśābhāṅja of the Śrābhīṅji inscription could be identified with Dīśābhāṅja alias Dīśābhāṅja who was a son of Raṅgaḥaṅja ruling over Khinṅāl-maṇḍala from Dhritipura and flourished about the third quarter of the tenth century A.D.<sup>10</sup>

Recently Dr. R. C. Majumdar has observed that 'the characters of the short record at Śrābhīṅji can by no means be regarded as later than those of the charters of the early kings of Kalinga who have been unanimously referred to the 5th century A.D.' and that 'Dīśābhāṅja of Śrābhīṅji may justly be regarded as the earliest Bhaṅja king who flourished in the fourth or fifth century A.D.'<sup>11</sup> In our opinion, however, this view regarding the date of the Śrābhīṅji

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read *asthāt*.

<sup>4</sup> The character *śu* is broken away. The reading of the word as *chitra-karṇam* may not be impossible.

<sup>5</sup> Read *śukla-tilau*.

<sup>6</sup> As indicated above, this letter read as *t* may be a also.

<sup>7</sup> There is a floral design after this.

<sup>8</sup> Literally, 'by the feet of'. The word *pāda* is used in the original in an honorific sense.

<sup>9</sup> See also *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 69. For the painting, see Ramachandran's paper in *Artibus Asiae*, No. XIV,

1951, pp. 3-25.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *IBQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 227-28; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 275 and note 2.

<sup>11</sup> *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 72-74.



inscription is based on a misunderstanding on the evidence of its palaeography which is certainly not much earlier than the eighth century A.D. Ramachandran and Majumdar have been apparently influenced by the fact that the letters *j* and *ś* (one of the two types) as used in the record are found in North Indian inscriptions of the Gupta age. But it has unfortunately been overlooked that the same forms of the letters are also noticed in the inscriptions of the Kālūga area, which belong to the 7th century and later. It has also been overlooked that the palaeography of some of the letters and signs used in the record is decidedly later than the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

The inscription reads : *Māhārāja-īri-Diśābhāṣya*. The first word is not *Māhārāja* as read by Ramachandran. It may be pointed out at the outset that the word *māhārāja* is an Oriya corruption of Sanskrit *mahārāja*, which is not expected in an inscription of so early a date as the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The letter *m* in *mā* is of the Telugu-Kannada type. It has resemblance with the form of the letter sometimes occurring in mid-seventh century records like the Nelkunda grant<sup>1</sup> of Abhinavāditya and the Annūlapadu plates<sup>2</sup> of Vikramāditya I. It may also be compared with the form of *m* in Dēvēndravarmān's plates of the Gaṅga year 183 (c. 680 A.D.) and the Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahasta (tenth or eleventh century A.D.).<sup>3</sup> The long curve of the *ā-mā* is not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. On the other hand, it is apparently later than the shorter form of the same sign in the mid-seventh century records referred to above.

The right limb of *ā* in *hā* has a downward knot in the middle, its end being considerably curved below, although the left limb of the letter is straight. This form of the letter is not expected in any epigraph of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. but can be compared with *ā* in *\*ā-dhara* in line 6, *mahāśarō* in line 13 and *māh* in line 33 of the Pattali grant of the year 313 (c. 810 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> It may also be compared with the early Grantha *ā* as found in the Kuram plates of Pallava Paramēśvaravarman I (c. 670-700 A.D.) and the Kasakudi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (c. 731-96 A.D.).<sup>5</sup>

The letter *r* in *rā* has an *u-mā* like curve attached to its lower end, which is not expected in Brāhmī inscriptions since its analogue is noticed only in the Siddhamātrikā stage of the northern alphabet. The lower part of *r* in the Sitābhīṣi epigraph reminds us of the corresponding part of the letter in records like the Morbi plates of 904 A.D.<sup>6</sup>

As regards the English E type of *j*, which is found in early North Indian inscriptions, it has to be noticed that the same form of the letter also occurs in early medieval Southern records like the Andhavarām plates<sup>7</sup> of the year 316 (c. 713 A.D.), the Russelkonda plates<sup>8</sup> of Nēttabhāṣya

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 216 and 217 (cf. *pramāṇikamāsa* in line 23; also *māsa* in line 12, *māhārāja* in line 20).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Plate between pp. 182 and 183 (cf. *vāṇaspa* and *māṭṭi*\* in line 3, *māṭṭi*\* in line 4, *paramādhara* in line 23, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> See Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prākṛite Līṅgāṇā*, Plate LVII, c; Plate LIX (the third one of the forms).

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pages 204 and 205. Cf. also *ā* in *āṇā* in line 2 of the Śvalpavolure grant (ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 125) which is not earlier than the ninth century.

<sup>5</sup> Ojha, op. cit., Plate III, c; Plate LIII, b. See also *ā* in *māhārāja* in line 12 of the Galavalli Plates of 890 A.D. (above, Vol. XXXI, Plate opposite p. 190).

<sup>6</sup> See Ojha, op. cit., Plate XXIV.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 200 (*janita* in line 6, *jyotāṣa* in line 12 and *jula* in line 21).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 262 and 263 (*jāyavarmāna* in line 4, *rājaputra* in line 18; etc.).



(eighth or ninth century A.D.), the Pattali grant<sup>1</sup> of c. 810 A.D. and the Kalahandi plates of the year 383 (c. 880 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> It is also noticed in the Svalpavelura grant<sup>3</sup> which is not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

The letter *ś* in *śvī* has the peculiar Telugu-Kannada form not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. It resembles the form of the letter as found in the Pattali grant of c. 810 A.D.,<sup>4</sup> the Galavalli plates of c. 890 A.D.<sup>5</sup> and the Parlakimedi plates of the tenth or eleventh century A.D.<sup>6</sup> The same type of *ś* also occurs in many other records such as the Gautami plates<sup>7</sup> of Indravarman which have been assigned to the eighth century A.D.

*D* in *dī* is of the North Indian (Siddhamātrikā) type endowed with a tail which is not found with the letter before the sixth century A.D. The longish *i-mātrā* found with the letter is also too early for the fourth or fifth century A.D.

*Ṣ* in *ṣā* is found in early North Indian records like the Allahabad pillar inscription<sup>8</sup> of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.). But it has to be noticed that it is found also in early medieval inscriptions of the east coast such as those of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja (close of the 7th century A.D.),<sup>9</sup> the Russelkonda plates<sup>10</sup> of the eighth or ninth century A.D. and the Parlakimedi plates<sup>11</sup> of the tenth or eleventh century. This form of *ṣ* may also be compared with that of the same letter in the Vishmagiri<sup>12</sup> and Svalpavelura<sup>13</sup> plates which are not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

*Bh* is of the wide-top type which is found in early medieval records of the Telugu-Kannada area like the Kalahandi plates of c. 880 A.D.<sup>14</sup>

In the conjunct *ṣj*, the superscript *ṣ*, which is separated from the subscript *j*, is rather unusual. But it is certainly not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. since it is considerably removed from the original form of the letter. However, it reminds us of subscript *ṣ* in the records of the early medieval period such as the Nulpur plate<sup>15</sup> of the close of the ninth century A.D., Madras Museum plates of the tenth century,<sup>16</sup> Baud plates<sup>17</sup> of the year 158 (989 A.D.) and later epigraphs.

I do not think that the Sitābhīṣji inscription can be assigned to a date much earlier than the Russelkonda plates of the eighth or ninth century A.D. King Śitābhīṣja may have been

<sup>1</sup> See *śvīśa-japa* in line 6 (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 204 and 205).

<sup>2</sup> See *rājya* in line 22 (*ibid.*, Plate facing p. 321).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 135 (cf. *śvīśa* in line 26).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *śvīśa* in line 20, *śvīśa* in line 23 and *śvīśa* in line 24 (above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 204 and 205).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 190 (cf. *śvīśa* in line 2, *śvīśa* in line 7).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *śvīśa* in line 13 (*ibid.*, Vol. III, Plate facing p. 222).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 181.

<sup>8</sup> Ojha, op. cit., Plate XVI.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g., *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, Plate facing p. 40 (*śvīśa* in line 5, etc.).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 262 and 263 (cf. *śvīśa* in line 11, *śvīśa* in line 15, etc.).

<sup>11</sup> Ojha, op. cit., Plate LIX (the second of the three forms).

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, Plate between pp. 136 and 137 (cf. *śvīśa* in line 3).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 135 (cf. *śvīśa* in line 16).

<sup>14</sup> See above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 321 (cf. *śvīśa* in line 13, etc.).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, Plate between pp. 4 and 5 (cf. *śvīśa* in line 7).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 30 and 31 (cf. *śvīśa* in line 20).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, Plate between pp. 215 and 217 (cf. *śvīśa* in line 26).



connected with this Nṛṣiṅghaṇḍya. Whether he was identical with Dīśābhāṇḍya, son of Rapa-  
bhāṇḍya of Khinjal-maṇḍala, cannot be determined definitely. But I do not consider it impos-  
sible since the Kalinga script was an artificial alphabet in which letters could retain their old  
forms for a longer time.<sup>1</sup>

King Nṛṣiṅghaṇḍya who issued the Russelkonda plates from Vārāḍḍā (modern Bārāḍā or  
Bārāḍā near Russelkonda, now called Bhanjanagar, in the Ganjam District) also issued the Band  
plates<sup>2</sup> from Nav-Āṅgulaka-pattana which is the modern Angul in the Dhenkanal District near  
the District of Keonjhar. Thus the dominions of this Nṛṣiṅghaṇḍya of the eighth or ninth century  
A.D. appear to have comprised the Ganjam area in the south-west and the Dhenkanal-Keonjhar  
region in the north-east and it is interesting in this connection to note that, in the tenth century  
A.D., the earlier Bhāṇḍyas of Khinjal-maṇḍala also ruled over the same area between the Ganjam  
and Baudh-Keonjhar regions of Orissa.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore likely that Nṛṣiṅghaṇḍya, who claimed  
to have belonged to the dynasty of Drumarāja, was an earlier member of the Bhāṇḍya family of  
Khinjal-maṇḍala. He seems to have flourished after the fall of the Śaṅgīdabhavas in the eighth  
century and before the rise of the Bhauma-Karas of Jajpur about 831 A.D. His descendants,  
viz. the Bhāṇḍyas of Khinjal-maṇḍala who sometimes used the Bhauma-Kara etc. were apparently  
feudatories of the Bhauma-Kara kings. We have elsewhere shown that the early Bhāṇḍyas of  
Khinjal-maṇḍala ruled from Dhitipura in the Baudh-Keonjhar region till the time of Rapa-  
bhāṇḍya and that they were driven out of that region by the Śaṅgīdabhava king Yayāti Mahāśrīgupta I  
(c. 970-1000 A.D.) so that Rapabhāṇḍya's descendants beginning with his son Nṛṣiṅghaṇḍya  
Kalyāṇakalasa ruled from Vaṅḍulvaka in the Ganjam region.<sup>4</sup> If Dīśābhāṇḍya of the Śitābhūji  
inscription can be identified with Dighaṇḍya-Dīśābhāṇḍya who was another son of Rapabhāṇḍya,  
he was probably the elder brother of Nṛṣiṅghaṇḍya Kalyāṇakalasa and the last Bhāṇḍya ruler of  
Dhitipura. It has, however, to be pointed out that, among the records of this family, only the  
Śitābhūji epigraph of Dīśābhāṇḍya and the Russelkonda plates of Nṛṣiṅghaṇḍya are written in the  
Kalinga script (the Northern element being more prominent in the latter) while all other records  
issued from Dhitipura and Vaṅḍulvaka are written in the North Indian (Śiddhamātrikā and  
Gauḍīya) characters.

### 3. Nausāri Inscription of the time of Yādava Rāmadēva, V.S. 1353

Under cover of a letter dated the 27th November 1958, Dr. J. M. Unvala of Bombay was  
kind enough to send me for examination one inked impression of a stone inscription. He gave  
the following details about the whereabouts of the inscribed stone: "The inscription was found  
on a laterite slab at **Nausāri in the Surat District** of Bombay under the gate (Gujarāṭī *pōl*)  
of a private street. Above the inscription, the slab has the representation of a heroism over-  
powering an enemy. Such stones, found in many places in Gujarat, are called *pāṭhāṇḍ patthar*  
in Gujarāṭī. The gate under which the inscribed slab was found is at least 350 years old."

From Dr. Unvala's description, it is quite clear that the slab bearing the inscription is what  
is called a hero stone, i.e. a memorial raised in honour of a warrior who died in a battle fighting  
for a good cause. There are altogether 12 lines of writing on the slab and they cover an area  
about 19½ inches in height and 24 inches in breadth. The formation of the letters exhibits

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 258, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 164 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 261.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 276.



considerable carelessness on the part of the engraver while a layer of the stone has peeled off here and there damaging a number of letters. Moreover, the letters of the writing in a roundish space about the middle of the epigraph, with a diameter of about 19 inches and affecting lines 5-12 of the inscription, are more or less completely rubbed off probably as a result of the stone having been used for some time as a sharpener of axes, etc. The record is thus **fragmentary**.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī and its language is Sanskrit. It is written in prose and verse. The date of the epigraph is given in lines 1-3 as the **expired Vikrama year 1359, Plavāṅga, Jyēṣṭha-badi 5, Monday**. These details indicate the **6th May 1303 A.D.**

The inscription begins with a rather peculiar variety of the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *śasti* and the date referred to above. It then refers to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Rāmadēva* stationed at *Dēvagiri* (lines 3-4). This ruler is none other than the well-known king Rāmadēva or Rāmachandra (1271-1311 A.D.) of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri which is the modern Daulatābād in the Anrangabad District of Bombay. Line 5 introduces Rāmadēva's subordinate whose territory included śrīman-Nausārikā, i.e. the modern Nausāri where the inscribed slab has been found, with the well-known expression *tat-pāda-padm-ōpaṭīvi*. The following passage in lines 6-7 reads: *Rājaka . . . rāja-śrī-Karṇadēvi*. Unfortunately about 12 letters after *rājaka* in this passage are either indifferently formed or totally rubbed off. The few letters before *rāja* may be [*pradhāna-mahā*] and it is possible that *Karṇadēva* enjoyed the titles *Pradhāna* or *Mahāpīṇadhāna* and *Mahārāja*. After *Rājaka*, the following two letters may be *śaṅka* reminding us of the official designation *Śaṅkavergaḍa* (Kannada) or *Śaṅkādhyakṣa*. Thus *Karṇadēva*, Yādava Rāmachandra's subordinate ruling over the Nausārikā region, seems to have enjoyed the royal titles *Rājaka* and *Mahārāja* side by side with certain official designations. The identity of this *Karṇadēva*, however, cannot be determined. Of course, about the time in question, Chaulukya-Vāghelā Karna II was ruling over parts of Khandesh as a vassal of Yādava Rāmachandra after he had lost the kingdom of Gujarat to Sultān 'Alauddīn Khiljī. It is difficult to believe that the Nausāri region formed a part of the territory ruled by him. A certain *Kṛṣṇadēva* is known to have served Yādava Rāmachandra in 1280 A.D. as the governor of the whole of the Koṅkan<sup>1</sup> and, since the name *Kṛṣṇa* is sometimes known to have been re-Sanskritised from Prakrit *Kambora* as *Karṇa*,<sup>2</sup> it is not impossible to regard *Karṇadēva* of our record as identical with the said *Kṛṣṇadēva* of the Koṅkan. Otherwise it will have to be supposed that our *Karṇadēva* was a governor of the Yādava king stationed at Nausāri itself.

The above section in prose is followed by three stanzas in which the record proper is written. Unfortunately the damaged nature of the writing stands in the way of a satisfactory interpretation of this part. There is no doubt, however, that it refers to the death of a hero in a battle. But the details cannot be made out satisfactorily. Lines 7-8 appear to mention Maṇḍana, Jambika and Śrīhaḍa probably as personal names.

The inscription is important from several points of view. In the first place, it is the only epigraphic record coming from the northernmost area of the Yādava empire and is one of the few such documents of the 14th century referring to the reign of the Yādava king Rāmadēva or Rāmachandra. Secondly, it points for the first time to the inclusion of Nausāri in the dominions of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri about the beginning of the 14th century. Thirdly, it throws some light on the otherwise obscure history of the Lāṭa country during the early medieval age.

<sup>1</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 329-30.

<sup>2</sup> *JYH*, Vol. XXXVII, Part III, December 1959, p. 407.



The latest date for Rāmachandra's reign supplied by epigraphic records falls in September 1310 A.D. when the Yādava king granted some land in Khandesh according to his Purushōttampūr plates.<sup>1</sup> Muslim sources seem to suggest that he died shortly afterwards.<sup>2</sup>

Muslim historians appear to indicate that the Narmadā was the northern boundary of Rāmachandra's kingdom. In 1294 A.D., 'Alāuddīn Khajji, nephew of Jalāluddīn Firūs Shāh the Khajji Sultān of Delhi, crossed the Narmadā and the Tapti and reached Ellichpur in Berar within Rāmachandra's territory and marched on to the Yādava capital Dēvagiri where Rāmachandra was defeated. The Yādava king was compelled to surrender Ellichpur and its dependencies and agreed to remit the revenues of the said province to 'Alāuddīn annually. In 1306-07, 'Alāuddīn, who had in the meantime become the Sultān of Delhi and had conquered the kingdom of Gujarāt from the Chaulukya-Vāghelā king Karpā II, noticed that the Yādava king failed to remit the revenues of the Ellichpur province for the past three years and sent an army under Malik Kafur against Dēvagiri. He also ordered Alp Khān, governor of Gujarāt, to attack the Yādava kingdom at the same time. Malik Kafur occupied the Ellichpur province and advanced against Dēvagiri while Alp Khān attacked Karpā II who was then ruling from Nandurbar in Khandesh as a vassal of Rāmachandra. The Yādava king offered his submission to Malik Kafur and agreed to rule his kingdom as a vassal of the Khajji Sultān. He went to Delhi where he was received by 'Alāuddīn with marks of favour and distinction. The Sultān is stated to have given him on this occasion the district of Namāri in Gujarāt as a personal estate and a hundred thousand *paṇḍas* to pay his expenses at home.<sup>3</sup> Our inscription, however, shows that Namāri originally formed a part of the Yādava kingdom. It thus appears to have been a portion of the northern areas of Rāmachandra's kingdom, which were recently annexed to the Sultān's empire by Alp Khān and Malik Kafur.

In the 13th century, the Lāṭa country comprising the Nandurbar-Broach region was a small state on the confines of the kingdom of the Chaulukya-Vāghelā of Gujarāt, the Paramāras of Malwa and the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. The Lāṭa kings were compelled to offer allegiance to one of their three greater neighbours as occasions demanded although they appear to have generally accepted the vassalage of the Paramāras. The *Hamīramadāmardana* mentions Śiṅha, the king of Lāṭa, and his nephew named Saṅgrāmasiṅha or Saṅkha, son of Śiṅhurāja, while the same Śiṅha is mentioned in an inscription as the vanquisher of Yādava Śiṅhaya's forces apparently as a vassal of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman (known dates between 1211 and 1215 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> According to the *Yasadvilāsa*, when Chaulukya-Vāghelā Lavagaprasāda and Paramāra Śubhājavarmān, the father and predecessor of Arjunavarman, were fighting each other and when the Yādavas took advantage of the situation and invaded Lāṭa, Śaṅkha defeated them on the bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā).<sup>5</sup> The *Hamīramadāmardana* also refers to Śaṅkha's victory over the army of Yādava Śiṅhaya.<sup>6</sup>

While the *Hamīramadāmardana* calls Śaṅkha a *Mahāmardādhara*, i.e. feudatory, of Paramāra Dēvapāla (c. 1216-36 A.D.), Mērutuṅga mentions him as the *Mahāsādhanika*, i.e.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 109 ff.

<sup>2</sup> V. V. Mirashi gives the date of Rāmachandra's death as 1312 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 208). While R. G. Bhandarkar puts it as 1309 A.D. and J. F. Fleet as 1310 A.D. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 251, 533). Wolsley Haig says that Rāmachandra died 'either late in 1309 or early in 1310' (*CHI*, Vol. III, p. 115). But the Purushōttampūr plates show that the king's death took place after September 1310 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 230-22; *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 99, 112-14.

<sup>4</sup> A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 163-64; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 154.





# THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE II

## 3. Nausari Inscription of the time of Yadava Ramadeva, V. S. 1359



Size : One-fourth



governor, of Broach.<sup>1</sup> In V.S. 1298 (1241 A.D.), however, Broach was under Chaulukya-Vāghela Vimaladēva<sup>2</sup> and this suggests that the northern part of Lāṭa was soon annexed to the Chaulukya-Vāghela kingdom. The inclusion of Nausāri in the Yādava kingdom in the present inscription seems to suggest that the southern part of Lāṭa was likewise annexed to the Yādava kingdom during the rule of Simhapa (c. 1210-47 A.D.) on the overthrow or subjugation of the Lāṭa family. That Simhapa's army overran the country around Bharukachchha (Broach) is known from the *Kirtikavacchā*.<sup>3</sup> We know that Simhapa invaded Gujarat several times and that on one such occasion, his general Rāma, son of the celebrated Yādava general Khōlāvara, lost his life while fighting on the Narmadā.<sup>4</sup> Although the Yādavas and the Chaulukya-Vāghelās were often fighting against each other, the overthrow or subjugation of the Lāṭa house and the division of the territory between the above two powers may have been the result of a joint successful adventure of theirs against the Paramāras of Malwa.

Another king of Lāṭa, apparently belonging to the same family represented by Simha, Sindhurāja and Saṃgrāmasūha or Śaṅkha, was Sahajapāla who is sometimes identified with Simha and believed to have ruled over South Lāṭa.<sup>5</sup> Since Śaṅkha is once represented as a son of the Chāhamāna family, the Lāṭa kings in question may be regarded as Chāhamānas.<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to say whether Karpadēva, who governed Nausāri in 1303 A.D. as a vassal of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, was a son of the same dynasty.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, both Dāvagiri and Nausārikā are well known.

TEXT<sup>7</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>8</sup> svasti [||\*] śri-nripa-Vikrama-kāl-āṭṭa-Plavarāṅ-āhhi-
- 2 dhāna-samvatsarē Samvat 135[9] varahē Jyē[ahtha-ba]dī 6 Sō-
- 3 mēdy-āha śrīmad-Dāvagirāv-adhish[hi]ta-mahārājādhi-
- 4 rājādhi<sup>9</sup>-rāja-śrī-Rāmadēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē
- 5 śrī[man-Nau]sārikāyāṃ [tat-pāda-padm-ō]pa[iv]-garnyō<sup>10</sup>
- 6 rāṇaka-sūhka.....[pradhā]na-[mahā]rāja-śrī-
- 7 Karpā[dēvō] nripa.....Maṇḍana-Jaṇai-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 134-53.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>6</sup> From an impression.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>8</sup> The three aksharas at the beginning of the line are redundant.

<sup>9</sup> The intended reading may be \*jīy-agraṇyāḥ.

- 8 ka-Śrīmaṣa-trayā . . . . . mah cha . . . . .  
 9 svapaṁ<sup>1</sup> || 1 . . . . . [a-cha] v[ri]ddhīkṛt ga)ā  
 10 . . . . [va]dhāśā tatā . . . . . rāya-[va]nā-rā  
 11 . . . . kundā gajā . . . . . [dīvā] harat | ghōra-pā<sup>2</sup>  
 12 . . . . [pātā]h || 3 śubham bhaya(va)tu ||

<sup>1</sup> Read svapaṁ.

<sup>2</sup> The intended word seems to be pātā.



# No 5—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALYANPUR

(1 Plate)

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(Received on 6.1.1960)

The village of Kalyāṇpur lies about 42 miles to the south of Udaipur. Near the village, there are extensive ruins of an ancient town. A copper-plate grant which was discovered sometime ago at Kalyāṇpur but was later found in the possession of a Brāhmaṇa resident of Dhulāv (also called Rishabhādev) about four miles from the said village, has been published in the pages of this journal.<sup>1</sup> The charter was issued by Mahārāja Bhṛṅgi from Kishkindhā, which was apparently his capital, in the year 73 of the Harsha era, corresponding to 679 A.D. It has been suggested that the ruins of the town near Kalyāṇpur represent the site of ancient Kishkindhā.<sup>2</sup> Two other copper-plate grants issued from Kishkindhipura, no doubt identical with Kishkindhā, come from the former Dangarpur State lying to the south of the Kalyāṇpur region. These two records, the first of which was issued by Bhāviṭa in the Harsha year 48 (654 A.D.) and the second by Bābhata in the Harsha year 83 (639 A.D.) have also been published recently.<sup>3</sup> Both these chiefs, who enjoyed feudatory titles, claim to have belonged to the Guhila or Guhilaputra dynasty. Bhāviṭa seems to have succeeded the Guhila chief Dēvagana who was his paternal uncle, while Bābhata was probably a son of the said Dēvagana. Since Bhṛṅgi ruled from Kishkindhā between Bhāviṭa and Bābhata, it is very probable that he also belonged to the Guhila family of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura near Kalyāṇpur and was either a younger brother of Bhāviṭa or an elder brother of Bābhata. One Rājaputra Ghōrghaṭasvāmin is mentioned in Bābhata's record and he may have been a son of Bābhata, although it is uncertain whether he ever ascended the throne.

The two stone inscriptions edited here were discovered at Kalyāṇpur and the inscribed slabs are now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur. They were noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1954-55, Nos. B 98-99. The earlier of the two has also been published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXV, Part I, pp. 73-74 (without illustration), although the name of the king mentioned in the record has been wrongly read there. The notice of the second inscription in the *Annual Report on the working of the Rajputana Museum* for the year ending 31st March 1929, pp. 1-2, is likewise full of errors. The first of the records mentions a certain Mahārāja Paḍḍa, but has no date. The second of them mentions a chief named Kadachhi though it is fragmentary and it is difficult to say whether the portion containing the year of its incision is rubbed off. As, however, will be shown below, the inscription mentioning Paḍḍa and that of the time of Kadachhi can be assigned respectively to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. on grounds of palaeography. The findspot and palaeography of our records thus suggest that these two chiefs also belonged to the Guhila house of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura and ruled from the same city. We have elsewhere suggested that Paḍḍa was a predecessor of Dēvagana and Kadachhi a successor of Bābhata.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 1 ff., 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 167 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 170.



## 1. Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Paṇḍa

The inscription contains five lines of writing covering an area about nine inches in length and six inches in height. It is in an excellent state of preservation.

The characters of the inscription are of the ornamental type and belong to the North Indian (*Siddhamātrikā*) alphabet of about the seventh century A.D. They are each about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in height. The most interesting palaeographical feature of the record is the use of the tripartite form of the letter *y*. We know that the use of this form of *y* was discontinued in East India in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. its latest use being noticed in East Indian records like the Patiakella plates<sup>1</sup> of 502 A.D. and the Dabi plates<sup>2</sup> of Bhīṣakaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.). In Western India, however, its use lingered on for another half a century. Thus the earliest tripartite and the later bipartite forms of *y* are noticed side by side in records like the Durgapur plates (654 A.D.) of Bhāvikita, referred to above, and the Kumbhar inscription<sup>3</sup> of Guhila Aparājit of Mewar, dated 661 A.D., though the slightly later Dhulav plate (672 A.D.) of Bhīṣti, mentioned above, uses only the earlier form of the letter. As already indicated, it is probable that Mahārāja Paṇḍa of our record was a predecessor of Dāvagana. He probably ruled sometime about the second quarter of the seventh century. The palaeography of the inscription under study is quite in keeping with this suggestion.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The plural in *śiva-śayya-mamā-śrōṣṭhā* is of grammatical interest since it should have been singular according to Pāṇini (II, 4, 2). There is nothing remarkable in its orthography except that the word *śayya* has been split as *śayyā* in line 4.

The inscription begins with the *śrī* symbol followed by the word *śasti*. Then follow a small passage in prose, a stanza in the *śaunḍipadī* metre and another small passage in prose, with which the epigraph ends. These three passages state that a person named Āmāya built a temple of the god Śalin (i.e. Śiva) in the *rājya* (i.e. during the rule or in the kingdom) of the illustrious Mahārāja Paṇḍa. Āmāya is stated to have built the temple out of money earned by righteous means, for the attainment of *śiva-śayya* after having bowed down to Śaṅkara (Śiva) with his hands, feet, mind and head. The expression *śiva-śayya* means communion with or absorption in the god Śiva.<sup>4</sup> The work is further stated to have been done by Āmāya in accordance with the *śrāvaṇa*, i.e. the sacred texts handed down by tradition.

## TEXT

- 1 सिद्धं स्वस्ति [॥\*] प्रणम्य गङ्गुर करवरणमनः(न)-
- 2 विशरोमि ॥ आम्नायेन यथाम्नाय वि-
- 3 तमादाय धर्मतः [॥\*] कारितं वृत्तितो
- 4 वेद्यं शिवसाधो(यु)ज्यसिद्धये ॥<sup>1</sup>
- 5 श्रीमहाराजपट्टराज्ये ॥<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. IX, Plate between pp. 286 and 287.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 287 E. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, *Prakāśa Bhāṣya* (Lipināla), Plate XX.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 297-98.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by symbol.

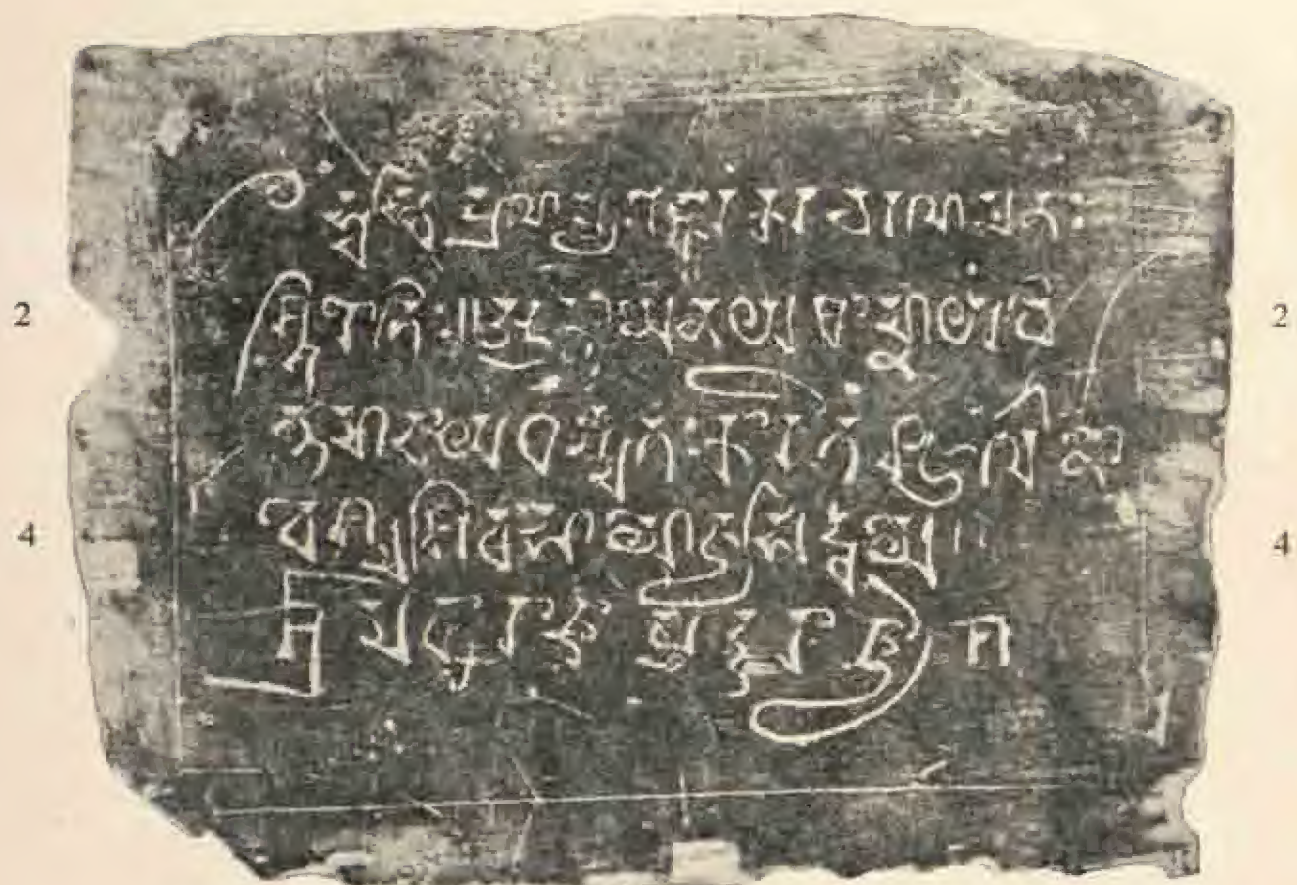
<sup>7</sup> The metre of the stanza is *śaunḍipadī*.

<sup>8</sup> The full-stop is indicated by two dashes joined at the top by a horizontal stroke.



# TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALYANPUR

## 1. Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Paḍḍa





# 2. Inscription of the time of Kadachhi



Size : One-half



## 2. Inscription of the time of Kadachhi

There are altogether 14 lines of writing in this inscription. The letters are small in size. In average, they are each a little above  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in height. The writing covers an area about 14 inches in length and about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. The preservation of the record is unsatisfactory. It seems that the inscribed surface of the slab was used for sharpening some tool like an axe. The tool was rubbed on the slab from the upper right side a little slantingly towards the middle. As a result, a number of letters in lines 1-10 have been rubbed off, many of them completely. The internal evidence shows that the epigraph was originally set up in a Śiva temple, the construction of which is recorded in it.

The palaeography of the inscription is later than that of the inscription of the time of Padma edited above. It uses throughout the later bipartite form of *y*. The letters have ornamental formation. The lower end of *t* curves towards the right. On grounds of palaeography, the record may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D. But as we have suggested elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> the chief Kadachhi mentioned in it, probably belonged to the Guhila house of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura and ruled after Guhila Bībhāja of the same family sometime in the eighth century A.D. and that the said house of the Guhilas was ousted by the Guhilas of Mewar sometime afterwards.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in verse with a small passage in prose at the beginning. As regards orthography, mention may be made of the use of the class nasal in expressions like *śaśgān-dhārāya*<sup>2</sup> in line 2. The words *saṁdṛaṣa* used for *saṁskaraṇa* in verse 6 (line 11) and *chintita* for *rachita* in verse 13 (line 14) are of lexical interest.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the passage *namaḥ Śivāya*. Then follow three partially preserved stanzas (verses 1-3) in lines 1-5, all in adoration to the god Śiva. The next fragmentary stanza (verse 4) in lines 5-9 introduces a person named Kadachhi who seems to have been the chief, during whose rule the inscription was set up. The preserved portion of verse 5 in lines 5-8 refers to a lady who may have been a wife of Kadachhi. The following stanza (verse 6) in lines 8-9, only a few words of which can be deciphered, appears to have contained a reference to the construction of a Śiva temple by the same lady. This is not only suggested by its concluding words, viz. *dhruv māṇḍanam* (i.e. an ornament of the earth) probably qualifying a word like *maṇḍiram*, but also by verses 11-12 below which quote the details of the date (without mentioning the year) when a temple of Śambhu (Śiva) was *nirāṣṭa*, probably referring to its consecration ceremony, and also pray for the long life of the said temple. The details of the date quoted in this connection, in which the mention of the year only is missing, seem to suggest that the year was referred to in the damaged parts of verse 3.

Verse 7 (lines 9-10) which along with the following verses can fortunately be fully read, recounts the qualities of the lady named Vṣṇā who was responsible for the construction of the temple, while the next stanza (verse 8) in lines 10-11 refers to a grant of forty *drasmas* (i.e. 40 coins of that name), no doubt made by the lady in question, for future necessities such as the carrying out of repairs to the breaks and damages apparently in the said temple of Śiva, for [the burning of] *guggula* [before the deity in it] and for the sweeping no doubt of its floor and compound.

Verse 9 in lines 11-12 mentions a Śaiva teacher named Kuṭukk-ānhārya, who may have been the lady's preceptor, as one rendering help in the pious work, i.e. the construction of the temple of Śiva.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 179.



The following two stanzas (verses 10-11) in lines 12-13 state that the temple was consecrated (*nivāṣṭa*) on an auspicious *yōga* during the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of *Chaitra*, when the moon was in conjunction with the *Rāhī* nakṣatra. Verse 12 in lines 13-14 contains a prayer to the effect that the temple of *Sambhū*, white like the moon and beautiful like the snow-mountain, might last as long as the seas, the mountains, the *Vēdas*, the moon, the kings, the king of the serpents and the *Rudras* would endure. This is followed by the concluding stanza (verse 13 in line 14) which states that [the inscription] was composed (*cārita*) by *Jhaṅga*, son of *Bhaṭṭa Mamma*, and that it was engraved by the *kāmāṅga* (goldsmith) *Nāgāditya*.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : verses 1, 4, 8 *Arjā*; verses 2, 3, 6 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 5 *Śaṅkharā*; verses 7, 9-11, 13 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 12 *Indravajrā*.]

- 1 सिद्धम्<sup>2</sup> [१\*] नमः शिवाय । सोमोपि निष्कलङ्को हरोपि वरदः स्मृतः  
शिवो [रोद्रः १] . . . . . हि विपरीतगुणो भवो ज-
- 2 यति ॥ [१\*] गङ्गान्धारयसीश भस्मगुचिना मूर्द्धना न युक्तं तव  
संघ्वात[न्दन] — — — — — त्यादुत(तम्) । वासो नास्ति ममे-
- 3 ह नाय पितर श्री(वी)प्र नयस्वाद्य मां गीर्षे(र्षे)यं मदिते वि[हस्य]  
— — — — — [मदा पातु वः ॥ २\*] पातुजालं व्रजति(ति) क्षितिः प-
- 4 दहता क्षुब्धाश्च तोयागया दिक्चक्रं भ्रमतीव बाह्विधूतं — — — — —  
— — — — — [स]वराचरं तृ(त्रि)भुवनं [दे]वा गता विस्मयं भी-
- 5 ता दैत्यगणाः स्तुवन्ति मुनयो लीलाप्रनृत्ते हारे ॥ [३\*] . . . . .  
. . . . . लपादः श्रीमां(मान्) कदच्छि<sup>3</sup>-
- 6 देवः सकलगुणानं(ल)ङ्कृतो नित्यं (त्वम्) ॥ [४\*] विम्बो — — — — —  
— — — — — [सी]वा सुबाहू कमलदलानि-
- 7 मा कुचितभूपताका । जामूलोत्तुङ्गवृत्तं — — — — —  
— — — — — सकलगुणगणालङ्क-
- 8 ता घर्मशीला ॥ [५\*] मत्वा चंचलतां — — — — —  
— — — — — षमप्यध्रुवम् ।
- 9 मातापुत्रकलदाबन्धुपु मदा स — — — — — [यु]तं — — — — —  
— — — — — भुवो गण्डनं(तम्) ॥ [६\*] सत्यं दानं द-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. Some letters, not clear on the impressions, can be seen on their backsides.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading may be *Kudachchhi* which would suit the metre.



- 10 या दाक्ष्य दाक्षिण्य द्विजपूजनं(नम्) । दीनानुकंपनं बोण्णा विजा[नाति  
शुभानता] ॥ [७\*] चत्वारिंशद्दम्मा दत्ताः कालास्तरोपयोगार्थं(धम्) ।
- 11 खंडस्फुटितसमारणसन्मा(म्मा)ज्जैन[गुग्गु]लुनिमित्तं(तम्) ॥ [८\*] सहायो धम्म-  
कार्येस्मि(स्मिन्) शुचि[दंशो] जितेंद्रियः । कुटुक्काचार्यतामामूलत्तं(ज्जे)व-
- 12 सिद्धान्तकोविदः ॥ [९\*] उत्कुलमल्लिकाजाललीनालिकुलम्भ(स)ङ्कते ।  
एलालवंगकककोलतमालकलिकाकुले ॥ [१०\*] काले चैत्तस्य पंचम्यां चंद्रे [रो]हि-
- 13 णिसंशु(त्रि)ते । सुक्कलपप्पे शुभे योगे निविष्टं शंभूमं(म)न्दिरं(रम्) ॥ [११\*]<sup>१</sup>  
पावत्समुद्रेन्द्रनगेन्द्रवेदाश्चन्द्रो नरेन्द्रा भुजगेन्द्रहृदाः । चन्द्रावदातं तुहिना-
- 14 द्विशोभं शंभोगुहं तिष्ठतु तावदत्त ॥ [१२\*] भट्टमम्मस्य पुत्थेण ज्ञं(स)ङ्गता  
चित्तिता शुभा । उत्कोण्णा हेमकारेण नागादित्थेन धीमता ॥ [१३\*]<sup>२</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Verses 10-11 together form a *yugma* १.

<sup>२</sup> A word like *prabhu* is understood in this stanza.

No. 6—BONDA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA, YEAR 22

(2 Plates)

V. V. MIRABHIL, NAGPUR, AND THE LATE PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA, RAIGARH

(Received on 18.6.1960)

This set of three copper plates was discovered together with another set of plates of *Tivaradēva* by one Gosai Ram Rawat while digging the foundation of a house on the 5th May 1959 at Bōpā, a village in the Sarangarh Tahsil of the Raigarh District in Madhya Pradesh. The village is a large one and is situated on the right bank of the Mahānadi, opposite the village of Bālpur. Both the sets of plates were taken to Pipardulā in the Baloda Bazar Tahsil of the Raipur District, from where Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandey obtained them through the courtesy of Shri Hirbal Prasad and Shiv Lal Prasad of that village. They were then sent to the Government Epigraphist for India. The grant is edited here from the original plates.

The three plates were held together by a ring, about 4" in thickness, which passed through a round hole (7" in diameter) in the middle of the left side of each plate, about 1" from the edge. The two ends of the ring were soldered below a circular seal, about 3.7" in diameter. The ring was not cut when the plates reached Pandit Pandeya. The seal is like those of the other plates of Mahā-Sivagupta.<sup>1</sup> Its countersunk surface is divided into three parts, the upper part bearing in relief the figure of a couchant bull (Nandi), facing left, with a *trifida* in front and a *śaṅgola-kulala* behind. Below this device and separated from it by two horizontal lines appears the metrical legend in two lines. Below the legend is a large full-blown lotus, flanked by a leaf on either side. The weight of the three plates is 135 tolas and that of the ring with the seal 81 tolas.

The record consists of twentynine lines, of which the first twentyeight are equally divided among the four inscribed sides, viz., the inner side of the first plate, the two sides of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate, the last line containing only two letters and a numerical symbol being inscribed on the outer side of the third plate. The letters were neatly written and deeply engraved, some of them showing through on the back of the first and third plates. The edges of the plates were not raised; still the inscription is in a good state of preservation.

The characters are of the box-headed variety, resembling those of the Mallār,<sup>2</sup> Bārdhān<sup>3</sup> and Lōdhīā<sup>4</sup> plates of Mahā-Sivagupta. As remarked before while editing the Mallār plates, they are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the grants of the Vākātaka and Śarabha-puriya kings. The following peculiarities may be noted. The letters *a*, *ā* and *ka* have a redundant curve added to the vertical on the right, which is not noticed in the other grants of this king. See, e.g., *apī* (line 19), *agnī* (line 21), *śakāhānā* (line 24) and *sukhān* (line 15). On the other hand, a similar curve, though an essential part of subscript *ā*, is not engraved in the case of the conjunct *īā* in *prajā* in line 3. Initial *ā* is differentiated from *ka* by the absence of a box-head; see *śa-śtoyaśā* (line 18). A final consonant is shown either by the addition of a slanting stroke at the

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., the seal of the Mallār plates (above, Vol. XXIII, Plate facing page 121) and of the Lōdhīā plates (ibid., Vol. XXVII, Plate facing page 225).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVII, pp. 227 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 219 ff.



bottom of its vertical or by a curve encircling it. For an instance of the former, see *dadyāt* (line 23) and for that of the latter, see *śaśbat* (line 28). Numerical symbols for 2, 6 and 20 occur in lines 28 and 29. Punctuation is shown by means of two vertical strokes, the first of which is hooked.

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The legend on the seals, of course, in verse as in the grants of the Vākṭakaa, Śaṭabhapuriyas and other Śōmavarmās. As regards orthography, we may notice the following. The consonant preceding and following *r* is reduplicated; see, e.g., *śagōṭṭra* (line 12) and *śaurgya* (line 3) and that before *pi* is also reduplicated, though wrongly, in *Sannidhāpi* (line 8). *B* is used for *v* in several places; see *Bṛāṣṇ* (line 20), *śaśbat* (line 28), etc. *Anusāra* before *l* and *s* is changed to the guttural nasal; see *śaśla* (line 5), *śrīśaśat* (lines 17-18), etc. The writer has generally written short medial *i* in place of the long one; see, e.g., *maḥim* (line 17). Such mistakes as *tāmra* (line 13) and *śaśkṛīya* (line 20) were evidently due to wrong pronunciation.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Mahā-Śivagupta, the son of the illustrious Haraha-dāva,<sup>1</sup> who was born in the Śōmavarmāa (lunar race) and was a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara (Śiva). They record the grant of the village Śarīkarā-pātaka situated in the viśaya (district) of Lāyōḍḍaka, which the king made on the Pausa-śaṅkrānti. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Trivikramasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and the Chhamḷga (Sāmavēda). The charter is dated on the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa in the twenty-second year of the king's increasingly victorious reign. The date is recorded in both words and numerical symbols.

Mahā-Śivagupta belonged to a royal family which is called *Pāṇḍu-vamśa* in earlier grants<sup>2</sup> and *Sōma-vamśa* in later ones.<sup>3</sup> Several copper-plate and stone inscriptions of this family have been found in Chhattisgarh. Earlier scholars like Fleet and Kielhorn, who edited them, referred them to the eighth or ninth century A.D. Fleet, for instance, while editing the Rājim plates of Tivaradēva, the granduncle of Mahā-Śivagupta, remarked, "Tivaradēva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800."<sup>4</sup> Kielhorn, who edited the Sirpur stone inscription of Śivagupta (identical with Mahā-Śivagupta of the present grant), observed as follows: "The inscription is not dated, but it may, on palaeographic grounds, be referred to the eighth or ninth century A.D. And this, too, is the time to which, on the grounds of language and style, I would assign the copper-plate grants of Tivaradēva. I am, at any rate, convinced that neither inscription can be older than A.D. 700."<sup>5</sup> This view was contested by Prof. Mirashi who, while editing the Thākurdīyā plates<sup>6</sup> of Mahā-Pravararāja, showed that Tivaradēva flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Further examination of the matter led him to fix tentatively the accession of Tivaradēva in 560 A.D. and the reign-period of his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta alias Bālārjuna as 590-650 A.D.<sup>7</sup> We know from the Lōdhīā plates that the latter had a long reign of more than 57 years as he had come to the throne when quite young and was known as Bālārjuna on account of his skill in archery. He was probably the king of Kōśala who submitted to Pulakāśin II as stated in the latter's Aihōje inscription. It was evidently to his court that Hīnen-tsang paid a visit during his itinerary.

<sup>1</sup> He is called Harahagupta in the legend on the seal.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., the Bandhan plates, line 1 (*ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 140); Rājim (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 295) and Baloda (above, Vol. VII, pp. 104-05) plates of Tivaradēva; etc.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., the Mallik plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 129); Sirpur stone inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 180), etc.

<sup>4</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 179. See also above, Vol. IV, p. 258.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 13 f.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 229; *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, p. 55.



As the records of Sōmavamśi kings are singularly lacking in details necessary for computation, the period assigned above to Mahā-Sīvagupta could not be verified till now. The present charter fortunately contains some particulars which, if properly utilised, may help us in its verification. The grant was made on the occasion of the Pausa-saṅkrānti, which is the same as the Makara-saṅkrānti. The *tithi* on which it occurred is not stated in connection with it; but it was probably identical with the date of the record, which is given at the end as the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa (or Pusya) in the twenty-second [regnal] year. In ancient times, grants were no doubt sometimes recorded several days or even months after they were made;<sup>1</sup> but the mention of the month Pausa both in connection with the occasion of the gift and its recording makes it very likely that the two dates were identical. Besides, from two other grants of this king we know that his gifts were recorded on the same day on which they were made. Thus, the Bārdūā plates show that his grant of the village Vajrapadraka was made on the Kārtika-sukla-dvādāśi and that it was recorded on the same day.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the grant mentioned in the Lōdhīā plates was made and recorded on the same *tithi*, viz. Kārtika-pūrṇamāsī.<sup>3</sup> We may therefore conclude that the present grant also was made and recorded on the occasion of the Makara-saṅkrānti which occurred on the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa.

Usually, the fortnights of a lunar month are specified as *śukla* or *kṛdṣya*. In the present grant, however, the fortnight in which the grant was recorded is called *prathama* or first. As both the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* schemes of lunar months were prevalent in ancient times, the mention of the fortnight as first makes it doubtful whether the *śukla* or the *kṛdṣya* *pañcha* is meant. The records of the Śarabhapuriya and Sōmavamśi kings do not generally mention the fortnight, but count the days or *tithis* from 1 to 30.<sup>4</sup> This custom was prevalent both in the case of the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* lunar months<sup>5</sup> and therefore affords no clue to the solution of the present problem. The Lōdhīā plates, however, indicate that the *pūrṇimānta* scheme was in vogue in Chhattisgarh in the time of Mahā-Sīvagupta. These plates mention the *tithi* first as Kārtika-pūrṇamāsī and then as Kārtika-dina 30,<sup>6</sup> which clearly shows that it was cited according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. If the same scheme was intended in the case of the present grant also, its date *Pausa-prathama-pañcha-śaṣṭhī* would mean the sixth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* month Pausa. Now, the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausa is identical with the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Mārgaśīrṣa. So we shall have to suppose that the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred in the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Mārgaśīrṣa. This is impossible; for the saṅkrānti which occurs in *amānta* Mārgaśīrṣa must be Dhaumī, not Makara. The mention of the Makara-saṅkrānti in the present grant clearly shows that the month Pausa in which it occurred must be taken to be *amānta*.<sup>7</sup> The sixth

<sup>1</sup> See the dates of some Gāgga grants discussed above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171-2.

<sup>2</sup> See lines 15 and 30 of the Bārdūā plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 291).

<sup>3</sup> See lines 10-11 and 32 of the Lōdhīā plates (*ibid.*, pp. 325-26).

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Mārgaśīrṣa 28 of the Arang plates of Mahā-Jayastha (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 194); Vaiśākha-di 20 of the Arang plates of Mahā-Sūdevarāja (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 22); Śrāvana-di 29 of the Kharīar plates of Sūdevarāja (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 173); Jyēṣṭha-di 27 of the Balotā plates of Tivara-deva (*ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 106); Kārtika-dina 30 of the Lōdhīā plates of Mahā-Sīvagupta (*ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 328).

<sup>5</sup> For its use in connection with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, see the date of the Mallikarjuna plates of Hastin (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 107-08); and that of the Khich plates of Saṅkshobha (*ibid.*, pp. 114-15). For its connection with the *amānta* scheme, see above, Vol. XXVI, p. 329.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 328.

<sup>7</sup> It may seem strange that both the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* schemes should have been used in the official records of the same king Mahā-Sīvagupta. This is not, however, a unique instance of the type. We have an exactly similar case in the records of the Kalachuri king Prithivīdeva I of Raichur. His Raichur plates of the Kalachuri year 831 are dated according to the *amānta* scheme, while his Anahol plates issued ten years later in the Kalachuri year 841 are dated according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. See *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 399 and 402. There are, of course, numerous instances of both the schemes being prevalent in the same area and in the same period. See, e.g., above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 173. [As the court of the same king could have scarcely been oblivious of the confusion that would result from the indiscriminate use of *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* months without proper indication, in the dating of royal records, we are not inclined to subscribe to these views.—Ed.]



*nīthi* of the first fortnight of Pausa must, therefore, be taken to mean the sixth lunar day of the bright fortnight of that month.

As stated above, the reign period of Mahā-Sivagupta was tentatively fixed as 590-630 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Let us therefore see how far this period is corroborated by the date of the present plates. If Mahā-Sivagupta began to reign in c. 590 A.D., his twentysecond regnal year must be in the neighbourhood of 611 A.D. We have calculated the moment of the Makara-saṅkrānti and the duration of the *nīthi* Pausa-śukla-śaṣṭhī for all years in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The only year in this period in which the *saṅkrānti* and the *nīthi* came together is 616 A.D. In that year the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred at sunrise on the 20th December, while the *nīthi* Pausa-śukla-śaṣṭhī ended 3 hours and 50 minutes after mean sunrise on that day. The 20th of December 616 A.D. is therefore probably the date of the present grant. As it was made in the twentysecond year of Mahā-Sivagupta's reign, the king came to the throne in 595 A.D. This is perhaps the only instance in which it has been possible to determine the year of accession of a king whose records are dated only in regnal years. Its corroboration will have to be left to future discoveries.<sup>3</sup>

There are only two places mentioned in the present grant viz. the donated village Sarkarā-pātaka<sup>4</sup> and Lāyūddaka, the headquarters of the district in which it was situated. The former cannot be traced in the vicinity of the village Bōṇḍā where the plates were found; the latter may be identical with the village Lārā which lies about 10 miles north by east of Bōṇḍā.

### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्<sup>6</sup> [1\*] स्वस्त्यशेषक्षी(क्षि)ति(ती)गु[वि]द्याभ्यासविशेषासादितमहनीयविन-
- 2 यसम्पत्संपादितसकलविजिगि(गी)बुमुगो गुणवत्समाश्रयः
- 3 प्रकृष्टतरणीर्यप्रज्ञाप्रभावसंभादितमहाभ्युदयः कास्तिके-
- 4 य इव कुत्तिवाससो राज्ञः धि(धी)हर्षदेवस्य सुनुः[\*] सोम-
- 5 वक्ष्यसंभवः परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातध्रि(धी)महाक्षी(क्षि)न-
- 6 गुप्तराज[\*] कुजलि(ली) ॥ लायोद्गुक्वंदयिकशक्करापाटके द्वा-
- 7 द्वाणां(णान्) संपु(पु)ञ्च संप्रधानान्[\*] प्रतियासितो यथाकासाध्यासित[\*]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also above, Vol. XXVII, p. 289 and Vol. XXXI, p. 220; *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Times dates have been calculated with the help of the Tables in Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I.

<sup>3</sup> [See above, p. 62, note 7.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> This village is different from Sarkarāpādraka granted by the Śaśahapuriya king Narendra. The latter was situated in the territorial division Nandāpura. See *IRQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Read *corāka*.

<sup>8</sup> For the form of the letter *d* see *pīḍā* in line 11.

## Second Plate, First Side

- 8 समाहर्तुसचिधान्(तु)प्रमूखानन्याइश्चा'स्मत्पादोपजोदी(वि)नः]'  
 9 सर्व्वराजपुरुषान्समाज्ञापयति [1\*] विदितमस्तु भवती यथा-  
 10 स्माभिरयङ्ग्रामः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सदशापराधः सर्व्वक-  
 11 रादानसमेतः सर्व्वपि(पी)डावज्जितः प्रतिपिद्धचाटभटप्रवे-  
 12 वो च्छान्दीग'भरद्वाजसगोराभट्ट(रि)विक्रमस्वामिने पोषसंकान्त्या-  
 13 मुदकपूर्व्व मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिषु(षु)द्वये ताम्ब'शासनेना-  
 14 चन्द्रार्कसमकालोपभोगार्थं प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्यास्य विधे-

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 यतया समुचितं भोगभागादिकमुपनयद्भिर्भवद्भिः[1\*] सुखं प्रती(ति)-  
 16 वस्तव्य(व्य)मिति ॥ भाविनश्च भूमिपालानुदित्येदमभिधि(धी)यते] [1\*] भूमि-  
 17 प्रदा द्विवि ललन्ति पतन्ति हन्त हत्वा महि(ही) नृपतयो नरके नृशङ्का-  
 18 त् [1\*] एतद्व(द्व)यं परिकलय चलाञ्च लक्षि(क्षी)मा[यु"]स्तथा कुरुत य-  
 19 द्भुवतामभि(भो)ष्ट(ष्टम्) [11\*] अपि च [1\*] रक्षापालनयोस्तावरफलं  
 सुगति-  
 20 दुर्गति(ती) [1\*] को नाम स्वर्गमुच्छ्रि(त्सु)ज्य नर[कं] प्रतिपद्यते [1\*]  
 व्या(व्या)सगी-  
 21 तौहचारः श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति [1\*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं

\* Read "sagāhā-śat".

\* The same requires an expression like *sa-pāṭi-śpejītiāṭh*.

\* Read *pratikā-śatam*.

\* Read *śara*.

\* This *śakara* has a redundant curve attached to its vertical on the right. See its form in line 16 of the Mullār plates (above, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 120).

\* Read *śrīnāth*.

\* The metre of the verse is *Paustalākā*.

\* The metre of the verse is *Anuśtubh*.



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Scale : Three-fifths

SEAL



(from Photograph)





*Third Plate, First Side*

- 22 भूर्वर्णवि(वी) सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1\*] दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका यः[1\*]  
 23 क(का)ञ्चन गाञ्च महि(ही)ञ्च दत्तात् [11\*] [प]ष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मो-  
 24 दति भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [11\*] व-  
 25 ह्मिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-  
 26 त(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [11\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्बा\* यत्नाद्वक्ष  
 युधिष्ठिर [1\*] महि(ही)  
 27 महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाथे(च्छे)षोनुपालनमिति ॥ प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये  
 28 सम्भ्र(संव)त्सरे द्वाविक्रते(विशे) पौषप्रथमपक्षषष्ठधामद्धेनापि संव(व)त् २० २  
 पुष्य-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

29 दिन ६ ।

*Seal*

राजः[1\*] श्री[हर्ष]गुप्तस्य सूनोः[1\*] सद्गुणशालिनाः [1\*]  
 शासनं [शि]वगुप्तस्य स्थितमाभुवनस्थिते. ॥

\* The metre of this verse is *Indravajra*.

\* The metre of this verse and the following verses is *Anushubh*.

\* Read *paradattā* vs.

5 DGA/80

## No. 7—SALRI INSCRIPTION OF CHANDESVARAHASTIN

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGH AND J. SUNDARAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 15.8.1960)

The inscription under study was discovered at Salri near Sahya in the former Mandi State, now merged in Himachal Pradesh. It was noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1907-08*, p. 265, Plate 83, although it does not find a place in Bhandarkar's list. In his *Maharaj Inscriptions* (edited by K. L. Jauhari), p. 145, Liders commented on the form of the name of the king during whose reign the epigraph was engraved.<sup>1</sup> The record is edited here from an impression preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The impression represents a stone inscription in three lines covering an area about 27½ inches long and about eight inches high. Single letters are each about one inch and a half in height. There is the representation of a long trident in the left margin of the epigraph with an axe joined to its shaft from the right and a goad from the left. It is not improbable that it was the emblem of the royal family to which the epigraph belongs. A combined trident and axe, closely resembling the symbol on our inscription with the goad omitted, is held by Lakullis, the great founder of the Lakullis sect of the Pāṇpatas, in his left hand.<sup>2</sup> The symbol therefore was Śaivite in character. The Śaivite leanings of the kings mentioned in our record are also suggested by their names, viz., Iśvara and Chandīśvara, both meaning the god Śiva.

The characters of the epigraph belong to the Late Brāhmī alphabet as prevalent in the western areas of Northern India about the earlier part of the fourth century A. D. The forms of *u*, *ā*, *y* and *l* are of the usual Northern type which are not found in the early epigraphs of Southern and Western India, while letters like *m*, *+* and *h* are expected in the records belonging to the western regions of Northern India. Such letters as *k* and *m* as used in our inscription do not appear to be later than the fourth century A. D.<sup>3</sup> whereas the types of medial *l* sign used in *līcāca*<sup>4</sup> in line 1 and *paśi* in line 3 and the angularity of the right upper end of *ā* as in *lāvara* in line 1 are not general. expected in records earlier than the said century. The early type of subscript *ḍ* used in *paḍ* in line 2 of the epigraph under study reminds us of one of the two types of the same sign noticed in the Allahabad pillar inscription<sup>5</sup> of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A. D.), e.g. (1) in *daṇḍa*<sup>6</sup> in line 14 and *gruḍaṇḍa* in line 23, wherein the lower limb of *ḍ* is a straight stroke slanting towards the lower right, and (2) in *maruḍaṇḍa* in line 25 and *daṇḍa* in line 33, in which the lower end of the letter is curved towards the left rather sharply in the first case and slightly in the second.

<sup>1</sup> Liders' suggestion that this name is *Chandīśvara* and not *Chandīśvara* does not appear to be quite satisfactory. See below, p. 57 and note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Mandara image of Lakullis in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, Vikrama 1962* (1925-26) Plate II, figure 9, also N. B. Girdle, *Archaeology in Gwalior*, Plate XXIX. Three of the attendants of Lakullis on the same stone bear the trident, axe and goad individually. The trident-axe symbol is noticed as a trailer of snake (cf., e.g., snake from Jhans in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, Nos. JH 243, 244 and 285).

<sup>3</sup> Similar forms are found in the Mathura inscription of 380 A.D. (Shore, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 12), though the paleography of that record gives the impression of a date earlier than that of the Allahabad pillar inscription (CII, Vol. III, Plate I) of the middle of the fourth century A.D.

<sup>4</sup> CII, Vol. III, Plate 1.



This limb of subscript *ḍ* in our inscription is a straight vertical stroke earlier than the development of the letter noticed in the first of its two forms found in Samudragupta's epigraph referred to above.<sup>1</sup> Although this kind of slanting lower limb of the letter *ḍ* is found in the inscriptions of the Scythian and Kushāna rulers of the first and second centuries A.D., the palaeography of the inscription under study is of course considerably closer to that of Samudragupta's inscription than the records of the Early Scythians and Kushānas. Moreover, the early type of *ḍ* found in our inscription seems to be also noticed on certain coins of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> An interesting palaeographical feature of our inscription is the outward curvature at the lower part of the left limb of *g* and *ḍ* as well as the serif with the subscripts in conjuncts. These two characteristics are sometimes noticed in the inscriptions of the ages of the Kushānas and the earlier Guptas. The Shorkot inscription<sup>3</sup> of 402 A.D. exhibits both the features, the second of them rarely.<sup>4</sup> But its palaeography is decidedly later than that of our epigraph.

The language of the inscription under study is Satakrit. Sandhi has not been observed in *mahārāja-śaura* in line 1 while *śri-ś-Chaṇḍīśvara* has been written in lines 1-2 (or *śri-Chaṇḍīśvara*, this kind of avoidance of *sandhi* being sometimes found in some early inscriptions).<sup>5</sup>

The inscription contains a single sentence stating that *Mahārāja* Chaṇḍēśvarahastin, who was the son of *Mahārāja* Iavarahaastin and belonged to the *Vātsa gōtra*, built a city in a locality called *Śrēṇyaka* after having defeated a person named *Rājula*. The family represented by the two *Mahārājas* with names ending in *hastin* may probably be regarded as the Hastin dynasty. An *śloka* in the name of the city built by Chaṇḍīśvarahastin in *Śrēṇyaka* is damaged, though the name may have been *Bhaṭṭaśālipuri*. It is difficult to say whether the word *śloka* had anything to do with the soldiers who must have fought in the battle referred to. The reference may also be to the temple of a deity called *Bhaṭṭaśālin*.

It is clear from the contents of the record that the victory over the enemy was regarded by *Mahārāja* Chaṇḍēśvarahastin as an achievement worthy enough to be commemorated by the construction of a city or temple probably on the site where the battle between himself and his adversary was fought.

The title *Mahārāja* assumed by the rulers mentioned in our record was first used in India by the Indo-Greek king Eucratides in the first half of the second century B.C., while, among indigenous Indian monarchs, it was first assumed by the Kāśhāga king Khāravāla who flourished about the close of the first century B.C.<sup>6</sup> In the second and third centuries A.D., some Indian kings called themselves *Rājā* and *Mahārāja* indiscriminately, although the former title was possibly somewhat more popular especially in South India.<sup>7</sup> With the popularisation of the imperial title *Mahārājādīpītya* by the Guptas from the fourth century A.D., *Mahārāja* generally became the title of smaller rulers and feudatories especially in North India.<sup>8</sup> These facts do not

<sup>1</sup> The *apabara* *ed* in the Mathura inscription (350 A.D.) of Chandragupta II is of the same type; but the lower limb is only slightly slanting. Cf. above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 8, text line 17 (*daḍḍḍ*).

<sup>2</sup> See Altakar, *Gupta Gold Coins of the Gupta House*, Plate XXXV, No. 36; Plate XXXVII, No. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. loc. cit., *id* in *corrigenda*; also *GIL*, Vol. III, Plate XXXVI, *id* (see in *ṣṭṛ-ṣṭṛ* in line 2); etc.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 151, note 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Select Descriptions*, p. 222, note 3; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 215. The Bactrian king Heliokles is supposed to be called a *Mahārāja* in the Banniger inscription (*Mem. A. S. L.*, No. 8, p. 122 and Plate XXVI; *JAHNKA*, Vol. XXIII, 1914, p. 144). But the only letters readable on the stone after the king's name is *śa* and it is difficult to say whether the intended word is *Mahārāja* or anything else.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the *Sātavāhana* and *Ikshvāku* inscriptions, e.g., *Select Descriptions*, p. 176, text line 1; p. 194, text line 10; p. 222 (No. 3), text lines 2 and 3; etc.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 304-05.



clash with the ascription of our record to the beginning of the fourth century since, in the third and fourth centuries, the rulers of the western regions of North India often assumed the title *Mahārāja*.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the names of the two kings mentioned in our record, both ending in the word *Hastin*, only a few such royal names are known to us from early records. Although king Hastin of the *Pativrajaka* family and rulers named Hastivarma in the *Śālavāyana* and Eastern *Gaṅga* dynasties are well known,<sup>2</sup> names of early Indian rulers ending in *Hastin* are no doubt rare. We know of one *Ragahastin* who issued tiny silver coins bearing his name on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse apparently in reference to the second element in his name. A few such coins were found in Rajasthan and Kathiawar and at Kanauj. It is also known that *Ragahastin* was another name of the celebrated Gurjara-Pratihāra king *Vaṭasrāja* (c. 775-805 A.D.) who may have been the issuer of the coins in question.<sup>3</sup> The name *Rājīla* reminds us of a chief of the same name mentioned in the *Vasantgadhi* (Sirahi District, Rajasthan) inscription of 625 A.D.<sup>4</sup> and of the chief *Rājīla* who was an ancestor of the Pratihāra chiefs of the Jodhpur region mentioned in the Jodhpur and Ghaffiyala inscriptions, dated respectively in 837 and 861 A.D.<sup>5</sup> The name *Rājīyila* borne by a royal officer mentioned in the *Karitalai* plates (493 A.D.)<sup>6</sup> of the Uchchakalpa king *Jayanātha* seems to be a modification of the same name.

There are two geographical names in the inscription, viz. the locality called *Śrēṇyaka* and the city called *Bha[ita?]līpuri* which may also have been the name of a temple. It is difficult to say if *līpuri* in the name is the origin of the name *Sāli* where the inscription has been found. If such is the case, *Śrēṇyaka* would be the old name of the land around the said village.

### TEXT

- 1 Śrī-mahārāja-<sup>1</sup>Īvarahasti-satpatrāpa mahārāja-<sup>2</sup>ṛit-Cha-<sup>3</sup>
- 2 oṣṭāvarahastinā Rājīlārā .<sup>4</sup> yadīlā jītvā Śrēṇyaka Bha-
- 3 [ita?]<sup>5</sup>līpuri kārītā Vāta-sagōtrēpa [1]<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 67; *CIL*, Vol. III, pp. 252, 283; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 2089, pp. 398, 399; also see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 263, for a Hastin of the *Hastak* family.

<sup>3</sup> See *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 193, ff.; Vol. XVI, pp. 282-83; Vol. XVIII, pp. 222-23. For the name *Ragahastin*, see *Lüders' List*, No. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 36 and 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1194.

<sup>7</sup> From an impression.

<sup>8</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Śrī-Cha*.

<sup>10</sup> These two *ākṣaras* are lost. Traces of what may be a superscript *i* forming a part of the second *ākṣara* are visible.

<sup>11</sup> One *ākṣara* is damaged here. The traces do not help us in restoring it, although it may have been *ta*.

<sup>12</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a *visarga*-like sign followed by a horizontal stroke.



SALRI INSCRIPTION OF CHANDESVARHASTIN



Scale : One-fourth





## No. 8—ALLEGED COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.6.1960)

It is well known to the students of Indian numismatics that Prof. V. V. Mirashi has been trying for the past ten years to prove the existence of a Mahisha dynasty of Śaka nationality founded by a king named Māna and of certain other rulers of that family as also to show that these Mahisha kings ruled over the southern part of the former Hyderabad State. The theories are based on his reading and interpretation of the legends on certain coins mostly discovered in the said area. It may also be known to our numismatists that we have often expressed the opinion that Prof. Mirashi's readings of the coin legends are doubtful and that his interpretations of the legends are still more dubious. But it has sometimes been complained that we have only characterised the published readings of the coin legends and their interpretations as unsatisfactory without offering any reading and interpretation ourselves.<sup>1</sup>

Our difficulty was that we were not prepared to commit without examining the coins and satisfying ourselves with the reading of the legends and their interpretation. Recently we had an opportunity of examining the plaster casts of some of the coins in the Hyderabad Museum including what Prof. Mirashi has published as those issued by the kings of the so-called Mahisha dynasty, and are now fortunately in a better position to express our opinion on them. The casts were prepared by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant of our office, when he visited the Museum in 1959, and we are thankful to him for placing them at our disposal.

Prof. Mirashi has recently discussed, in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 116-21, the history of his study of the coins of a ruler whom he calls the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty. This story indicates the following stages in the development of his interesting theory about the kings of the Mahisha dynasty.

(1) In 1916, Prof. Mirashi received inked impressions of two coins in the possession of Mr. Harinus Kaus of Hyderabad and published them in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff. and Plate. The legend on the coins was read and translated by him as follows: *Raśāno Saga-Māna-Mahasa(sa\*)* (Sanskrit *Rājāṇo Śaka-Māna-Mahisharāja*), '[This coin is] of the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty.' From the illustration, however, it is quite clear that not only *sa*, put in brackets with an asterisk after *mahasa*, is untraceable on the coins and is admittedly an imaginary addition, but there is also absolutely no trace of the word *raśāno* on them.<sup>2</sup> His interpretation of the legend was influenced by the Puranic passage *Śakyamānābhavad-rājā Mahishīpāt* (v.l. *Mahishīpāt*) *mahīpatī*. It seems that he corrected *Śakyamānābhavad* to *Śaka-Māna-bhavad*<sup>3</sup> and *Mahishīpāt* or *Mahishīpāt* to *Mahishāpāt*. The territory over

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, 1956, pp. 6 ff.; 116 ff.; 124 ff. Prof. Mirashi's articles on the coins in question are referred to below. Our comments on some of his theories based on these coins were offered earlier in op. cit., Vol. XII, pp. 80 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 174 ff.; Vol. XXIX, pp. 294 ff. Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the present article.

<sup>2</sup> What has been read as *raśāno* with the remarks, 'These two akṣaras appear very thin and cramped for want of space', is really a small symbol of six arches (i.e. a six-peaked hill), which is partly rubbed off.



which the Śaka king 'Māna the Mahiśha' ruled was located by him in the region around Mahiśmati, i.e. modern Māndhātā or Maheshwar on the Narmada. As, however, will be seen below, the letters *ambasa* constitute the first part of the word *Mahāmāpatim* found on other coins of the same person and therefore the existence of the Mahiśha dynasty has no foundation at all.

(2) In 1949, Prof. Mirashi received photographs of two coins discovered in the course of excavations, the first at Kondapur and the second at Maski, from Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmed, then Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, and published them in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff. and Plate.<sup>1</sup> He also published a note on the responsibility of the Śaka kings of the Mahiśha dynasty for the spread of the Śaka era in South India in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Cuttack Session, 1949*, pp. 45 ff., as well as in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, 1950, pp. 216 ff. The fragmentary legend on the said two coins from Kondapur and Maski, as he read it, ends with the letters *nubasa* which were taken to stand for Sanskrit *Mahiśha* and he ascribed the Kondapur coin to the same Śaka king Māna of the Mahiśha dynasty. The legend on the Maski coin was read by Prof. Mirashi as *gamaśa Mahiśha* (or\*) which suggested to him a Mahiśha king with his name ending in the word *paśa*, supposed to have been a later member of the family founded by the Mahiśha-Śaka king Māna, though elsewhere he applies the name Yasa to this king.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of the discovery of these coins at Kondapur in the Medak District and Maski in the Raichur District, he now suggested that the territory ruled by the kings of the Mahiśha-Śaka dynasty comprised the southern part of the former Hyderabad State, which in his opinion was called Māhahaka in ancient times.<sup>3</sup> It was also suggested that the said Mahiśha-Śaka house of Southern Hyderabad was an offshoot of the Kahakarata-Śaka family of Western India. But, as has already been indicated above, *Mahasa*, . . . actually stands for *Mahāmāpatim*. The dynastic and personal names of the issuer of the coins, which have been misunderstood even though they are quite clear, are being discussed below and it will be seen that they have nothing to do either with the Śakas or with any Mahiśha dynasty.

(3) Two notes were published by Prof. Mirashi in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XII, 1950, pp. 87-89 and pp. 90-91 with Plates.<sup>4</sup> The subject of the first of the two notes is a coin in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Rana, which bears the legend *Saga-Māna Chutaka*, i.e., ' [This coin is] of the Śaka Māna Chutaka,' as read and interpreted by Prof. Mirashi. It was now suggested that this Śaka king named Māna-Chutaka belonged to the family founded by the Śaka ruler Māna who himself as well as some of his successors (like . . . *gahar* or *Yasa* referred to above) assumed the dynastic name *Mahasa*—Sanskrit *Mahiśha*. As will be seen below, Prof. Mirashi later regarded *Chutaka* as a shortened form of *Chapa-kula* which is, according to him, an epithet of Śaka Māna, and means 'belonging to the Chapa family.'<sup>5</sup> But we have pointed out elsewhere<sup>6</sup> that the same Māna could have scarcely been described on some of his coins as 'Māna the Mahiśha' and on others as 'Māna the Chutaka (i.e. Chapa).'

\*The article was reprinted in *Numismatic Series*, No. 2.—'Some Coins of the Mahiśha Dynasty', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, with illustration of the Kondapur and Maski coins as well as the two coins published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII.

\**Numismatic Series*, No. 7.—'Coins of King Samahāgataśaka from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, p. 2. In our opinion, the reading of what has been read as *paśa* is absolutely uncertain.

\*For our comments on the location of the Mahiśha country in the southern part of the former Hyderabad State, cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 50 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 174 ff.

\*The coins dealt with in the second note were also published in *Numismatic Series*, No. 2.—'Some More Mahiśha Coins from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950.

\**JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 2.



The subject of the second note of Prof. Mirashi is a number of coins on which the complete legend was read by him as *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭia Rodājī-putasa Saka-Māna Chufukulasa*, with the remarks that sometimes *Senāpatigata* and *Chufuka* occur in the legend instead of *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭi* and *Chufukula* respectively. As a matter of fact, however, the seventh and eighth letters of what actually reads *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭia Bharaḍāji-putasa* (i.e. the letters *sa* *tha*) were wrongly read as *puta*. But the word *Chufuka* has been rightly regarded by Prof. Mirashi as a shortened form of *Chufukula*, although his interpretation of the expression, as will be seen below, is wrong.

(4) In an article in the same journal, Vol. XV, 1953, pp. 113 ff. and Plate, Prof. Mirashi published another coin of the so-called *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭi Saka Māna* from Kondapur, which helped him to correct the reading *Rodājī-puta* of the legend on similar coins, published by him previously and referred to above, to *Bharaḍāji-puta* (Sanskrit *Bharaḍvāja-putra*). The legend is now read as *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭia Bharaḍāji-putasa Saka-Māna-Chufu-kulasa* (Sanskrit *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭe Bharaḍvāja-putrasya Saka-Māna-Chufu-kulasya*) and translated as '[This coin is] of the *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭi Saka Māna*, the son of *Bharaḍvāja*, who is of the *Chuta* family.' It is also suggested that *Saka Māna* had issued these coins earlier when he was a *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭi* while his coins bearing the epithet *raṇḍa* were issued at a later date after his assumption of royal title. Prof. Mirashi further observes, 'In two other respects, these Kondapur coins differ from those found elsewhere. They mention his (i.e. *Saka Māna*'s) family as *Chufu-kula* which is shortened to *Chufuka* in one case (see above, Vol. XII, Pl. VIII, Coin 8). On the other coins, he mentions instead the epithet *Mahasa* (Sanskrit *Mahishā*) derived from the country under his rule. He seems to have been well known as the king of the Mahishas.'<sup>1</sup> But, as we have pointed out above, the word *raṇḍa* does not actually occur on the coins in question. Elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> we commented on the interpretation of *Saka-Māna-Chufu-kulasa* (Sanskrit *Saka-Māna-Chufu-kulasya*) as 'of the *Saka Māna* belonging to the *Chuta* family' as quite unsatisfactory. If that was the meaning intended, the passage would have been worded as *Chufu-kulasa Saka-Mānasa* (Sanskrit *Chufu-kulasya Saka-Mānasya*) or at least *Chufu-kula-Saka-Mānasa* (Sanskrit *Chufu-kula Saka-Mānasya*). There is no instance of the mention of a person and his dynasty in extremely awkward compound expressions like *Saka-Māna-Chufu-kula*, as Prof. Mirashi's interpretation would involve.

There is another interesting fact to which attention of scholars should be drawn in this connection. The occurrence of the epithet *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭia* on these coins suggests quite clearly that the letters *sa* *tha* read on the same person's other issues, published by Prof. Mirashi earlier, do not stand for *Mahisa*(*sa*\*) (Sanskrit *Mahishasya*), 'of the Mahisha', but for *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭia*(*sa*\*) (Sanskrit *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭe*), 'of the *Mahāśaṇḍapāṭi* (i.e. great *Senāpati* or commander of forces)'. Considering, however, the arrangements of the words in the passage *Sagamāna Mahāśaṇḍapāṭia*(*sa*\*) on this group of coins as well as the size of both the coins of this group and of the letters in the legend, it appears to us that the full legend here may have been *Sagamāna Mahāśaṇḍapāṭia Chufukulasa* (or *Chufukulasa*) and that the epithet *Bharaḍāji-putasa* (Sanskrit *Bharaḍvāja-putrasya*, 'of one who is the son of a lady born in a family belonging to the *Bharaḍvāja* gotra'), may have been omitted for the sake of space. In any case, it is clear that the flans of these coins were considerably smaller than the die. As will be seen below, what Prof. Mirashi takes to be *Saka-Māna* (i.e. *Saka-Māna*) we are inclined to take as *Sagamāna* (i.e. *Sagamāna*), 'of the *Sagamāna* (i.e. belonging to the *Sagama* family)'.

In our opinion, Coin No. 1, the inked rubbing of which has been published in *Nomenclature Series*, No. 8, Plate I, reads *Bharaḍāji* and not *Bharaḍāji* and the legend fully preserved on Coin

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> JNSI, Vol. XVIII, p. 3.



No. 5 on the same Plate<sup>1</sup> and incompletely on some others read *Mahāsenāpati Bhāradājī-putrasa Sagamāsa Chutukula*. The natural inclination of any student of Sanskrit and Prakrit would be to take the passage to stand for Sanskrit *Mahāsenāpateḥ Bhāradājī-putrasya Sagamāsa Chutukulasya* and to translate it as '[This coin is] of *Mahāsenāpati Bhāradājī-putra Chutukula* of the *Sagamāsa* (i.e. belonging to the *Sagama* dynasty)'. *Sagamāsa Chutukula* may be compared to numerous such passages occurring in early South Indian inscriptions, e.g. *Pallavāya Śivakhaṇḍavarma* (Sanskrit *Pallavānā Śivakhaṇḍavarmā*), 'Śivakhaṇḍavarman of the Pallava family'; occurring in the Hirabadagalli plates.<sup>2</sup> Whether *Sagama* is a Dravidian name or stands for Sanskrit *Saigama* or *Saṅgrāma* cannot be determined, although these are familiar personal names,<sup>3</sup> easily applicable to families, and the medieval *Saigama* dynasty (1330-1455 A.D.) of Vijayanagara is well-known to us.

The language of the passage also shows beyond doubt that *Chutukula* here has to be taken as a personal name. There is certainly no other satisfactory explanation of the passage. To some of our readers, however, *Chutukula* as a personal name would appear rather awkward, since the word *kula* forming its second part means 'a family' in Sanskrit. Of course, Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* recognises *Rājakula-bhāṭṭa* occurring in the *Kathāvaritāgara* as the personal name of a poet. But there is reason to believe that, just as *Mihirakula* was Sanskritised from Persian *Mihrgul*, *Chutukula* is likewise the Sanskritised form of a Dravidian personal name.

We have certain coins found in the Karwar region, some of which bear the legend *Rāṣa Chutukadānandasa*, '[This coin is] of king *Chutukadānanda*', and others with the legend *Rāṣa Muḍānandasa*, '[This coin is] of king *Muḍānanda*', although both the groups are exactly similar in type.<sup>4</sup> There is absolutely no doubt that these coins were issued by two rulers (apparently related to each other) whose personal names were *Chutukadānanda* and *Muḍānanda*. There also cannot be any doubt that the personal name *Chutukadānanda* occurs in its Sanskrit garb as *Chutukulānanda* in the name of *Hārīṣputra Viṣṇukadā-Chutukulānanda Śātakarṇi* of an inscription<sup>5</sup> from Banavasi and of *Hārīṣputra Viṣṇukadā-Chutukulānanda Śātakarṇi* of another inscription<sup>6</sup> from Malavalli. We have seen above that coins, wrongly attributed by Prof. Mirashi to king *Māna* of the *Mahisha* dynasty, represent the personal name of the issuer in some cases as *Chutukula* and in others in a shortened form as *Chutuka* which is the same as *Chuta* with the *svāritika* suffix *ka* added to it.<sup>7</sup> This fact would suggest that *Chutukula*, the Sanskritised form of Dravidian *Chutukada*, was another slightly shortened form of the personal name *Chutukadānanda-Chutukulānanda*. It is of course difficult to say whether *ānanda*, the third element in the name, is also the Sanskritised form of a Dravidian word. But that personal names with this element were popular in certain areas of the Deccan, seems to be suggested by names like *Muḍānanda* found on the Karwar coins referred to above and *Viṣṇupradmācūlananda Śātakarṇi* of *Vanavāsa* (modern *Banavāsi* in the North Kanara District, Mysore) mentioned in the *Nagarjunikonda* inscription<sup>8</sup> of the time of the *Ābhīra* king *Vasubhoja*.

<sup>1</sup> This is the same as Coin No. 6 in Plate VIII of *JNSI*, Vol. XII.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> *Bandarkar's List*, Nos. 123, 1557, 1560, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Rayson, Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., pp. lxxviii-lxxxiv, 59-60, Plate VIII, Nos. G.P. 2, 235, G.P. 3, and Nos. 236, G.P. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. llii, No. 23; *Idlers' List*, No. 1196; above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 229 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Rayson*, op. cit., p. lii; *Idlers' List*, No. 1195.

<sup>7</sup> The addition of this suffix is quite common in early epigraphic records.

<sup>8</sup> *Indian Archaeology* 1904-59, p. 8; above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 187.



The above discussions will make it clear that whatever has been said during the past decade about the existence of kings of the Mahisha-Śaka dynasty and their rule over the southern part of the old Hyderabad State, on the basis of the erroneous reading and interpretation of the coin legends dealt with above, is entirely without any foundation.

Chupukula, who issued the coins discussed above and enjoyed the official designation *Mahā-senāpati*, seems to have been the military governor of a district or its subdivision within the dominions of some king who cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge. It appears that he flourished as a semi-independent ruler when the Śātavāhana power was fast declining. The issue of coins by such subordinate rulers is illustrated by certain coins bearing the legend *Sātakama-Kaṭāya-mahārāja* (Sanskrit *Sātakarni-Kaṭāya-mahārāṣṭrīya*),<sup>1</sup> [This coin is] of Sātakarni-Kaṭāya, the *Mahārāṣṭrīya*.<sup>2</sup> The official designation *Mahārāṣṭrīya* means 'the great *Rāṣṭrīya* or the ruler of a *rāṣṭra*', i.e. 'a chief of the *Rāṣṭrīyas*', and *rāṣṭra* means a group of villages or the subdivision of a district. The word *rāṣṭrīya* reminds us of the designation *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, 'head of a *rāṣṭra*', coined on the analogy of *Gramakūṭa*, 'head of a *grama* or village'.<sup>3</sup> Another similar designation is *Rāṣṭramahattara* mentioned along with *Grāmanahattara*.<sup>4</sup>

In this connection reference may be made to certain other coins published by Prof. Mirashi in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. In a small note in Vol. XV, p. 120 and plate, he published a coin in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad. In the fragmentary legend on the coin, Prof. Mirashi could not read anything besides the letters *śivala maha* which induced him to attribute the issue to a Mahisha king named Śivala. We, however, consider the suggestion absolutely unwarranted. In the first place, he admits the existence of a letter like *ka* before *śi*. Thus the name may have been one ending in *śivala* as in the case of Viśvapuruṣa-Śivalakṛanda-Sātakarni of a Nagarjunikonda inscription referred to above. Secondly, the two letters *maha* may suggest anything like *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahārāṣṭrīya*, *Mahāgrāmika*, *Mahātalaṅkara*,<sup>5</sup> etc., and there is no reason to confine ourselves to *Mahisha* even if such an epithet was known from epigraphic and numismatic records. But, as we have shown above, *Mahisha* does not occur in the legend of any Indian coin so far discovered.

<sup>1</sup> Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59. Rapson also offered the alternative suggestion that *Sātakama* stands for Sanskrit *Sātakāma* from *Sātaka* and drew our attention to the personal names *śi-Sāta* and *Śāntadāga-Sātaka* (*op. cit.*, p. xxxii). The expression *Sātakāma* means 'of the Śātakas', i.e. 'belonging to the Śātakas family or people'. It is interesting in this connection to note that, while most versions of Rock Edict II of Aśoka speak of *Satiya-puta* or *Sātiya-puta*, 'the king of the Satiyas or Sātiyas' side by side with *Kerala-puta*, 'the king of the Keralas' the Erragudi version has *Satika-puta* for *Satiya-puta* or *Sātiya-puta*. It is well known that *Kerala-puta*-Sanskrit *Kerala-putra*, literally 'the son of the Keralas', occurs in the form *Kerobothra* in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* as well as in the works of Ptolemy and Pliny to indicate 'the king of the Keras (Kerules)'. See my *Maṣṭī Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 8, note 1. The original form of the name of the other people in question seems to have been *Śātika* or *Śāntika*. The land of the king called *Satiya-puta*-*Sātiya-puta*-*Satika-puta* is often located to the north of the territory of *Kerala-puta* in the Malayalam-speaking area, not very far away from the Chitaldrug region of Mysore where the coins of *Sātakama Kaṭāya-mahārāja* were found. It is therefore not impossible that the Mahārathi was a son of the ancient race called *Satiya*-*Sātiya*-*Satika* in the inscriptions of Aśoka. *Sātakama* would in that case stand for *Sātikāma* or *Śāntikāma*, 'of the Śātika or Śāntika race'.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* is mentioned in reports like the Ellora plates of Dhātubhūga (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 25 ff.). *Rāṣṭrīya* is the same as *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*-Prakrit *Rāṣṭhika* of records like the Hirahujagullī plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Rāṣṭra-grāma-mahattara* in the Kavi plates in *Jal. As.*, Vol. V, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For coins issued by a *Mahātalaṅkara* or a *Talpaṇa* whose name ended in *maha* (i.e. *the Sanskrit śivala*),

<sup>5</sup> *JNSI*, Vol. XV, pp. 117 ff.



Another note on a few coins discovered at Kondapur was published by Prof. Mirashi in the same journal, Vol. XII, 1950, pp. 92-93 and Plate, as well as in *Nemismatin Series*, No. 7—'Coins of King Samahāgrāmaka from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, pp. 1-2 and Plate. The legend on these coins has been made out and interpreted by him as *Samahāgrāmaka mahā...* (Sanskrit *Samahāgrāmakasya mahā...*). '[This coin is] of Samahāgrāmaka Mahā...'. We are indeed thankful to him that he was not inclined to regard the letters *mahā* at the end of the legend to stand for *Mahāsava* (Sanskrit *Mahāsavya*) and Samahāgrāmaka as another king of the so-called Mahishā dynasty of Southern Hyderabad.

On an examination of the plaster casts of these coins, we find that the correct reading of the legend is *Mahāgrāmaka Māthari-putra...sa* (Sanskrit *Mahāgrāmakasya Māthari-putrasya...sa*), '[This coin is] of Mahāgrāmaka Māthari-putra...'. The personal name of the Mahāgrāmaka is unfortunately not preserved in any of the specimens. *Mahāgrāmaka* means 'the great *Grāmaka* (the headman of a village), i.e., a chief of the *Grāmikas*', or 'the head of a *mahāgrāma*'. The word *mahāgrāma* is known from South Indian records to mean a group of villages like the *vāhika*.<sup>1</sup> *Mahāgrāmaka* was therefore an official designation similar to *Rāshtrakūṭa Rāshtrakūṭahottara*, *Rāshtriya* and *Rāshtriya*. In the Nagarjunikonda inscription of the time of Ābhira Vasudeva, Kausiki-putra Śivaloka of the Perihijha family is endowed with the designations *Mahāgrāmaka*, *Mahāvalavara* and *Mahārajanayaka*.<sup>2</sup> The designation *Mahāgrāmaka* reminds us of the officer entitled *Dāhagrāmaka* who was apparently a *Grāmika* having jurisdiction over ten villages.<sup>3</sup> It appears that *Mahāgrāma* was a territorial unit like *Dahagrāma*.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 148 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Successors of the Śālistambas*, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Archaeology*, 1953-59, p. 8; above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 19, where *Mahāgrāmaka* has been alternatively interpreted as 'an inhabitant of Mahāgrāma'.

<sup>4</sup> For the *Dāhagrāmaka*, see *Gandakīśākhā*, p. 16, text line 47 (*garka-kai-dāhagrāmaka*); *Jyeshthakūṭa-Mahāvalavara*; *Mahāvalavara*; *Dāhagrāmaka*; *śaṭha-eyamakaravak*); cf. also *JAS Letters*, Vol. XVII, p. 93.



## APPENDIX I

Coins wrongly assigned to the so-called Mahisha Kings

### A. COINS OF MAHĀSENĀPATI BHĀRADVĀJĪPUTRA CHUTUKA OR CHUTUKULA OF THE SĀGAMA DYNASTY

#### Type I.—Elephant<sup>1</sup> ; Ujjayini<sup>2</sup> Symbol<sup>3</sup> ; Copper

*Obverse* :—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right ; *Svastika* above the back of the elephant ; legend around in thick characters : *Sagamāna Mahā[senāpati]*....

*Reverse* :—Ujjayini symbol with orbs having each a pellet in double circle ; *Svastika* between each pair of orbs.

1. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad : *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 34, Plate at p. 35, figure A ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, Plate II, figure b-2].

Size—squarish, 1" × .9" ; weight—130 grains ; Legend—... *samāna Mahā[sa]*....

2. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad : *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 34, Plate at p. 35, figure B ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, Plate II, figure b-1].

Size—rectangular, .95" × .75" (thick) ; Weight—180 grains ; Legend—*Sagamāna [Ma]*.... There is a six-peaked hill symbol near the end of the elephant's tail.<sup>4</sup>

#### Type II.—Svastika<sup>5</sup> ; Thunderbolt and Arrow ; Lead and Copper

*Obverse* :—*Svastika* and legend around : *Mahāsenāpatia Bhāradājīputasa Sāgamāna Chutukasa* (or *Chutukulasa*).

*Reverse* :—In pellet border, thunderbolt with arrow pointed downwards on right or left.

**Variety A-1** : Lead, Squarish

**Class I** : Issuer's name—Chutū....

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90, Plate VIII, No. 2 ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 8, p. 1, Plates I-II, No. 1.]

Size—.9" × .8" ; Weight—110 grains ; Legend—... *[ho]sanapatiā Bhāradājī-putasa Sāgamāna Chū[tu]*.... ; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

2. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 4 ; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 4.]

Size—.5" × .75" ; Weight—128 grains ; Legend—... *Bhāradāja-putasa Sāgamāna*.... ; arrow probably to the left of the thunderbolt.

3. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 5 ; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 5.]

Size—.75" × .75" ; Weight—112 grains ; Legend—... *asa Bhāradāja-putasa Sāgamāna*.... ; arrow to the right of the thunderbolt.

**Class II** : Issuer's name—Chutuka

<sup>1</sup> The Ujjayini symbol connects this type with Type III below.

<sup>2</sup> This symbol has been wrongly regarded by Prof. Minshel as the word *ramāna*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Svastika* connects this type with Type III below.



4. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 3; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 2.]

Size— $9' \times .65'$ ; Weight—77 grains; Legend—...[a]sa [Bha]radaja-putasa Sagamāsa Chutukasa; arrow to the right of the thunderbolt.

5. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 8; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 7.]

Size— $7' \times .7'$ ; Weight—80 grains; Legend—Mahāsena[patasa]...[puta]sa Sagamāsa Chutakasa; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

**Variety B-1**: Lead, Round—big; Issuer's name—Chutukula

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 6; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 5.]

Size— $1.8'$  in diameter; Weight—136 grains; Legend—Mahāsena[patasa] [Bharada]ja-puta[sa] Sagamāsa Chutukulasa; the arrow is obliterated.

2. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 115, Plate VI, Nos. 1-2.]

Size— $1.7'$  in diameter; Weight—96 grains; Legend—Mahāsena[patasa] Bharadaja-putasa Sagamāsa Chutukulasa.

**Variety B-2**: Copper, Round—small; Issuer's name—lost.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90, Plate VIII, No. 9; *Numismatic Series*, No. 8, p. 1, Plates I-II, No. 8.]

Size— $.8'$  in diameter; Weight—80 grains; Legend—...[Bha]radaja-putasa Sa[ga]...; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

**Type III.—Svastika**: : Ujjayini Symbol<sup>1</sup>; Lead, Round

*Obverse*:—Svastika and partially preserved legend around: ...[sa] Bharada]ja-putasa [Sagamā]sa....

*Reverse*:—Ujjayini symbol as on Type 1, but with crescent above.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 7; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 6.]

Size— $.75'$  in diameter; Weight—115 grains.

**Type IV.—Lion**: : Ten-peaked Hill<sup>2</sup>; Lead, Round

*Obverse*:—Lion<sup>3</sup> to right with tail hanging down; Svastika above the back of the lion; a symbol looking like tree-in-railling to the left of Svastika; Legend—...Ma[hara]....

*Reverse*:—In double lined square, ten-peaked hill with a dot in each of the curves surmounted by a crescent which is flanked by what looks like ploughs.

<sup>1</sup> The size is quoted by Prof. Mirashi differently as  $.65' \times .85'$  in *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90. It is difficult to say which of the two quotations is correct.

<sup>2</sup> The Svastika connects this type with Type II and the Ujjayini symbol with Type I above.

<sup>3</sup> The lion connects this type with Type V while the ten-peaked hill reminds us of the six-peaked hill on the reverse of Type VI, although the issuer of Types V-VI cannot be regarded as members of the Sagama dynasty without further evidence.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Mirashi regards the animal as a horse.



ALLEGED COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS



1



2



3



4



5







(from Photograph)



1. Hyderabad Museum (from the Maski excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XI, p. 2, Plate II, No. 10 *Numismatic Series*, No. 3; p. 5, Plate II, figure a-2.]

Size—1.05" in diameter; Weight—210 grains; Legend—.....*Maha[sa]*.....<sup>1</sup>

#### B. COINS NOT ASSIGNABLE TO CHUTUKA-CHUTUKULA

**Type V.—Lion<sup>2</sup> : Ujjayini Symbol ; Lead, Roundish**

*Obverse*.—Lion with upraised tail to left; legend above—.....*Maharashisa* (l).....<sup>3</sup>

*Reverse*.—Ujjayini symbol with a pellet in each orb.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XI, Plate II, p. 1; No. 9; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, p. 1, Plate II, figure a-1.]

Size—.75" in diameter; Weight—72.5 grains.

**Type VI.—Crescent : Six-peaked Hill ; Lead, Roundish**

*Obverse*.—Crescent. Legend (to be read from the outer side) around—.....*śivalasa\* malā*.....<sup>4</sup>

*Reverse*.—Similar to the reverse device of Type IV; but the hill is six-peaked.

1. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad: *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 120, Plate VI, Nos. 6-7.]

Size—.85" in diameter; Weight—54 grains.

### APPENDIX II

#### Coins of Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula

Among the coins in the Hyderabad Museum, of which plaster casts were prepared by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, there is one bearing the standing lion on the obverse and the tree-in-railing and Ujjayini symbols on the reverse as well as the legend *Mahārāshisa Chutukulasa* (Sanskrit *Mahārāshṭrīśa Chutukulasasa*). [This coin is] of *Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula*<sup>1</sup>. From the specimen examined, it is not possible to say whether an expression like *Sagamāna* has been cut off before *Mahārāshisa*. Therefore, in the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to determine whether *Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula* of this coin is identical with *Mahāśaṇḍapati Bhāradvāja-putra Chutuka* or *Chutukula* of the Sagama dynasty, whose coins have been discussed above. The identification is, however, not totally precluded by the difference in the official designations *Mahārāshṭrin* and *Mahāśaṇḍapati* since the same person often enjoyed more than one such designation and, as we have seen above, a subordinate of the Ābhira king Vasudeva is known from a Nāgārjunikonda inscription to have enjoyed three official designations at a time, viz. *Mahāgrāmika*, *Mahātalanura* and *Mahādāṇḍanāyaka*. There are innumerable cases of this kind in later inscriptions.

Another coin of a similar type in the same collection bears the imperfect legend *Mahārāshisa* ..... and may have been issued by *Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula* referred to above. A third coin in the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Mizuchi reads: *ś[ī]ś[ī]* ... *śaśa* *Mahāsasa* and assigns the coin to a person named ... *śaśa* or *Yaka* of the so-called Mahishā dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> The lion connects this type with Type V while the six-peaked hill reminds us of the six-peaked hill on the reverse of Type VI, although the issues of Types V-VI cannot be regarded as members of the Sagama dynasty without further evidence.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Mizuchi reads the legend as ... *śa* *Mahāsasa* (sa) and assigns the coin to the so-called Mīna Mahishā.

<sup>4</sup> The name of the issuer of this coin is probably not *Śivala* but ends in *li*.

<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to say whether this stands for *Mahāśaṇḍapati*, *Mahārāshṭri* or any other similar official designation beginning with *malā*.

same collection bears the figure of a humped bull on the obverse and the representation of a six-peaked hill, a *svastika* and the Ujjayini symbol on the reverse. Only three *aksharas* of the legend on this coin are clear and they read . . . *kalasa*, probably the latter part of the expression *Chutukulasa*. It is, however, not possible to say from the specimen at our disposal whether the legend mentioned Chutukula as *Mahāsenūpati* or as *Mahārāṣṭra*.

**Type I.—Lion to left : Ujjayini Symbol etc.; Lead**

*Obverse*:—In incused area, lion with upraised tail standing to left; circular legend—*Mahārāṣṭra Chutukulasa*.

*Reverse*:—In a square enclosure, symbols, of which only three are seen on the flan, viz. a zig-zag line, above which on the left is an Ujjayini symbol with a dot in each orb and, on the right, a tree-in-railing.

1. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—Round, .8 inch in diameter; Legend—{*Mahāra*}*ṣṭra* CH(u)*ṭukulasa*.

2. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—Round, .9 inch in diameter; Weight—74 grains; Legend—*Mahara*/*ṣṭra*) . . . . .

The reverse is blurred.

**Type II.—Bull to left : Ujjayini Symbol, etc.; Lead**

*Obverse*:—In an incused area, humped bull to right; Legend— . . . *Chutukulasa*.

*Reverse*:—In a square enclosure, six-peaked hill, to the left of which is a *svastika* and, to the right, portion of an Ujjayini symbol; above the *svastika* is a partially preserved undefinable symbol.

1. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—round, .95 inch in diameter; Weight—127.9 grains; Legend—(to the right) . . . *kalasa*.



## No. 9—BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION IN INDIAN MUSEUM

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 16.6.1960)

Only eight inscriptions written in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head (sometimes wedge-head) characters, prevalent among the Buddhist monks of the eastern regions of North India during the early medieval period, especially at Uddandapura (modern Biharsharif in the Patna District of Bihar), have so far been discovered. Out of them, the following six have already been edited with illustration: (1) Gayā (Bihar) image inscription published by C. Bendal in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78, and by R. D. Banerji in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. XX, pp. 153 ff.;<sup>1</sup> (2) the Kaza (near Allahabad, U. P.) inscription published by N. P. Chakravarti in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXII, pp. 37-39; and (3-6) three image inscriptions from Uren (Monghyr District, Bihar) and one from the Malda (West Bengal) B. R. Sen Museum, published by me, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 220-26. The seventh Bhaikshuki inscription, which was found at Uren and is extremely damaged, was also noticed by me while editing the four inscriptions referred to above.<sup>2</sup> The eighth inscription in the Bhaikshuki script, which remains as yet unpublished, was found on the pedestal of an image of Jambhala belonging to the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The inscription, the findspot of which is not stated,<sup>3</sup> was examined by both R. D. Banerji and N. P. Chakravarti although that did not lead to the publication of the record. When I edited the Bhaikshuki inscriptions from Uren and the Malda Museum, I was also eager to publish this epigraph. But my attempts to trace the image in the Indian Museum proved unsuccessful.<sup>4</sup> Recently I found two impressions of the inscription in N. P. Chakravarti's files preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. On an examination of these impressions, I realised the reason why this well-known epigraph, which is the biggest Bhaikshuki inscription ever discovered, has remained so far unpublished. The fact is that it is extremely difficult to read and interpret and the reading of some of the letters is doubtful. Since, however, the number of Bhaikshuki inscriptions as yet discovered and published is not too many, I considered it necessary to bring it to the notice of scholars especially in view of the fact that the image bearing the record is not easily traceable. I therefore venture to publish my views on the reading and interpretation of the inscription in the following pages for whatever they may be worth. Students of Indian epigraphy are welcome to improve upon my transcript and translation of the record.

The engraving of the inscription on the pedestal of the image of Jambhala is not carefully done and its preservation is also unsatisfactory in a few places. The record is engraved in three sections, the entire inscribed area being about 8½ inches in length and 3½ inches in height and individual letters each about ½ inch high. There are altogether nine lines of writing in the inscription. Lines 1-2 and 6-9 run through all the three sections while lines 3-5, which are very small, are engraved in the third section only. This is because engraving was not possible in the space to the left of lines 3-5. For a similar reason, the gap between lines 1 and 2 is more than between

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 222, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> The Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, informs me that the image, noticed and illustrated in Foucher's *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, p. 121 and figure 20 at p. 124, and in R. D. Banerji's *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, p. 30, Plate XVIc, was secured from Ghoshkundī (near Kāul in the Monghyr District, Bihar).

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 222, note 6.



any two other lines of writing in the epigraph. A small piece of stone appears to have broken away from the lower left end of the pedestal even before the incision of the record. This seems to be indicated by the last three lines of the inscription, each of which begins from a greater distance from the left margin than the previous line.

The characters of the record are similar to the Üren and Maida Museum inscriptions referred to above. But its palaeographical importance lies in the use of a few signs (e.g.  $\dot{\text{d}}$  in line 8 and initial  $\dot{\text{t}}$  in line 9) not noticed in other epigraphs. The language of the major part of the record may be regarded as Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit, though a sentence in lines 7-8 is in fairly correct Sanskrit.

The object of the epigraph is to record the installation of the image on which it is engraved. It begins with a symbol for *siddham*. The first half of the inscription from the beginning of line 1 to the middle of line 6 offers the same two stanzas of the Buddhist formula that constitutes the text of the Üren inscriptions Nos. 2-3 and the main part of that of the Üren inscription No. 1, with negligible variations.<sup>1</sup> It reads as follows after the corrections of scribal errors:

*Bhagavā āvuso<sup>2</sup> pañichhasamappāda-dharmam dasseti [!]\**

*pañichhasamappannānāṃ cā dhāmmānāṃ yo nirodho ||*

*Ye dhāmmā hetu-prabhavā tesāṃ hetuṃ Tathāgato avacha [!]\**

*tesāṃ cā yo nirodho evam-vādī Mahāśāmya ||*

Although some letters here and there in this part are either damaged or badly formed, there is no difficulty about the reading and interpretation of this section. But most parts of the latter half of the epigraph are beset with difficulties.

After the two stanzas quoted above, there are three sections of writing in the inscription, each of which ends with a double *ḍaṇḍa* and may be regarded as a sentence. The first of the sections seems to read: *Śrī-Saṃyya-mu(sa)-mahārāja-Śrī-Pūrṇapadī(c)ārama-kṣā(kṣaṇḍ)-dhīpati[!]\**. The illustrious *Mahārāja Pūrṇavikrama*, son of the illustrious *Saṃyya*, is the lord of the earth (i. e. the ruling king). This apparently refers to the ruler of the territory in which the image of Jambhala bearing the inscription under study was installed.

The second section seems to read: *Śrī-Siddhamigāthā(yām) bhaddanta-Jayasena deya-dharmapari*. This (i. e. the image bearing the inscription) is the religious gift of the Venerable *Jayasena at Sīrhanāgā*. The word *bhaddanta* was used as an epithet of Buddhist monks. This section refers to a Buddhist monk named *Jayasena* who set up the image at a place called *Sīrhanāgā* no doubt for worship. It appears that there was a Buddhist monastery at *Sīrhanāgā* and that the image was installed in the said monastery. It is not impossible that *Sīrhanāgā* was the headquarters of *Pūrṇavikrama's* territory.

The third section, which is even more difficult than the previous two sentences, seems to read: *Kārttika-māsāṃ Gaṇḍarāja-arjipam samanta 70(!)-māṃ thāṭam*, probably meaning, '[It is] installed in the month of *Kārttika* of the 70th year belonging to the new era of the *Gaṇḍa* king'. In this passage, the reading of the symbol, looking like superscript *dh* joined to subscript *tt* is doubtful, although it has some resemblance with the numerical symbol for 70 which was written in early epigraphs as *pta* and in medieval records often as *va*, *chā*, *thā*, etc. The word *samanta*, probably a scribal error for *samanta* or *samatta*, seems to be the same as Sanskrit *samant* which is known to have been used in inscriptions in various corrupt forms such as *saṃmant*, *samanta*, *samanta*, *samantā*, *samatta*, *samanta*, *samantā*, *samantā*, *samantā*, *samantā*, etc.<sup>3</sup> But we

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Meeon over  $\dot{\text{t}}$  and  $\dot{\text{t}}$  has not been used in this article.

<sup>3</sup> See *IRQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 323.



have no other instance in which a year of the date of an inscription is qualified by a word like *arjya* which is meaningless. It is possible to think that the intended reading is *a-pūrvīya*, 'not of old', probably meaning that the year referred to was developed out of a recent regnal reckoning and not an old established era like the Tiktama-samvat. I am sorry that I cannot offer any better reading and interpretation of the passage.

We know that some epigraphic and literary records of the Gayā region of Bihar belonging to the twelfth century A.D. refer to certain dates of the first few decades of the *atīta-rājya*, *gata-rājya* or *vinashita-rājya* of Govindapāya while the years of the well-known Lakshmagasena samvat, also originated in the same area, are usually referred to the *atīta-rājya* of Lakshmagasena, sometimes mentioned with the title *Gaṇeśvara*, 'the lord of Gaṇḍa.' It is not impossible that our inscription actually refers to the year 70 of the Lakshmagasena-samvat which, as we have suggested elsewhere, seems to have been originally counted from the accession of the Sena king Lakshmagasena in c. 1179 A.D., although, apparently owing to some confusion, it came to be counted later in North Bihar from various dates between 1108 and 1119 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Thus the inscription under study, probably dated in the year 70 may perhaps be assigned to c. 1249 A.D.

If our inscription is referred to a date about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. and the image was secured by the Indian Museum from some locality in Bihar, king Purnavikrama was apparently a small ruler of the area in question since Bihar is claimed to have been conquered by the Turkish Muslims about the end of the twelfth century. The existence of some such rulers in South Bihar during the thirteenth century is known to us. An inscription<sup>2</sup> from Jāmbhigā near Bodhgayā in the Gaya district of Bihar, dated in the Lakshmagasena year 83 (probably 1261 A.D.), mentions 'the king (*bhūpati*) *Āchārya Jayasena*, the lord of Pīṭhī (*Pīṭhīpati*)' and this Jayasena, was the son of Buddhasena who is apparently identical with '*Āchārya Buddhasena*, the lord of Pīṭhī,' known from an undated inscription<sup>3</sup> from Mahābodhi (Bodhgayā). There is little doubt that the word *pīṭhī*, in the title *Pīṭhīpati* borne by these rulers, is the same as *pīṭha*<sup>4</sup> and indicates the Vajrasana at Bodhgayā, which is believed to have been the seat of the Buddha while he was meditating for the attainment of Nirvāṇa. The title *Āchārya*, additionally borne by the rulers, was an epithet of a teacher or monk and may indicate their sacerdotal character. It may suggest that the said two rulers were the heads of the great Buddhist monastery at Bodhgayā and the superintendents of its property like the later *Mahanta Mahārājas*.<sup>5</sup> But if they were monks, Jayasena could not have been a real son of Buddhasena but was merely a disciple of the latter.<sup>6</sup> There is, however, some difficulty in accepting the suggestion.

It should be pointed out that a manuscript of the Buddhist works *Pecarāṇakā* is known to have been copied in Śaka 1211 (1289 A.D.) during the reign of a ruler named Madhusena who enjoyed the designations *Paramāśvara*, *Paramasāngata*, *Paramamahārājādhirāja* and *Gaṇeśvara* and, though not called *Āchārya* and *Pīṭhīpati*, may have been a descendant of Buddhasena and Jayasena.<sup>7</sup> It should, moreover, be noted that an earlier 'lord of Pīṭhī' known from epigraphic and literary sources, was certainly not a genuine monk. The Śrūti inscription<sup>8</sup> of Kumāradevi,

<sup>1</sup> *JHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 21 ff.; *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XX, pp. 372-73.

<sup>2</sup> *Jed. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 47; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1460.

<sup>3</sup> *Jed. Ant.*, op. cit., p. 45; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1746.

<sup>4</sup> The feminine from *pīṭhī* is sometimes found in literary and epigraphic works. See Mouier-Williams, *Sansk. Eng. Dict.*, s. v.; above, Vol. V, p. 13, line 14.

<sup>5</sup> For this suggestion, see *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XXIX, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> For the representation of a disciple as the son of his preceptor, see Bhandarkar's List, p. 25, note L. Cf. the expression *ajja-guru-Samkhā ārya-guru*, 'a grandfather-preceptor' (above, Vol. V, p. 230).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XXIX, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 324 ff.



queen of the Gāhādavāla king Govindachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.), mentions her father Devarakshita of the Chhikkora family of lunat race as the successor of the latter's father Vallabharāja as 'the lord of Piṭhi (or Pithikā),' and her mother Saṅkarādevī as the daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Mathana (Mathana) of Aḍga (East Bihar), who is known to have been the maternal uncle and subordinate of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1105-1235 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> The same Piṭhipati Devarakshita is mentioned in the commentary of Samiḥyākaraṇandin's *Rāmacharita* as vanquished by Mathana and the commentary explains the designation as *Magadhādhipa*, 'lord of Magadha'.<sup>2</sup> The commentary on the *Rāmacharita* also equates Piṭhipati with *Magadhādhipati* elsewhere<sup>3</sup> while describing Bhīmayaśas who was a feudatory of Rāmapāla (c. 1082-1125 A.D.) and helped his overlord in overthrowing the Kaivarta king Bhīma of Varanasi (North Bengal). This Bhīmayaśas seems to be a later member of the family of Devarakshita. It also appears that these Piṭhipatis of the Chhikkora-Chhinda family were succeeded by the line represented by Buddhaseṇa and Jayaseṇa. Thus Buddhaseṇa and Jayaseṇa who were apparently ruling over parts of Bihar with their headquarters at Bodhgayā and had some relations with the management of the Buddhist monastery therein cannot be regarded as Buddhist monks merely because they are called Piṭhipati.

As regards the title *Āchārya*, it may be pointed out that a fragmentary Bodhgayā inscription<sup>4</sup> seems to represent one Jayaseṇa as the *āchārya* of a Chhinda chief named Pāṇḍubhadra. If this Jayaseṇa is identified with the homonymous son of Buddhaseṇa,<sup>5</sup> we may suggest that the members of his family were hereditary *Āchāryas* (i.e. teachers or preceptors) of the Chhinda rulers who probably dedicated their territory to their *Āchāryas*. This is not impossible in view of the well-known instance of the dedication of the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Tripurī in favour of their guru, the Śaiva saint Vāmadeva or Vāmasāmbhu.<sup>6</sup> If such was the case, the epithet *Āchārya* borne by Buddhaseṇa and Jayaseṇa is probably explained. The manuscript of the *Pañcorakshā* may suggest that the use of this title was given up by the later members of the Sena family. The above suggestion further explains why the Chhinda ruling family was not extirpated but was merely shadowed by the Sena *Āchāryas* just as the ministers of the kings of Nepal shadowed

<sup>1</sup> The marriage between the houses of Rāshtrakūṭa Mathana and Chhikkora Devarakshita is interesting because with the families hailed from the Kannada country. Devarakshita is called *Sindharāja* in the commentary on the *Rāmacharita*, II, 2, and we know that the Kannada family name *Chhinda* or *Chinda* was often Sanskritised as *Sindha* and associated with the Sindhu or Indus (*The Struggle for Empire*, p. 216). For the Sindhas of South India who claimed both Nāga and Sindhu origin, see *Born, Orig.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 572 ff.; above, Vol. III, pp. 230 ff.; Sewall's List, pp. 392-93, etc., and for the Chhindakas of Madhya Pradesh who claimed only the Nāga origin, see *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 214 ff. The Chhindas of Gayā claimed the Sindhu origin and descent from the lunar race. The Madhya Pradesh and Gayā branches of the family may have left Karnataka when the fabrication of the mythical genealogy was still in the formative stage. This suggestion is probably supported by the history of another Chhinda family of North India known from the Deval (Pilibhit District, U. P.) inscription of Isha, son of Mathana from the latter's wife Anahita of the Chhindavara (i.e. Chhindya) family, probably a ruling house of Kannada origin. See Bhattacharya's List, No. 92, cf. in addition to the reference cited therein, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 345 and note 15. The Deval inscription, which also mentions Mathana's elder brother Bhāṣana and father Vairaverman, is dated in Vikrama 1049 (1002 A.D.). It is interesting to note that the Chhindas of Pilibhit claim descent from the sage Chyavana and do not refer to their Nāga or Sindhu origin probably because they left their original home at a still earlier date.

<sup>2</sup> II, verse 8; cf. Ray, *DBRI*, Vol. I, p. 338. The Sanskrit inscription calls Mathana 'the venerable maternal uncle of kings' because his sister's son Rāmapāla was a king and the latter's two brothers, viz. Mahipala II and Śaṅkapa II, also were his protectors on the Pāla throne, although Mahipala II may have been his step-brother.

<sup>3</sup> II, verse 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *JASB*, N.S., Vol. XXIX, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 46 E.



their royal masters in the recent past.<sup>1</sup> A Bodhgayā inscription<sup>2</sup> dated in the Buddhasenavāsa year 1813 (1270 A.D.) mentions a contemporary Chhinda ruler of the Gayā region and points to the fact that the house continued to flourish considerably after the time of Buddhasena since the Jāmbhikā inscription of the latter's son Jayasena bears the date 1261 A.D. The fragmentary Bodhgayā inscription referred to above, which appears to mention Jayasena as the *śchārya* of the Chhinda ruler Pārnabhadrā, mentions the following predecessors of the latter: Vallabharāja, born in the Chhinda family in the Sindhū country; his son Deśarāja; his son Āyichōha (Āditya); his son...; his son Saṅgha; ...his son Dharma; his son Sāmanta; and his son Pārnabhadrā. The identification of this Vallabharāja with theonymous father of Devarakshita as suggested by J. C. Ghosh<sup>3</sup> is not improbable since the former flourished about two centuries before 1270 A.D. while the son of the latter was a contemporary of Rāmapāla (c. 1082-1125 A.D.).

That, like Devarakshita and Rāmapāla, Buddhasena and Jayasena were also regarded as the kings of Magadha and not as mere pontiffs of the Bodhgayā monastery is suggested by Tibetan evidence which further indicates that the *Piṭhipati Śchāryas* of the Sena family had their capital at Bodhgayā. A Tibetan monk named Chou-rye-dpal or Dharmasvāmin is known to have met Buddhasena, described as the king of Magadha and as residing at (i.e. having his capital at) Vajrasana (i.e. Bodhgayā), in the rainy season of 1234 A.D. According to this monk, Buddhasena, who was a Buddhist, fled from his capital at the advent of the Muslim soldiers but returned from his forest retreat soon after the danger was over. When the king was coming in a procession of five hundred soldiers on an elephant and saw Dharmasvāmin amongst the spectators, he got down to greet the latter with the words, "Salutations to the son of the Buddha."<sup>4</sup>

Thus we see that Buddhasena was ruling in 1234 A.D. while his son Jayasena, as seen above, flourished in 1261 A.D., apparently over considerable areas of South Bihar, when the Turkish Muslims were already in occupation probably of the central regions of Bihar along the banks of the Ganges and were trying to subjugate the local rulers of the area. If our inscription is assigned to 1219 A.D. which falls between the dates of Buddhasena and Jayasena, king Pārnabhadrā mentioned in it cannot be regarded as a scion of the family of the *Piṭhipati Senas* of Bodhgayā. He may, however, be the same as Pārnabhadrā of the Chhinda family who is known to have been a contemporary of Jayasena, the latter probably being his own *śchārya*, as seen above. But, in that case, the doubtful name of his father has to be regarded as wrongly written. *Bhadanta* Jayasena of our inscription, who was a Buddhist monk, cannot possibly be identified with Buddhasena's son Jayasena who was the lord of Piṭhi.

If the rulers of the Chhinda family and the *Piṭhipati Śchāryas* of the Sena dynasty were flourishing side by side in parts of Bihar at the same time, as suggested above, we have to think of the relations that existed between them. It is, however, difficult to determine the exact position in the present state of insufficient information. But it may be that the Chhindas, who may have originally had their capital at Bodhgayā, repaired to Sindhunāgā when their Sena *Śchāryas* became *Piṭhipatis* with their headquarters at Bodhgayā, and began to rule over a small territory around their new capital probably far away from Bodhgayā.

<sup>1</sup> N. 4). Majumdar regarded Jambhikā as a member of the Chhinda family which, in his opinion, ousted the Chhichora dynasty represented by Devarakshita (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 46). But the suggestion seems to be wrong.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 343, verso 11; Bhattacharya's *Ind.*, No. 1429.

<sup>3</sup> *JABG*, N.S., Vol. XXIX, p. 35. Ghosh also suggested that *Deśarāja* may be a mistake for *Devarakṣita*, i. e., *Devarakshita*. Can it be conjectured that Rāmapāla was his grandson whose name is lost?

<sup>4</sup> J. N. Benerji's *Folios*, pp. 111-12; G. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, pp. 64-65, cf. also p. 99.



The only geographical name mentioned in the inscription under study is Simhanāgā where the Buddhist monk Jayasena installed the Jambhala image during the rule of Pūrṣavikrama. It appears to be the early name of Ghoshikupṭi where the image bearing the epigraph was found. It is interesting in this connection to note that an inscription,<sup>1</sup> recently discovered at Arua near Kajra, about 10 miles from Ghoshikupṭi, and dated in the fourteenth regnal year of Madanapāla, (i.e. c. 1157 A.D.), refers to the rule of *Piṭṭi-paty-Āchārya* Devassena, apparently a predecessor of Buddhasena.

## TEXT\*

- 1 [A] Siddham<sup>†</sup> [i\*] Bhagavā āvase paṭichhasamu[pp]ā- [B] [da]-dhammadi de- [C] āita<sup>‡</sup> [i\*] paṭi-
- 2 [A] chhasamu[pp]aṇṇānāṃ cha dhammānāṃ cha<sup>§</sup> yo nirodho || [B] ye dhammā [C] hetu-pra-  
bhavā te-
- 3 \* [C] sāṃ hetuṃ
- 4 [C] Tathāgato a-
- 5 [C] vacha [i\*] te-
- 6 [A] sāṃ cha yo nirodho evam-vādi Mahāśāmapo || [B] āri-Sachyya- [C] satu(suta)-mahā-  
[r]ā-
- 7 [A] ja-āri-Pūṣṇadi(vi)krama-kahā(kahmā)dhīpatī[i\*] || āri-[B] Sirghanāgā-[C] sāṃ(yāṃ)  
bhadanta-
- 8 [A] Jayasenaaya deya-dharmmo-yaṃ || Kārttika- [B] māsaṃ Ga- [C] tiṭṭa-rā[ṇa]-a-
- 9 [A] [pū\*]rviṇṇāṃ samatna(tta) 70<sup>¶</sup>-maṃ thāitāṃ ||

## Postscript

Recently Mr. A. N. Lahiri copied a fragmentary Bhikkhukī inscription on the lower part of a sculptured stone slab under a pipal tree near the Kajra railway station. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 130. It is written in two lines reading as follows :

- 1 .....ti [i\*] pa[ṭichha]-samuppannānāṃ cha [dhammā[ṇaṃ] yo  
nirodho ||]
- 2 .....yo niro[dho s]va[m]vādi Mahāśāmapo—|| o ||

<sup>1</sup> See *A.R.Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 113.

\* From impressions.

† Expressed by symbol.

‡ Read doubt as in the Uren inscriptions.

This letter is redundant.

§ Lines 3-5, engraved in the third section, are very small.

¶ The symbol looks somewhat like that of 70; but the value assigned to it is not certain.



# BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION IN INDIAN MUSEUM



Size : Actual

2

4

6

8

2

4

6

8



BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION FROM KAJRA



Size : Actual



## No. 10—SHIGGAON INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA I

(I Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 25.2.60)

The inscription which is published here was copied by me during the year 1943-44 at **Shiggaon**, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Dharwar District of Mysore State.<sup>1</sup> When I visited the place the inscribed slab was kept in the compound of the Mamlatdar's Office. It has since been removed to the Museum of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. The inscription has been published by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi in the *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 14, without illustration.

The writing covers an area of about 26" by 20" and, except a few letters here and there, it is well-preserved. The characters are early Kannada of the 9th century A.D. Initial *ṣ* is found in lines 9, 11 and 15 while final *ṣ* is met with in line 9 and final *r* in line 3. No distinction has been made between *e* and *ṛ* or *o* and *ṛ*. Except the imprecatory verse in lines 12-13 which is in Sanskrit, the language of the record is Kannada and the text is composed in prose. In respect of orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is generally re-duplicated. The change of *r* to *ḥ* is met with in *ballabha* (lines 1-2) and *Bāraṇḍi* (lines 9 and 11). Intervocal *ṛ* is changed to *d* in *kallavaṇṇa-dara* (line 8) and *kiru-dara* (line 14). An epenthetic vowel is found in *Amoghavarsha* (line 1) and *varisha* (line 13). Metathesis is met with in *śiṣka-ravile* for *śiṣka-ravile* (line 9).

The inscription, which is **not dated**, refers itself to the reign of **Amoghavarsha** and mentions the king's chiefs **Kuppeyarasa** as governing **Purigere-300**, **Mapalera Gāḍiga** as the *Nāḍ-gāṇḍiga*, **Kallaman** of (i.e. the son or a member of the family of) **Kargāmuṇḍa** as the *Ūrgāmuṇḍa*, and **Pendaman** as in charge of the **Kallavaṇṇa** taxes of the 300-division. The last mentioned officer, viz. **Pendaman**, is stated to have remitted, after obtaining the permission of **Kuppeyarasa**, the **Kallavaṇṇa** taxes of **Siggāṇḍa** to **Kaṇṇeroti-bhaṭṭāri**, probably the goddess of that place. The inscription also registers the remission of all the minor taxes (*kiru-dara*), apparently in favour of the same goddess at the same place, made by **Kuppeyarasa**. The recipient of the gifts was a certain **Lōkākshara-bhaṭṭāra**.

Now who was **Amoghavarsha** mentioned in the record as the ruling king? Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao thinks that he may be **Amoghavarsha IV** Kakkā (972-73 A.D.), the last ruler of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** dynasty, since, according to him, the characters of the inscription are definitely assignable to the 10th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> But, in our opinion, the characters belong to the 9th century A.D. and consequently the record has to be ascribed to the reign of **Amoghavarsha I** who ruled in 814-78 A.D. The characters of our record generally resemble those of the **Mantravāḍi**<sup>3</sup> and **Mēvūḍi**<sup>4</sup> inscriptions of **Amoghavarsha I**. Particularly the letters *k*, *ṣ*, *ḥ*, *m*, *v*, etc., are quite similar. On the other hand, these and other letters are certainly earlier than those of the **Hulgur** inscription of

<sup>1</sup> See *J. R. Ep.*, 1943-44, No. P 42.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. v.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VII, pp. 104 ff. and Plate; *Kara, Ins.*, Vol. I, No. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *SI*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 11 and Plates.



Khottiga dated 972 A.D.<sup>1</sup> and the Gupfūr inscription of Amoghavarsha IV Kakka dated 973 A.D.<sup>2</sup> This would show that Mr. Rao's view is not correct. Not only the considerations of palaeography but also the internal evidence of the inscription go against the identification suggested by him. We have seen above that Kuppeyarasa was governing Purigere-300 under Amoghavarsha. He is evidently identical with Kuppeyan or Kuppeyarasa mentioned as governing the same division in the Mantravādi inscription referred to above as well as in two records from Sorapūr,<sup>3</sup> all of them dated and belonging to the reign of Amoghavarsha I. The same chief is also mentioned in a damaged inscription of Amoghavarsha I from Mēvūṇḍi, dated 865 A.D., apparently as a subordinate of the king.<sup>4</sup> Therefore there can be little doubt that the present inscription belongs to the reign of Amoghavarsha I.<sup>5</sup> And from the mention of the feudatory chief Kuppeyarasa who is also mentioned in other records of the king as shown above, we shall not be wrong in referring the present record to c. 865 A.D. We learn from the said records that this Kuppeyarasa belonged to the Yādava family.

Our inscription refers to Maṇalera Gāḍiga as *Nāl-gāmuṇḍa*, evidently of the Purigere division. For the reasons given above, the date 972 A.D. for this Maṇalera Gāḍiga given by Mr. Rao<sup>6</sup> cannot be accepted. He should be placed about a century earlier, in c. 865 A.D., to which date the present inscription has been assigned by us. In Maṇalera Gāḍiga, the latter word stands for the proper name of the person while Maṇalera seems to indicate the name of the family to which he belonged, though the family name itself might have been derived from a person called Maṇalē or Maṇalera. The family is also known as Sagara-kula in some of the later records of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. It may be worthwhile to review some of these records here and try to reconstruct the genealogy of the members of this family as far as possible. They are described as *Sagara-mūrtiṇḍa* and *Maṇalera-āditya* and had the *Sūkhā-lācchhana* and *Kāraṇī-lāṭu*. They were governing, as feudatory chiefs, the district of Purigere-300 first as *Nāl-gāmuṇḍas* and later as *Mahāsāmantas* and *Mahāmūḍāleśvaras*.

The earliest member of this family known so far is Maṇalera Gāḍiga mentioned in the inscription under study. The next reference is found in the Atakur inscription of Kṛishṇa III, dated 949 A.D.<sup>7</sup> Therein a certain Maṇalera is mentioned as an officer under Bātuga, the Gaṅga feudatory of the king. This Maṇalera is stated to have belonged to the Sagara lineage and borne the epithet *Palabhi-guṇicar-ādityasara*. In the Hulgur inscription of Khottiga<sup>8</sup> dated 972 A.D., one Maṇalera Mārasinḍa is mentioned as the *Nāl-gāmuṇḍa* of Purigere-300. This Mārasinḍa may be the successor of Maṇalera of the Atakur record and may be identified with Mārasinḍadēva mentioned as a predecessor of a certain Jayakēśin of the same family in an inscription of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II, dated 1038 A.D.<sup>9</sup> The Prince of Wales Museum inscription of Somaśvara I, dated 1060 A.D., mentions Jayakēśin I, his son Indrakēśin and the latter's son Jayakēśin II.<sup>10</sup> Jayakēśin I is apparently identical with Jayakēśin referred to above. An undated record from

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 59 ff. and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Jed. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 270-72. Frost did not publish the facsimile of this record. But I have consulted the impression secured by me in 1944-45. Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1943-45, No. B 236.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 176 ff. *SH*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *SH*, op. cit., No. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Panchamukhi has also ascribed the inscription to the reign of Amoghavarsha I. Cf. *Kora. Ins.*, Vol. I, No. 14.

<sup>6</sup> *SH*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. v.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 54.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 59 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 323.

<sup>10</sup> *ASAS*, 1936-37, p. 83; cf. also *Kora. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 30.



Gadag belonging to the time of Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) gives the name of his subordinate of this family as Indrakēśin II, son of Mārasinhha and grandson of Indrakēśin I.<sup>1</sup> This Indrakēśin I is identical with Indrakēśin of the Prince of Wales Museum record.<sup>2</sup> From this, it was previously surmised that Indrakēśin I had two sons, Jayakēśin II and Mārasinhha, or these two persons were one and the same.<sup>3</sup> But an epigraph of the time of Śaṃśāvara II, dated 1074 A.D., mentions his feudatory *Mahāsāmanta* Jayakēśin as the eldest son of Indrakēśin and the latter's wife Chandikabbe.<sup>4</sup> This Indrakēśin is evidently Indrakēśin I so that Jayakēśin would be the second of that name. From this, it would appear that Jayakēśin II was the eldest son of Indrakēśin I and that Mārasinhha of the Gadag record was his younger brother and had a son named Indrakēśin II. The latest date for Jayakēśin II is furnished by a record of the time of Vikramāditya VI, dated 1082 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

Now a record of the reign of Bhūlōkamalla, dated 1138 A.D., mentions a Jayakēśin of the Sagara family as the son of Vajradanta and his wife Mādalaḍāvi of the Kadamba family and the grandson of Jayakēśin.<sup>6</sup> Vajradanta had an elder brother whose name is lost in the damaged portion of the record. His father Jayakēśin may be identified with Jayakēśin II mentioned above so that his son would be Jayakēśin III. An earlier date for this Jayakēśin III is supplied by an inscription of 1128 A.D.<sup>7</sup> while the latest date by another record of 1153 A.D.<sup>8</sup> In the light of the above discussion, the genealogy of these chiefs of the Sagara or Maṇalera lineage may be shown in a tabular form as follows :<sup>9</sup>



<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. XI, Part II, No. 261.

<sup>2</sup> He may also be identified with *Mahāsāmanta* Indrakēśiyarasa mentioned in another record of Śaṃśāvara I, dated in 1058 A.D. Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1929-30, No. E 91.

<sup>3</sup> *SII*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. iv.

<sup>4</sup> *A. R. Ep.* 1933-36, No. E 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 12. He is also mentioned in a record of the same king, dated in 1077 A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XVI, p. 320.

<sup>6</sup> *A. R. Ep.* 1925-26, No. E 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 46. A Lakṣmīśāra inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla II gives him a date in 1147 A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XVI, pp. 44 E.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the genealogical table given in *SII*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. v.







# SHIGGAON INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVRSHA I



Size : One fourth







## No. 11—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM DHOLKA

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The inscription under study was discovered by Dr. M. R. Majmudar in 1953 on the back side of a slab of black granite stone, the front side of which contains an image of the god Vishnu in high relief. The deity is now worshipped under the name of Rāṇbhṣḍji in a temple at **Dhōlkā** (known from medieval records as Dhavalaka, Dhavalakka, Dhavalakkaka, Dhavallakka and Dhavalāṅka)<sup>1</sup> in the Ahmedabad District of Gujarat. Some notes on the inscription were published in five articles by Pandit Lalachandra Gandhi of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, in the Gujarātī monthly journal entitled *Śrī-Jainasatyaopraśāsa*, Vol. XIX, 1954, Nos. 6-10, on the basis of an impression supplied to him by Dr. Majmudar.

The inscribed space is about two feet in length and 14½ inches in height. But the inscription is a fragment of a bigger one of which a little more than half from the left side is now preserved. Each line of writing originally contained more than eighty *akṣaras*, of which more than thirty are broken away from the right. It is clear that the inscribed slab was cut into two parts at a later date for utilising the left portion for making the Vishnu image, referred to above, on the uninscribed back side of it. There is an inscription on the pedestal of the image in question, which gives the date of its installation as *Somvat 1268 vāśāḥ Chaitra-ḥṛdī 4*, i.e. the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra in **Vikrama 1266 (1209 A.D.)**. Our inscription was therefore incised at an earlier date. The internal evidence shows that the record was engraved after the death of Śīlāhāra Mallikārjuna (c. 1156-60 A.D.) and before that of Chalukya Kumārāpāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.). The date of the inscription on the Vishnu image falls in the reign of Chalukya Bhīma II (c. 1175-1241 A.D.), son of Mālārāja II (c. 1176-78 A.D.) and grandson of Kumārāpāla's successor Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.). The utilisation of a Jain slab for making a Vishnu image points to the genuineness of the tradition regarding the anti-Jain policy followed by the successors of Kumārāpāla who is himself said to have been a devout Jain.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen how the slab bearing the inscription represents the left half of the original stone. But even this original slab contained only one-third of the whole inscription apparently engraved on three such slabs or one much bigger slab. This is indicated by the fact that the stanzas of the record under study are consecutively numbered and these numbers show that verses 70-104 constituting the last 35 stanzas of a big *prajastī* were engraved on the slab in question, only about half of which is now available. The 69 stanzas forming the earlier part of the eulogy were apparently incised on two other stone slabs of about the same size or on the upper part of the same slab now broken away and lost. The preservation of the writing in the extant part of the inscription is fairly satisfactory, though two holes bored in the slab for the strings of Vishnu's robes to pass through have caused the loss of some letters and a letter is sometimes damaged at the beginning or the end of the lines.

The characters of the inscription are Devanāgarī of about the twelfth century A.D. The record, as indicated above, is written entirely in verse. Its orthography does not call for any special remarks. No date is traceable in the inscription as it is now available to us. But, as indicated

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ray, *DHSI*, Vol. II, p. 1020 and note.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1002-03.



above, the epigraph seems to have been engraved sometime between c. 1160 and c. 1173 A.D. The concluding stanza of the inscription states that it was a *prasaśi* composed by the *manī* Rāmachandra who is described as *prabandha-kāya-nirmīti-prathāna-kīrti-kāmya-lāya* showing that he was the author of a hundred works. This description shows beyond doubt that he is identical with the Jain scholar Rāmachandra who was a pupil of the celebrated Jain polymath Hēmachandra-śrī and is known, from Mērutunga's *Prabandhakāśīkṣaṇī*, to have been famous as 'the author of a hundred works'.<sup>1</sup> Rāmachandra's poem in 104 stanzas, about one-third of which is engraved on the slab under review, is no doubt one of the many that were composed by him. Most of his works were composed during the reigns of Jayasīṃha Siddhārāja and Kumārāpāla since, according to Mērutunga, Kumārāpāla's successor Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.) caused the poet's death by seating him on a heated plate of copper in Vikrama 1230 (1174 A.D.). Jain tradition informs us that Rāmachandra was involved in a plot of the Jain clergy to debar Ajayapāla, who was antagonistic towards Jainism, to succeed to the throne of the heirless Kumārāpāla. But Ajayapāla was successful in getting the throne in spite of this opposition and took revenge on the Jains on becoming king.<sup>2</sup>

Since, out of the thirty-five stanzas of the record, the preservation of only four short verses in the *Anuṣṭup* metre (verses 70, 81, 92, 94) is complete and the remaining 32 stanzas are preserved only in parts, the contents of the inscription are unintelligible in many places. It is also often difficult to connect one part of it with another.

Verses 70-71, of which the second is preserved in fragments, may be regarded as speaking of a person named Mallikārjuna. In that case, Mallikārjuna is represented in verse 70 as devoted to his master. Since, however, the name Mallikārjuna is used in verse 71 in the accusative along with the expression *ṛipatēḥ prathapāḥ* (the king's valour) in the nominative, indicating that a king's (probably Kumārāpāla's) valour did something to Mallikārjuna, it appears that this Mallikārjuna was none other than the Śilāhara ruler of the same name (known dates 1156 and 1160 A.D.) who was the king of the Northern Konkan and is stated in Jain works to have been killed in a battle by Chaulukya Kumārāpāla's forces.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, no other Mallikārjuna is known to be associated with the history of Gujarat during the period in question. It is interesting to note in this connection that verse 76 below speaks of the defeat and death of the lord of Kunkapa (Konkan) at the hands of a hero whose name is not traceable anywhere in verses 70-76 probably describing the activities of a servant of king Kumārāpāla. If such was the case, we have to think that verse 70 speaks of this hero while the next stanza (verse 71) mentioning Mallikārjuna speaks of the hero's activities against the Śilāhara king. There are several traditions in regard to Śilāhara Mallikārjuna's death. While Mērutunga states that Āmbāda or Āmrabhata, the son of Udayana of the Śetmāla community of Banās, who was the chief minister of Jayasīṃha Siddhārāja, struck off Mallikārjuna's head, according to Hēmachandra, some Gujara soldiers did this work and the *Prabandhacūṇya* states that Sūmāvara, the Chāhamāna protégé at Kumārāpāla's court, did it. An inscription again states that, when Paramāra Dhārāvārha of Abu held his ground on the battle field, the wives of

<sup>1</sup> See Tawney's trans., pp. 152-53; L. B. Gauthier's introduction to the *Rāśtrakūṭa* (G.O.S. No. XXIX, 1929), pp. 22-23. Among the known works of Rāmachandra, mention may be made of the dramas *Naiśāṇḍeya* and *Kaushāṇḍeya* and the treatise on dramatic art called *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* composed in collaboration with Guṇachandra-śrī, another pupil of Hēmachandra-śrī. Rāmachandra is said to have received the title *Kumārāpāla* from Jayasīṃha Siddhārāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.), the predecessor of Kumārāpāla.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ray, op. cit., p. 1002; Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ray, op. cit., pp. 591-92; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 113 ff. Mahmūdshāh's Mallikārjuna was a feudatory of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, though it is less likely that his overlord is referred to in verse 70 of our record as will be seen below.

<sup>4</sup> It is stated that the head of the king of Kunkapa was cut off with arrows and that the inmates of his harem entered him. The word *śakrapā* used here means an arrow with a sharp horse-shoe-shaped head.



the lord of Kuṭṭaka (Konkan) shed drops of tears'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed Āmbaḍa (Āmrabhata), Sōmāśvara and Dhārśvarsha may have all taken parts in the campaign against Mallikārjuna, though none of the claimants for the achievement of beheading the latter may have actually killed him. Since, however, the main purpose of our inscription, as will be seen below, was to record the pious activity of another son of the above-mentioned Udayana, it is possible to conjecture that it was the valorous deeds of Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhata which were the subject-matter of the description in the stanzas referred to above. This Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhata is said to have risen in revolt against king Ajāyapāla and, as a result, lost his life.<sup>2</sup>

Verse 77 states that the valour of the hero described in the previous stanzas was sung by the girls of Lāṭa, i.e. South Gujarāt lying immediately to the north of Kuṭṭaka or the Northern Konkan. The description of the same person's activities continues and verse 79 states that he built a Chaitya for the Tirthaṅkara Śaṅkara at Bhṛigukachchha, i.e. modern Broach. Verse 81 says that the same person made a silver image of the god Nābhajanman (i.e. Ādinātha) at the Chaitya called Kumāra-vihāra which was situated at Śrīpattana. Since Śrīpattana seems to be no other than Anahila-pattana (i.e. modern Pāṭan or Anhilwād Pāṭan), the Kumāra-vihāra appears to be the monastery named after Kumārapāla, which the Chaulukya king frequently visited according to the *Kumārāpālapratibodha* by Sōmaprabha.<sup>3</sup>

Verses 82-89 describe certain heroic activities probably ascribable to the same hero. But verse 90 states that a person built a city after his own name in the Lāṭa country and the next stanza (verse 91) probably speaks of the construction of the Dhana-vihāra by him in the Avanti country (i.e. West Malwa), while verse 92 states that Dhavala's son was Vairisinha who built the Chaitya of the Tirthaṅkara Pārśvanātha at Stambhatīrtha, i.e. modern Cambay. The language may of course suggest that the whole description in verses 70-91 has to be assigned to Dhavala. The name of this person again reminds us of Dhavala, after whom Dhavalakkaka or Dholkā, where the inscription under study has been found, was apparently named.<sup>4</sup> It is well known that Dhavala of Bhīmāpallī was the husband of the sister of Kumārapāla's mother and was the father of Arḍhārāja (of Vyāghrapallī from which the family derived the name Vāghēlī), the grandfather of Lāvāṇya-prasāda (of Dhavalakkaka), the great-grandfather of Virādavala and the great-great-grandfather of Vīśvāmalla or Vīśala (c. 1244-62 A.D.), the Chaulukya-Vāghēlī king of Gujarāt.<sup>5</sup> But it is doubtful whether the naming of Dholkā after Dhavala is alluded to in verse 90 referring to a person building a city after his name in the Lāṭa country since Dholkā in Northern Gujarāt seems to be situated outside ancient Lāṭa indicating the Nausāri-Broach region of Southern Gujarāt. Dhavala is also not associated with the story of Śīlāhāra Mallikārjuna's defeat and death in the hands of Kumārapāla's forces. Moreover, although the introduction of Dhavala as the ruler of the area in which the inscription was set up is intelligible, it is difficult to understand how the description of the pious deeds of this Dhavala and his son Vairisinha (as yet unknown from any source) came in between that of the activities of the killer of Mallikārjuna in the earlier part of the inscription and of those of the latter's relation in its concluding part. Under the circumstances, it is possibly better to suggest that Dhavala mentioned in verse 92 of our inscription was a brother of the killer of Mallikārjuna. Thus the author seems to have introduced Dhavala after completing the description of his brother who killed Mallikārjuna.

<sup>1</sup> See Ray, op. cit., p. 291; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 114-15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ray, op. cit., p. 1002; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 128-29.

<sup>3</sup> Ray, op. cit., p. 894. Another Kumāra-vihāra containing an image of Pārśvanātha was built by *Paromādhata* Kumārapāla in the fort of Kāśhāna-giri at Jēthālpura (modern Jalor in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) at the request of Prithvi Hama-sāri in Vikrama 1221 (1164 A.D.). See ibid., pp. 982-83; above, Vol. XI, pp. 84-85.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 136 and note 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ray, op. cit., pp. 1047-49.



Verses 96 speaks of a pious deed done with the permission of the earned *Hemachandra-sūri*, no doubt the well-known Jain polymath of that name (1099-1172 A.D.). But whether it was performed by *Vairisūtha* mentioned earlier in verse 92 or by the person mentioned later in the epigraph cannot be determined owing to the fragmentary nature of the record. Considering, however, the fact that the main purpose of the inscription was to record a pious deed of the latter, the second alternative seems to be more probable. This deed is mentioned in verse 101 which states that the **Udayana-vihāra was built by the minister Vāgbhata**. The word *stam* (this) qualifying *Udayana-vihāra* in this stanza shows that the inscription under study was originally set up in the *Udayana-vihāra* at *Dhālā*. Under what circumstances it was removed from its original place for being utilized for the construction of an image of *Vishṇu* cannot of course be determined without further light on the subject.

The *Vihāra* was apparently named after *Udayana*, the chief minister of *Chaulukya Jayasimha Siddharāja* and it was built by *Udayana's* son *Vāgbhata* (*Bāhaḍa*) who is known to have been a minister of the *Chaulukya* king *Kumārapāla*.<sup>1</sup> It may have been built by the son after the death of his father. The date of *Udayana's* death is difficult to determine. According to *Mērutūga*, he became mortally wounded in a battle with a king of *Saurāshṭra* against whom he led an expedition under orders from his master *Kumārapāla*, while, according to *Jayasimha-sūri* and *Jinamāṇḍana*, he killed the *Saurāshṭra* king and set up the latter's son on the throne, though *Prabhācandra* states that *Udayana* died while fighting against a *Saurāshṭra* king during the reign of *Kumārapāla's* predecessor *Jayasimha Siddharāja* (c. 1094-1144 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> According to tradition, *Udayana*, whose son *Bāhaḍa* or *Vāgbhata* is said to have been adopted as son by *Jayasimha Siddharāja*, gave shelter to *Kumārapāla* at *Canbay* against the wrath of *Jayasimha*.<sup>3</sup>

It will be seen that the main purpose of the inscription was to record the construction of the *Udayana-vihāra* by *Udayana's* son *Vāgbhata*. It appears, however, that the original inscription on three slabs or a very big slab described the activities of *Udayana* and his sons *Amreḥbata* (*Āmreḍa*) and *Vāgbhata* (*Bāhaḍa*) and also referred to those of *Dhavalā* and *Vairisūtha* who appear to have been respectively *Udayana's* son and grandson. Verse 103 contains the prayer for the long life of the *Vihāra* and verse 104, with which the *prāśasti* concludes, the name of *Rāmachandra-muni*, the author of the eulogy, as already indicated above.

The geographical names contained in the inscription, such as *Kunkapa*, *Bhṛigukachchha*, *Avanti*, *Lāṭa* and *Siṃhhatīrtha* are well known. We have identified *Śrīpattana* with the well-known *Aśhilapattana*.

#### TEXT

[Metres : verses 70, 78, 80-81, 90, 92, 94-96 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 71-72, 74, 77, 79, 84-86, 97-98 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 73 *Mandūkātūṭī* ; verse 75 *Drutavilambita* ; verses 76, 82, 83 *Śārdūla-vīrīḍī* ; verses 83, 88, 91, 104 *Prithvī* ; verse 87 *Māhātī* ; verse 99 *Puṣkpadgrā* ; verse 93 (1), 100-102 *Āryā* ; verse 103 *Samdhārā*.]

- 1 [Riṣṇan laktik prahṇay bhakti=tyāgō tēgō nayē layah | idam chatuṣṭayan yasmīn=ā-kāṣavam=akhaṇḍītatam) || 70 Tam Mallikā[r]junam anarghya-parākram-ā[m]ka

<sup>1</sup> Majumdar, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ibid., p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Ray, op. cit., pp. 975-76.

<sup>4</sup> From an impression received from Dr. Majumdar.



- 2 v dha<sup>1</sup> upatōḥ pratāpaḥ || 71 Yad-vikrama-samarapa-sambhṛta-sādhvao-ṣṭika-vyākampa-  
sādhava-chaḥ-āchala-pāṇya-satō | aḍy-āpi bhaḍgi-vimukhān dayitā-stanā<sup>2</sup> — — —  
— — — — — [|| 72\*] — — — — —
- 3 sh-ṣumāh-ṣṛjita-kutabhujō Jāmadagayaya tasya | aḥānān yān-ādhvuta-ṣata-kṛtē kabu-  
dhata<sup>3</sup> kanda-vaṇḍaḥ/hantīdhād-ṛṣṇyānām paribhava-bhṛtām kaḥ kṛtō n-ōpakārah  
[|| 73\*] — — — — — [|| 74\*] — — — — —
- 4 hī-vijay-ōdyataaya yaay-ān-āchā vihrītam-umada-vallabhān || 74 Samara-raṅga-bhu-  
vān sara-pāṇibhū kim-āpi tāmḍavam-ādhataḥ muhū | yam-abhivṛkha(y)au — — —  
— — — — — [|| 75\*] — — — — —
- 5 bha-ṣṛ-Kurhkaḥ-ṣṣō-kahpad-bhū-āḥm-īha tōna tasya nīṣṭair-ānām kshuraprahī ārah | rā-  
āntahparam-atra vahim<sup>4</sup>-avilāt-paṭṭa-dvipō-tr-āpatad-ya — — — — —  
— — — — — [|| 76\*] — — — — —
- 6 [y]-ānōjara-grah pulak-ārahāhā | aḍy-āpi Lāṭa-sudṛṣṭaḥ pura-chaṭvarṣhu gāyanti  
saurya-naya-vainayikāni yasya || 77 Yā-tuṅga-ṣṛiṅgam-udā[ma].....  
..... [|| 78\*] — — — — —
- 7 v[ī]tasya tasya ṛṣi-Shvrataya Bhṛigukaśchha-vīśahakasya | uttuṅga-ṣṛiṅga-ṣata-ci-  
smita-dēra-dātyaḥ chalyaḥ chakāra Hara-hāsa-sahōdarah yaḥ || 79 Jayam .....  
..... [|| 80\*] — — — — —
- 8 Yaḥ Kumāravihār-ākhyē chaityē Śrīpattana-āhite | pratīmām kārayāmāsa rājatīm Nā-  
bhijamamāḥ || 81 Yaḥ-ā-janma-par-āḥganā-parihṛti-ītha] — — — — —  
— — — — — [|| 82\*] — — — — —
- y-āka-pe[ramāḥ] satya-vratō saushṭhavatī kim ch-ānyat-kathayāmi yasya paramā vīrō-  
ḥu rōkḥ-āḥkavat || 82 Bhṛtē nibhṛtam-amva(mba)ḥ samars-tūra-nād-ākaḥc-ya  
— — — — — [|| 83\*] — — — — —
- 10 [m-a]payā — ny-abhūhātāni — ākārṇayau || 83 Ēk-āṅga-vtra-tīlakēna kṛpāṅs-khō[la]-  
sahpatka-pāvita-bhujā-dvīṭayāna yēna | yuddhāḥu bhūmi — — — — —  
— — — — — [|| 84\*] — — — — —
- 11 — samavēkahya yaaya ān[ī]ṣṭa-kurhara-mahābha-turaga-bhlekman(ahmam) | utthā-  
ya pōtkṛita-ravōga palāyamāṇāḥ ādāhāntam-ādhataḥ bhūmibhujah sa-lajjam(jam)  
[|| 85\*] — — — — — [|| 86\*] — — — — —
- 12 paṣpṛīha<sup>5</sup> — — — — — prasabha-pramṛṣṭa-dushī-āvarōdha-ghuṣṭipāya chīrāya yamāl || 86  
Dvipapati-ṣaḍa-āgr-kahōḍa-jāta-vraḥ-āḥ-māya-lipar-anuvaprah bhā — — — — —  
[|| 87\*] — — — — —
- 13 [yah] || 87 [Matam] upati-mahādāni-mukṛṣa-kāṣṭika-[pa]ṣramām-vīrōdhā(dāi)-rasudhā-  
bhujō yudhī vīdhāya nīrvikramān | gajair-yad-upadā-kṛtāḥ ka — — — — —  
— — — — — [|| 88\*] — — — — —

<sup>1</sup> The intended word may be *bahubhā*.<sup>2</sup> The intended reading may be *śādhaka*.<sup>3</sup> This last *āchala* was probably *as*.<sup>4</sup> The intended word may be *maḥ*.<sup>5</sup> Read *maḥmā*.<sup>6</sup> The intended word may be *ś-paṣpṛīha*.







## No. 12—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

(I Plate)

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### 12. *Savabhaṅga*=*Sarabhaṅga*=*Sarābhaṅga*

Some Magi priests of ancient Iran are known to have migrated to and settled in India and became known as Maga Brāhmaṇas also called Śākadvīpiya, i.e. 'hailing from Śākadvīpa'.<sup>1</sup> This Śākadvīpa can be roughly identified with modern Seistan in Eastern Irān, which was known respectively as Sakastān and Sijistan in the ancient and medieval periods.<sup>2</sup> The said people and those who accompanied them to India introduced a few words in the Indian vocabulary, one of them being the well-known Sanskrit word *mihira* (i.e. the sun or the Sun-god) which is the same as Persian *mītr* derived from Avestan *mīthra*=Vedic *mitra*.<sup>3</sup> On some coins of the Kuṣāṇa kings Kanishka and Huvishka, the Sun-god is represented on the reverse and the name of the deity is spelt in Greek characters as *miro* (also as *miuro* and *miuro*), i.e. *mihira*,<sup>4</sup> the Greek alphabet having no ā. The alternative spellings suggest that the word was also pronounced as *mihuro* and *mihura*.

Similarly, the Scytho-Parthian rulers of the north-western regions of Bhāratavarsha and their Kuṣāṇa successors, who came to our country from the west, introduced certain official designations in the Indian administrative system, some of which became popular with the indigenous Indian kings of various parts of Northern India. A few such designations are (1) *Gaṇjapura* (cf. *Gaṇjapati*); (2) *Dīvira* or *Divira* (cf. *Divirapati*), and (3) *Pilupati* (cf. *Mahāpilupati*).

The designation *Gaṇjapura*, occurring in a Mathura inscription<sup>5</sup> of the Śaka chief Śaśāna (c. 15-25 A.D.) and in Kalhaṇa's Kashmirian Chronicle<sup>6</sup> written about the middle of the twelfth century A.D., is the same as Persian *ganj* meaning 'a treasurer', derived from *ganj*, 'treasure'. The same designation occurs as *Gaṇjapati* in the Talewar (Almora District, U.P.) plate<sup>7</sup> of Dyuti-varman who flourished about the sixth century A.D. About the middle of the tenth century A.D., Utpala, in his commentary on Varāhamihira's *Brhat-samhitā* (LII, 13), explains *gaṇja* as *kṛtā-bhavanam* (i.e. treasury).<sup>8</sup> The designation *Dīvira* or *Divira*, which is found in such an early record as the Khoh plates<sup>9</sup> of king Jayanātha of Uchchakalpa, dated 496 A.D., was explained by Bühler as 'a clerk, writer or accountant' on the authority of the *Lakṣaprakāśa* ascribed to Kaśhēmendra.<sup>10</sup> It is the same as Persian *Dabir* meaning 'a writer, a secretary'.<sup>11</sup> *Divirapati* also occurs in the Talewar plate referred to above and often in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi from the latter part of the sixth century A.D.<sup>12</sup> In the designation *Pilupati* or *Mahāpilupati*, which

<sup>1</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Vol. IV, pp. 218 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambr. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 564.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> See *Select Inscriptions*, p. 142; note 6; p. 153, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 247.

<sup>6</sup> *Rājataranginī*, V, 177.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, p. 115.

<sup>8</sup> Bhaṭṭa Utpala wrote his commentary on Varāhamihira's *Brhat-samhitā* in 968 A.D.

<sup>9</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, p. 122.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Wilson's Glossary, s.v. The *Rājataranginī* (VIII, 131) makes a distinction between *Divira* and *Kāpantā* probably because the Kashmirian *Kāpantā* was primarily a tax-collector.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1325, dated 583 A.D.; etc.



occurs in such early records as the Abhona plates<sup>1</sup> of the Kalachuri king Saṅkaragana, dated 595-96 A.D., and the Taleswar plate referred to above, as well as in a large number of copper-plate grants issued by North Indian kings of the early medieval period,<sup>2</sup> the word *pila* is the same as Arabic-Persian *fil* meaning 'an elephant'.<sup>3</sup> An inscription of Kalachuri Saṅkaragana's time spells the designation as *Mahāpīlapati*.<sup>4</sup>

The official designation *Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga* often occurs in the list of subordinates and officers addressed by some of the kings of Northern India in respect of the grants of land recorded in their copper-plate charters. The difference in the spelling of the word is sometimes noticed even in the records of the same king. Thus, while the Nālandā plate<sup>5</sup> of king Devapāla (c. 810-54 A.D.) of Bengal and Bihar has *Sarabhaṅga*, the Monghyr plate<sup>6</sup> of the same king has *Sarabhaṅga*. A tenth century copper-plate inscription<sup>7</sup> of king Viḍagḍha of Chamṛa in the Himalayas, on the other hand, spells the word as *Sarabhaṅga*. This confusion about the spelling seems to indicate that the word is of foreign origin.

The meaning of *Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga* has not been satisfactorily determined, though unsuccessful attempts have been made to explain it on the basis of Sanskrit *śara* meaning 'an arrow' probably regarding the spellings *sara* as a mere mistake for *śara* and ignoring *saras* altogether. Thus it has sometimes been suggested that *Sarabhaṅga* means a superior military officer equipped with bows and arrows, although the word *haṅga* remains unexplained in this interpretation.<sup>8</sup> While editing the Pandukovar (Garhwal District, U.P.) plates of about the tenth century A.D., we ourselves observed, "*Sarabhaṅga* literally means 'wound and fracture'. He was probably the royal surgeon".<sup>9</sup> It has also been conjectured that *Sarabhaṅga* may have something to do with *śarayantra* or *śarayantra*, the latter being a title conferred in Mithilā upon a very learned man who successfully faced an ordeal (called *śarayantra*) of answering satisfactorily all questions on any *śāstra* put to him by learned *śāhīyas* and common people.<sup>10</sup> But, as indicated above, the spelling of the first part of the designation variously as *sara*, *sara* and *saras* seems to suggest that the writers of the epigraphic records were struggling to find out a suitable Sanskrit word for a foreign expression. Indeed it has also to be noticed that no word like *Sarabhaṅga*, *Sarabhaṅga* and *Sarabhaṅga* occurs in any of the Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of an official designation and that it is also not known from any epigraphic record of a South Indian monarch.

It now appears to us that *Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga* was introduced into India by the foreign rulers of North-Western Bhārata-varsha just as *Gaṇjavara*, *Divira* and *Pilūpati* and that it is really an Indian modification of Persian *Sarhang* meaning 'a commander of forces'. *Sarhang* is derived from *sar* (Sanskrit *śiras*), 'the head', and old Persian *hang* (Sanskrit *haṅga*), 'a company', in the sense of 'the head of a contingent of troops'. The same expression is used as *Sarāṅgha* in the official designation *Gūgūtā-sarāṅgha*, 'the chief of the army at Gūgit', occurring in the Hātun (Gilgit) inscription<sup>11</sup> of the Shāhī king Paṭalādīva who flourished about the seventh century A.D. The *Sarāṅgha* of the Hātun inscription may also have been a military

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Ind. Emp.*, Vol. III, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson's *Glossary*, s.v.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 221, text line 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 306, text line 32.

<sup>7</sup> Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamṛa State*, Part I, p. 166, text line 7.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 309.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 283, note 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Kan. Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, p. 1006.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, p. 228.



governor. The same designation is still found in some of the Indian dialects in the form *Serāṅg*.<sup>1</sup> Wilson's Glossary recognises Persian *Sathang*-Indian *Serang* and explains the designation as follows: 'a commander; but generally applied in India to the headman of a native crew whether on board a ship or boat; also to the headman of a gang of natives attached to artillery, dragging guns, or to the army in general, as tent-pitchers and the like, or to the head of gangs of a superior order of labourers employed in public or private works, in docks, buildings, etc.'<sup>2</sup>

### 13. *Dēvadāsīs in Buddhist Temples*

The Ratnagiri copper-plate inscription of the Sōmavamśi king Karka, who flourished in Orissa about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., has been edited by Mrs. D. Mitra in the pages of this Journal<sup>3</sup> and we also have published a note on the same epigraph above.<sup>4</sup> The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Sōmavamśi king in favour of Rūpi Karpūraśrī, described in our opinion, as the daughter of Mahāri Māhūpadōvi and the *pautri* (i.e. daughter of the *patri* or daughter) of Udayamati. We have regarded Karpūraśrī as a *rāpi* (literally, 'queen', but probably 'a concubine') of king Karka. Her description as the daughter and granddaughter of females instead of the mention of her father and grandfather was taken by us to suggest that she was born of a harlot. This suggestion was supported by us by taking her mother's epithet *mahāri* as the same as Prakrit *māhāri*=Oriya *māhāri* meaning a *Dēvadāsī* (i.e. a dancing girl attached to temples, a harlot).

But a difficulty we felt then was that Karpūraśrī is described in the inscription as *Salānapura-mahāśikhāra-vinirgatā*, which would normally mean 'hailing from the great Buddhist monastery at Salānapura'. Since, however, *Dēvadāsīs* are generally known to have been attached to Brahmanical temples and not to Buddhist monasteries, we were inclined to interpret the expression *Salānapura-mahāśikhāra* as a stereotyped geographical name of the area around the Buddhist monastery at Salānapura just as that of the town of Bihār (Viṭhāra, Bihārasharif of the Muslims) in the Patna District of Bihar. We therefore suggested that Karpūraśrī, a concubine of the Sōmavamśi king Karka, hailed from the neighbourhood of the Salānapura monastery but was not attached to it. Recently, however, we have found some proof to show that *Dēvadāsīs* were maintained in the early medieval period not only in the Brahmanical temples but also in the Buddhist shrines at least in Eastern India. There was thus no difference in this respect between the Brahmanical and Buddhist temples in the area and age to which the Ratnagiri plates belong. We therefore think now that Karpūraśrī and probably also her mother, if not her maternal grandmother as well, had really been *Dēvadāsīs* attached to the Buddhist temple in the *mahāśikhāra* at Salānapura before she went to king Karka's harem. She may have been purchased by the king from the authorities of the monastery.

Bhagavanlal Indrajī published an inscription embedded in the wall of a temple of the Sun-god on the western side of the tank called Dakṣiṇa-mānasa near the Viṣṇupāda at Gayā in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, 1881, pp. 341 ff. Dated in the Buddhapaṇinirvāṇa year 1883 (probably 1270 A.D.), this inscription records the construction of a *Gandhakūṭi* by Puruṣhōttamasūriha, the son of Kāmadēvasūriha and grandson of king Jayasūdasūriha of the Kāma country (probably Kumaon in the Himalayas or Kāśmīr in the Bharatpur District, Rajasthan). The expression *gandhakūṭi* originally meant the Buddha's private chamber in a Buddhist establishment and later a shrine where the Buddha's image was worshipped in a Buddhist monastery. The Buddhist temple in

<sup>1</sup> The Bengali spelling of the word is *Serāṅg*.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Holman-Jensen*, s.v. *Serang*.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 269 ff.



question is said to have been built for the merit of Māhīyāsīmha, the deceased son of Puruṣhōttamaśīlha's daughter Ratnasī, with the help of the local Chhinda King and of King Aśākachalla of the Sapādalakṣha country (the Siwalik hills or the land around Śākashkhari or Sambhar in the Jaipur District, Rajasthan), both Puruṣhōttamaśīlha and Aśākachalla probably being pilgrims to Gaya or leading retired lives at the holy place.

Verse 12 of the said inscription has been read and translated as follows :

*Pūjāḥ pūjyatanasya paśchama-gatair=śāhāyā=śrīmādhyamā mādā*

*Rambhā=śrāmibhā-bhāṛīalbhī=abhītā(tat)=chāṭībhī=atyaibhūtiś(tam) |*

*nrityamibhī=śrāṅga-lagana-gatair=ggā=śā-rakṣāir=śā*

*gamāt=anti hi śāśanā bhagavataḥ sūktāra=śrīpārītāḥ ||*

"Since, in the religion of the *Bhāgavat*, worship is here [offered] to the most worshipful, always three times a day, by means of instrumental music in the highest key (*paśchama-gata*) together with Rambhā-like *Bhāṛīs* and *Chāṭīs* dancing round wonderfully with music in singing and so on, in a way appertaining to the unious of Anaga (*Kāma*)—[worship] increased by hospitable entertainment."

On the words *bhāṛī* and *chāṭī*, Indrajī observes as follows : "*Bhāṛīs* are the dancing girls attached to temples. *Chāṭīs* are maid-servants belonging to temples, who perform certain menial services as well as join with the *Bhāṛīs* in singing....."

The word *bhāṛī* in the sense of 'a wanton woman' is interesting since this meaning may have developed from its use in expressions like *Harī-bhāṛī*, 'devoted to Hari', probably often applied to dancing girls attached to Vaiṣṇava temples.

#### 11. *Dvārakapāla*

While commenting above on some of Mr. R. K. Ghosal's views on the Rākhaśekhālī (Sundarhan) plate of Śaka 1118, we pointed out that *Dvārakapāla*, where king Dāmanapāla was staying at the time of making the grant recorded in the charter, was a locality near the Gaṅgāśālgaramaḍgama (i.e. the holy junction of the Ganges or Bhāgīrathī and the Bay of Bengal), that the king went there to meet his end in the waters of the Ganges according to a popular practice of those days and that the grant was made on the said occasion in accordance with the injunction of the Hindu scriptures. It was also pointed out that *Apāḍā*, the second part of the name, is the same as Sanskrit *kāpāka* and Bengali *kāpā*, and means 'a market place'. But we were not sure then whether *dvāra*, the first part of the name, means 'a mouth' of the Ganges, so that the name *Dvārakapāla* would literally mean 'a market place on the mouth [of the Ganges]'. This was because the word *dvāra* in the sense of the mouth of a river is not generally found in the Sanskrit lexicons and the name *Gaṅgā-dvāra*, literally 'the door of the Ganges', is applied to modern Haridwar which is a locality where the Ganges enters into the plains from the Hīmalayas. But we have recently noticed that the word *dvāra* in the sense of the mouth of a river is not unknown.

The Lumbini copper-plate inscription, issued by the Maithra king Śīlāditya II in the Gupta-Valabhī year 300 (688-89 A.D.), records the gift of some land in a village situated at the *Madhumati-dvāra* which has been interpreted as 'the mouth of the river Madhumati (i.e. the modern Nikot creek)'. The localities mentioned in the enumeration of the boundary of the gift land support

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XXX, pp. 42 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 74 ff.



the said interpretation of the word *deśra*. Thus *Dvārahaṭṭaka* of the *Rākahaskhālī* (*Sundarban*) plate may have been actually situated on the mouth of the *Bhāgīrathī* in the vicinity of *Gaṅgāśa-gara-sāgama*. It may be pointed out that, in Tamil, the expression *mukha-deśra* means the mouth of a river especially where it falls into the sea.

15. *Ambā-kipilikā=Ambā-kapilikā=Ambā-kapilikā*

*Ambā-kipilikā*, *ambā-kapilikā* or *ambā-kapilikā* is mentioned in the list of creatures occurring in Pillar Edict V of Aśoka, whose slaughter was prohibited by the Maurya emperor.<sup>1</sup> Of the two words joined in the compound expression, *ambā* means 'mother' in Sanskrit and the Prakrite (including Pāli) while *kapilikā* is a well-known Pāli word meaning 'an ant'. Bühler, therefore, interpreted, *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* as 'the queen ant'<sup>2</sup> and most later writers have accepted Bühler's interpretation.

B. M. Barua, however, pointed out that, according to the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*,<sup>3</sup> the expression *ambaka-maddari* or *ambaka-pechhari* means *khuddaka-kukkusikā* (Sanskrit *khudraka-kukkutikā*), 'a small hen', and therefore *ambaka* is a synonym of *khuddaka*, 'small'.<sup>4</sup> He took *ambā* in Pillar Edict V as the same as *ambaka-khuddaka* and, since he believed that the list in Pillar Edict V contains only the names of birds or bird-like creatures so that there is no possibility of 'the ant' being mentioned in it, he further suggested that *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* means a small bird.<sup>5</sup>

P. C. Sen<sup>6</sup> has recently pointed out that the list of creatures in Pillar Edict V really contains names other than those of birds. We agree with him on this point. But he accepts Barua's interpretation of *ambā* as 'small' and suggests that *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* really means 'a small ant'. In support of this interpretation, Sen has offered two arguments.

In the first place, our attention has been drawn to the following stanza occurring in some recensions of the *Mahābhārata*<sup>7</sup>:

*Anaṣṭāṇ-mṛttikā khraiva tathā khudra-pipilikāḥ |*

*śikhūṣṭakāḥ-tathā viprat-śhakaṣyaṇ visham-śha cha ||*

The verse mentions *khudra-pipilikā* or 'the small ant' in the list of food which a Brāhmana should not take and Sen suggests that this injunction proves the prevalence of the custom of eating ants amongst certain sections of the people.

Secondly, Sen refers to the practice of eating winged white-ants and also bigger red-ants which make big nests generally with leaves at the end of small branches of the mango trees, especially the eggs and the young of the latter both raw and cooked, as still prevalent among the aboriginal population of South Bihar.<sup>8</sup> He therefore suggests that these are the creatures called *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* in Pillar Edict V of Aśoka.

It is, however, difficult to agree with these views. Firstly, the Pāli lexicons do not recognise 'small' as a meaning of the word *ambā* and even if *ambaka-maddari* or *ambaka-pechhari* means

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, Vol. I, 1923, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptions of Assam*, Part II, p. 358.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Bhāṣa* (Bangali), Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See Bangabhat edition, *Śānti-parvan*, Chapter XXXVI, verse 21.

<sup>8</sup> In the western areas of North India, I am told, there is a belief that one's eye-sight becomes sharp if red or grey ants are eaten.



*Kṛmāśaka-Kabbaśāśā*, it is not certain that *amāśā* means 'small'. Secondly, the winged white-ants and the red-ants living generally in mango trees are both very much bigger than the ordinary small ants and can therefore hardly be called *śaśādra* or 'small'. The consumption of 'big' ants is not prohibited by the *Mahābhārata*.

The word *amāśā* occurs in the expression *amāśa-saśākyā* in Pillar Edict VII<sup>1</sup> and in *amāśa-saśāśā* in the so-called Queen's Edict on the Allahabad-Kanauj pillar,<sup>2</sup> both the expressions standing for Sanskrit *āśra-vāpikā*, 'a grove of mango trees'. Thus *amāśā* stands for Sanskrit *āśra* in Aśoka vocabulary.<sup>3</sup> It is thus very probable that *amāśa-kapilāśā-amāśa-kapilāśa-amāśa-kapilāśa* really stands for Sanskrit *āśra-piplikā* and means 'the mango-tree ant', i.e. the big red ant that generally lives on mango trees.

#### 16. Date of the Dabōk Inscription

While editing the Mathurā fragmentary inscription (assigned on palaeographical grounds to the latter half of the seventh century A.D.) of the Maurya king Karka Pindirāja in the pages of this journal,<sup>4</sup> we had occasion to refer to the Dabōk (eight miles to the east of Udaipur, Rajasthan) inscription mentioning the Guhila chief Dhanika of Dhavagarsā (Dhōd in the Jaipur District of the Udaipur Division, Rajasthan) and the latter's overlord *Paramahapāsaka Mahārājadharmya Paramāśara Dhavalappa*. The Dabōk inscription was noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar<sup>5</sup> and a tentative transcript of it, based on an unsatisfactory impression, was published by R. R. Haldier.<sup>6</sup> In our discussion, reference was also made to Bhandarkar's identification of this Dhavalappa with the Maurya king Dhavalātman of the Kanauj inscription<sup>7</sup> of 738 A.D. (V. S. 793) and it was pointed out that *Dhavalātman* may be a Sanskritised form of the South Indian (Kannada) name *Dhavalappa* and that these Mauryas of the Rajasthan region may have been related to the Maurya house of the Southern Konkan. We further suggested that the Mauryas succeeded in extending their suzerainty over Rajasthan which had formerly been a part of the dominions of king Harsha (606-47 A.D.) of Kanauj.<sup>8</sup> It was also suggested by us in some other connection that Śālditya of the Sāmōli (Bhamat District, Udaipur Division) inscription<sup>9</sup> of V.S. 763 (849 A.D.) was either identical with Harsha of Kanauj or with a Guhila ruler who was named after the Kanauj king because the latter was his father's overlord as in some other cases known to the students of Indian history.<sup>10</sup>

The date of the Dabōk inscription has been differently read. Bhandarkar had at first read it as the year 807 of the Vikrama Śaśvat corresponding to 750 A.D., which he later corrected to 407 of the Gupta era corresponding to 726 A.D. But Haldier reads the date as the year 207 of the Harsha era corresponding to 813 A.D. Recently I had an occasion to study some good impressions of the inscription and found that the date in question is very clearly the year 701 which must be referred to the Vikrama Śaśvat so as to yield 614 A.D.

The date is written in three signs, the first of which is a *śa* (indicating 100) joined at the right with the sign of 7, so that the entire symbol can only be read as 700. The difference between this symbol for 700 and that illustrated by Ojha in his *Bhāratīya Prākṛita Lippaśāśā*, Plate LXXIV-b,

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, Vol. I, p. 136, text line 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136, text line 2.

<sup>3</sup> See my note in *Bhāṣa*, Vol. X, pp. 319. Cf. R. G. Banah, *Śāśvata Inscriptions*, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 207 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1371, *PRAS*, W. C. 1908-09, p. 61; above, Vol. XII, p. 12, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 122 ff. Dhanika is identified with his namesake of the Chattri and Nagar inscriptions (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1637; *Dharmā Kāśwast*, Vol. I, pp. 267 ff.). But it is doubtful.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 3; Vol. XXXIV, p. 168.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 7, note 6; Vol. XXXIV, p. 169.



DATE OF THE DABOK INSCRIPTION



2

2







is that 7 is not joined with 100 in the latter case, though 700 written by a joint symbol of 100 and 7 is also illustrated by him elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The second of the three signs, with which the date of the Dabōk inscription is written, is a dot which is known to have been sometimes used to indicate the absence of the ten symbol between the signs of the unit and the hundred or that of both the ten and unit symbols.<sup>2</sup> The third sign is certainly 1 and not 7 since its top is not sufficiently curved towards the left. Bhandarkar and Halder, who read 7 after the hundred symbol, apparently conjectured the second sign (i.e. the dot) to be joined with the top of the third (i.e. 1) probably because the rare use of the dot in numbers expressed in symbols, due to the growing influence of the decimal system, was not known to them. Their reading is justified neither by the facsimile published by Halder nor by the impressions examined by me. The palaeography of the Dabōk inscription does not go against its ascription to V.S. 701 (644 A.D.).

This date of the Dabōk inscription necessitates certain modifications in our views on the history of Rajasthan as indicated above. In the first place, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Paramādeva Dhavalappa of this epigraph of 644 A.D. cannot be identified with the Maurya king Dhavalātman of the Kanauwa inscription of 738 A.D., although the former may have been a predecessor (probably the grandfather) of the latter. Secondly, although the paleography of our epigraph closely resembles that of the Mathurā fragmentary inscription of the Maurya king Karka Piddirāja, son of Āryarāja and grandson of Chandragupta, that ruler has to be assigned to a date about half a century later than Dhavalappa if the two kings belonged to the same house. This is because both the Dabōk and Mathurā inscriptions use the bipartite form of the letter *y* and it is difficult to assign the latter epigraph to a date much earlier than the middle of the seventh century A.D. Thirdly, if Dhavalappa, who assumed the imperial style *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramādeva* by 644 A.D., was really a scion of the Maurya dynasty as he seems to have been, king Harsha of Kanauj must have lost his hold over many parts of Rajasthan before his death in 647 A.D., though the Mauryas of the Rajasthan region must have originally owed allegiance to him. In this connection, reference may be made to the assumption of imperial style by Maṭṭraka Dharmasēna IV of Valabhī, whose father was a subordinate ally of Harsha, by the Gupta-Vallabhī year 326 (644-45 A.D.).<sup>3</sup>

Among other points that may be noticed in this connection, we think it likely that the Rāshtrakūṣa chief Nannappa, son of Bhāmāna, who is known from the Indragadh (near Bhānpurā in the Mandasaur District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription<sup>4</sup> of Vikrama 767 (710 A.D.) was a feudatory of these Mauryas probably of Kannaḍa origin, as indicated above, like the Rāshtrakūṣas. Without further light on the history of these Mauryas, however, it can not be said that king Lōka of the Sargari (Tonk District, Rajasthan) inscription<sup>5</sup> of Vikrama 1043 (987 A.D.) also owed allegiance to them since Rajasthan and Malwa appear to have been occupied by the Gurjara-Pratihāras before 783 A.D.

These Mauryas are mentioned in inscriptions found at Mathurā and at certain places in Rajasthan and Karka Piddirāja (about the close of the seventh century A.D.) of this family claimed to have burnt the city of Kanauj. But the inscriptions do not throw any light on the location of their capital. According to the bardic traditions of Mewar, Bappa, son of Guhila or Guhadatta, who was the founder of the Guhila house, was in the service of his uncle, the Mōri (Maurya) ruler of Chitōr and, after repulsing a barbarian invasion from Gajni, seized the crown of the latter.<sup>6</sup> But it is difficult to determine whether Chitōr was the Maurya capital or the headquarters of one of the

<sup>1</sup> See Plate LXXIV-a. In this case the 100 symbol resembles *at* instead of *uu*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212 and p. 216, text line 22.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1345-46.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 112 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, p. 79, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> See DHNT, Vol. II, p. 1154.



Maurya viceroys. The Jain tradition representing king Yaśovarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj as a descendant of Chandragupta Maurya<sup>1</sup> may refer to Yaśovarman's relations with Karka Pīṇḍī-rāja who was the grandson of a Maurya king named Chandragupta.<sup>2</sup> But we cannot say that the Mauryas transferred their capital to Kanauj sometime before the accession of Yaśovarman since the Maurya king Dhavalakṣman (738 A.D.) was a contemporary of Yaśovarman. It is, however, not impossible that the Mauryas conquered Kanauj and stationed there a scion of their family as a viceroy and that Yaśovarman was a member of this viceregal family which had thrown off the yoke of the main branch of the dynasty.

Several branches of the Guhila family, all apparently owing allegiance originally to king Harsha of Kanauj and later to the Mauryas, were ruling in different parts of the Udaipur Division during the seventh century A.D. Guhila Dhanika of the Dabōk inscription had his headquarters at Dhavagartā while another branch of the family represented by Paḍila (c. 625 A.D.), Dṛvagapa (c. 640 A.D.), Bhāvivata (654 A.D.), Bhētī (679 A.D.), Bābhata (689 A.D.) and Kadachhi (c. 700 A.D.) had its capital at Kishkindhā or Kishkindhīpura near Kalyāṇpur in the Bhomai District.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, a third branch of the family, to which Aparājita of an inscription<sup>4</sup> of Vikrama 718 (661 A.D.) in the Kuṇḍāvar temple at Nāgdā near Udaipur belonged, was probably ruling from Nāgharada (Nāgdā). Śīlāditya of the Sāmoli inscription of 644 A.D., if he was really a Guhila, also belonged to the Nāgdā branch and was the predecessor of Aparājita. Later records of this house begin the genealogy with the following names : (1) Bhōja (born in the family of Guhadatta belonging to a Brāhmaṇa family hailing from Ānandapura, i.e. modern Vāḍnagar in Northern Gujarat), (2) his successor Mahēndra, (3) his successor Nāga, (4) his successor Śīla (i.e. Śīlāditya, 644 A.D.), and (5) his successor Aparājita (681 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> Another branch of the family seems to be represented by the chattr and Nāgar inscriptions referred to above.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 208-09.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 378 f.; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 166 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 13; Above, Vol. IV, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 86; *Ibid. ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.



The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar  
before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. Gai,  
*Government Epigraphist for India.*



# SILVER COIN OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KACHAR

*Enlarged*

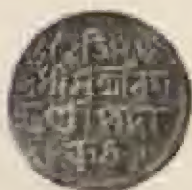
*Obverse*



*Reverse*



*Actual*



( from Photographs )



# No. 13—SILVER COIN OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KACHAR, SAKA 1736

(I-Plate)

A. N. LAHIRI, DONTAGAMUND

(Received on 11.11.1960)

While discussing the Koch and Jaintia coins in *JASB*, April 1910 (cf. p. 161, note 1; p. 166) H. E. Stapleton published a rupee of king **Govindachandra** of Kachar. The coin was then in the possession of a descendant of Govindachandra's Prime Minister. It is stated to have been .93 inch in diameter and 115.75 grains in weight. The reproduction shows that it was struck from a good die. Stapleton pointed out how the coin settled the question 'whether Kachari coins were ever struck'. Since then, however, more Kachar coins issued by earlier rulers have come to light.<sup>1</sup>

The coin has four lines of writing on each side. The legend is in Bengali characters. Stapleton read it with the help of R.D. Banerji as follows:

Obverse	Reverse
1 Sri-ari-Gô-	1 Haidimbap-
2 vindachandrasya	2 radhîma-sri-Raga-
3 rājā	3 chaṇḍi-pad-
4	4 [bja]-jusha[h]

Unfortunately the above reading of the legend is both inaccurate and incomplete. Moreover, what has been taken as the reverse by Stapleton is really the obverse of the coin. The portion of the legend on that side is actually an epithet of the king and the writing is continued on the other side.

On the obverse, the first expression reads *Haidimbapû-adhîm(ka)* and not *Haidimbapû-adhîma*. Thus the complete legend on the obverse is : *Haidimbapû-adhîm(ka)-sri-Ragachandri-pad-ajusha[h\*]*. The last six aksharas on the reverse, which Stapleton and Banerji could not read at all, are clearly : *aga-try-adri-kau Sa(Sa)kē*. They actually give the date of the coin in a chronogram. Since this fact was not realised, the coin was regarded as undated.<sup>2</sup>

The legend on both sides of the coin is a stanza in *Anustupā*, the obverse and reverse containing respectively the first and second halves of the verse.

## TEXT

Obverse*	Reverse*
1 Haidimbapû-	1 Sri-ari-Gô-
2 r-adhîma(ka)-sri-Raga-	2 vindachandrasya
3 chaṇḍi-pad-	3 rājā-aga-try-a-
4 jusha[h*]	4 d[rj]-kau Sa(Sa)kē [h*]

<sup>1</sup> For some coins of Yashovarhaya and Pratāparādhitya, see *Bihar, Num. Suppl.*, XX, Art. 120, pp. 556, 57, and Plate XXVIII, Nos. 1-3, and for a coin of Tāmraditya, see *JASB*, 1910, p. 160, Plate XXIII, No. 10, with *Num. Suppl.*, op. cit., p. 557. Dr. A. D. H. Bivar informs me that there are 60 coins of the three kings in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Edward Hall, *A History of Assam*, 1929, p. 235, note.

<sup>3</sup> On this side, there are some floral designs to the left of the first line of writing and on both sides of the last.

<sup>4</sup> There is a dotted line below the legend.



## TRANSLATION

(This is the coin) of king *Śrī-Gōvīndachandra*, the lord of *Halḍimbapūr* and devoted to the *feet* of *Śrī-Ragaohḍī*, (struck) in the *Śaka* (year counted by) *aṅga* (i.e. 6), *tri* (i.e. 3), *andri* (i.e. 7) and *ku* (i.e. 1), (i.e. in *Śaka* 1738).

The importance of the coin lies in the fact that it gives the date in *chronogram* which is not generally noticed in the legends on the coins of the medieval Hindu rulers. It is again one of the very few coins issued by the Hindu kings of medieval India to bear a *verified legend*.<sup>1</sup> Now, *Halḍimbā* is the old name of *Kāchār*, and *Halḍimbapūr*, 'the city (i.e. the capital) of *Halḍimbā*', is probably to be identified, as proposed by Stapleton, with *Silberband*, near *Khānpūr*, in the *Kāchār* Plains, where, according to Gait, the ruins of the palaces of the last three *Kāchār* kings are still to be found.<sup>2</sup>

*Ragaohḍī* must have been the tutelary deity of the kings of *Kāchār*. She is apparently 'the *Thakoorin* of *Kachar*' who, according to Captain Fisher, 'is adored under the symbol of a sword religiously preserved in the *Rajbari*, and to the possession of which the most inexplicable importance is attached'.<sup>3</sup>

*Gōvīndachandra* succeeded his brother *Eyāṅachandra* to the throne of *Kāchār* in 1813 A.D. *Śaka* 1738 (1814-15 A.D.), when the coin was struck, thus seems to be the date of his coronation. He was an unhappy ruler, beset with innumerable troubles. Soon after his assumption of power, a stable servant of his predecessor, by name *Kohi Dās*, led a rebellion which was continued, after the rebel's assassination by his son *Tulārām*. Not only this. *Chaurāṅti Sīnha*, the exiled *Manipur* king then a refugee in *Kāchār*, and his brother *Gambhār Sīnha*, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the *Kāchār* Army, conspired against *Gōvīndachandra* and ousted him (about 1819)<sup>4</sup> from his kingdom which was then divided amongst themselves and their brother *Mārajit Sīnha* who had been driven away from the *Manipur* throne by the *Burmese*.<sup>5</sup> *Gōvīndachandra* took shelter in *Sylhet* and sought the help of the British without success. He was eventually removed to *Dacca*.<sup>6</sup> After a long time, however, *Gōvīndachandra*'s case was taken up by the British. He was restored to the *Kāchār* throne about 1826 under British protection and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 *sikka* rupees. The authorities of the East India Company, on their part, arranged to provide for the maintenance of the *Manipur* princes who were persuaded to leave *Kāchār* and reside within British territory.<sup>7</sup>

But *Gōvīndachandra*'s enemies never allowed him to rest in peace. According to a conspiracy planned by *Gambhār Sīnha*, a band of *Manipuris* entered the royal palace with the help of the king's *Manipur* bodyguard and hacked him to pieces on the night of the 24th April 1830.<sup>8</sup> After his death, his kingdom was annexed to the British territories.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the *Indore* Rupee of king *Yādavanta Rāo*, dated *Śaka* 1728, bearing a *verified legend*, see C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, Plate XII, No. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1810, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> "Memoir of *Sylhet*, *Kachar* and the Adjacent Districts" in *JASB*, 1840, pp. 832-33.

<sup>4</sup> See Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

<sup>5</sup> See R. M. Lohry, *The Annexation of Assam*, pp. 42-45.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> See *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.



## No. 14—FRAGMENTARY RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM KANDHAR

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR and G. BHATTACHARYA, GÖTTACAMUND

(Received on 20.7.1960)

Kandhār (also spelt as Qandhār and Kandahār), the headquarters of the Taluk of that name, is 32 miles southwest of Nāndēd in the Nander District, formerly in Hyderabad State but now in Maharashtra. In February 1959, while Mr. Bhattacharya was camping at Nāndēd, Shri V. R. Mahiakar, Headmaster of the Kandhār Government High School, gave him information about the existence of the stone inscription under study and was kind enough to accompany him to Kandhār and to take him to the findspot of the epigraph. The inscribed stone slab lies near an old well called 'the Khās Bāg well' in the locality called Bahādūrpur nearly a mile from the present town of Kandhār. The place abounds in ruined structures and images and plinths of old buildings are still to be noticed around the well. The well also is old, its sides and steps being built of stone. Shri Mahiakar told Mr. Bhattacharya that, when the well dried up in the summer of 1967, the stone slab bearing the inscription was found in its bed and that it was taken out and kept at the spot where it is lying now.

The most notable existing structure at Kandhār is the Fort just outside the town. There is no doubt that the Fort was built before the advent of Muhammadans there. The present Dargah and the mosque inside the Fort have pillars of old Hindu temples. But there is no record of the Hindu rulers anywhere inside the Fort. The town of Kandhār also abounds in many ruined structures as well as Hindu, Buddhist and Jain images. Still old images and Śivaliṅgas come out here and there while people dig for the foundation of a house. That the Muslim occupation of Kandhār led to the destruction of the temples is demonstrated by the mosque in the town, which is an old Hindu shrine turned into a Muslim religious establishment by means of superficial changes in the construction.

The lower part of the inscribed stone slab, which was originally a pillar, is broken. It is written on three sides of the stone; but the lower part of the writing is lost in all of them. The record is thus **fragmentary** and contains three fragments of what was originally a big pillar inscription. Of the inscription on the three sides, the writing on the third is better preserved while that on the second is badly damaged. There is the figure of Śivaliṅga on the Yōni-paṭṭa flanked by a devotee pouring water on the Yōni-paṭṭa on the left and a bull on the right above the writing on the first side. The slab, as it now is, measures about 27 inches in height while the width of the broad faces, one of them bearing the first part of the inscription, is about 15 inches, the breadth of the two side faces being 10·2 inches each. The lines of writing on the first face are thus slightly longer than those on the other two inscribed faces. Individual letters without vowel-marks, excluding conjuncts, are each a little above half an inch in height. The letters on the third side are slightly smaller in size than those on the other two sides. There are seventeen lines of writing on the first side together with traces of another line, while the second and third sides contain twenty-six lines each. The three inscribed faces of the pillar will be hereinafter called as A, B and C.



The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Dōoli\* (Śaka 862), Kolhāpur\* and Karhād\* (Śaka 882) plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.) and the undated Chinchani plate\* belonging to the same king's reign. But some of the conjuncts show a slightly more developed form than found in the other records (cf. *śakmi* in *A*, line 2, *uṣ* in *A*, line 4 and *śpa* in *A*, line 16, etc.). The formation of the letter *ṣ* (*A*, line 16) is also later. From this fact it may be conjectured that the record under study is slightly later than those mentioned above. The initial vowels *a* (*A*, lines 8, 10; *B*, line 8), *i* (*A*, lines 9, 15; *C*, lines 8, 14), *u* (*A*, line 11; *C*, line 13) and *e* (*A*, lines 14, 15) occur in the inscription. The *upadhāniya* appears in *A*, line 12 and final *i* in *A*, line 11; *B*, lines 6, 10; and *C*, line 20. The sign for *r* has been employed in indicating *ṣ* excepting *śiṣṭa* in *A*, line 3. Like the Chinchani plate, the record begins with the *Prasaṃ* symbolically represented.

The language is Sanskrit and the document is written in prose and verse. All the seven stanzas found in the extant introductory part of the inscription on the first face of the pillar are also found in the corresponding part of the Dōoli, Kolhāpur and Karhād plates of Kṛishṇa III with negligible variations. In this part, the Dōoli and Kolhāpur plates add two other stanzas while the Karhād plates add a third new verse along with those two. As regards orthography also, the present record resembles the same epigraphs. In one case *Śaṣṭhi* has not been observed in a verse (*A*, line 6). Final *w* has been changed to *ananta* wrongly in some cases. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r*.

The extant parts of the inscription bear **no date**. But, on grounds of palaeography and the fact that the introductory stanzas are also found in the Dōoli, Kolhāpur and Karhād plates, the inscription may be referred to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.), probably to its latter part.

There are seven stanzas in *A* (lines 1-17) after the symbolical representation of the *Prasaṃ*, the last of the verses being incomplete. The rest of the writing on the said face of the stone is lost. Verse 1 is in praise of the god Muśīci (i.e. Viṣṇu) while verse 2 praises the god Tripuraviṣayin (i.e. Śiva). The next stanza (verse 3) introduces the Moon-god as one whose part is held on his head by the god Śaṃbhū (Śiva). It is then stated in verse 4 how the **Yadu family** sprang from the Moon-god. Verse 5 refers to the birth of the Primeval Male (i.e. Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛishṇa) in that family with the purpose of destroying the demons and to the kings of the said family, who, owing to their pre-eminent fame and valour, became known in the world as the **Tuṅgas**. Verse 6 informs us that, in that lineage which was known as the *Rāshtrakūṭa-kula*, was born **Dantidurga** while the following stanza (verse 7), the concluding part of which is lost, tells us how, after **Dantidurga**, his paternal uncle, king **Kṛishṇarāja**, became the ruler of the earth and constructed numerous temples of the god **Ivara** (Śiva). The present epigraph does not refer to the eponymous **Rājja** mentioned in the Karhād and Dōoli plates as the progenitor of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. But, like them, it refers to **Tuṅga** as another name of the Rāshtrakūṭas, though the Dōoli plates have *Sātyaki-vṛṣṇa-bhāṣa* (i.e. members of the lineage of Sātyaki) instead of the expression *tuṅga-gaṇa-prabhārāṇ* found in the Karhād plates and the present record and refer to the **Rāshtrakūṭas** descent from the Sātyaki branch of the Yadu family.

As indicated above, the latter part of the genealogy including the mention of Kṛishṇa III, to whom the epigraph apparently belongs, is lost. But, from the other records of the said Rāshtra-

\* Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and Plates.

\* JUBBES, N. S., Vol. X, pp. 21 ff. and Plates.

\* Above, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff. and Plates.

\* Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 55 ff. and Plate.



kāta king, we can restore the genealogy as follows : (1) Dantidurga (742-56 A.D.) ; (2) his paternal uncle Kṛishṇa I (756-75 A.D.) ; (3) his son Gōvinda II (775-80 A.D.) ; (4) his younger brother Nirupama Kalivallabha (Dhruva, 780-94 A.D.) ; (5) his son Jagatnāga (Gōvinda III, 794-814 A.D.) ; (6) his son Nripatunga (Amōghavaraha I, 814-78 A.D.) ; (7) his son Akālavaraha Kṛishṇa II (878-915 A.D.) ; (8) his grandson Indra III (915-38 A.D.) ; (9) his son Amōghavaraha II (928-29 A.D.) ; (10) his younger brother Suvarṇavaraha Gōvinda IV (929-34 A.D.) ; (11) his paternal uncle Amōghavaraha III (934-39 A.D.) ; and (12) his son Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.).

The text of the record in *B* starts with the meritorious and munificent activities probably of Kṛishṇa III. In the first part (lines 1-8), it records what was apparently the first group of provisions made to various people by the ruler. The first reference is to the bardic (*vaṃśī-jana*) who used to praise the noble qualities of one and received [each] two hundred *Drammas* together with a pair of clothes probably per year. Next, provision of a hundred *Drammas* and a pair of clothes is made for each of a group of persons whose duty was to recite sacred texts four times a day. The third provision of fifty *Drammas* and a pair of clothes was made in favour [of each] of another group of reciters. These look like payments to be made to palace servants. But their inclusion is difficult to understand even if they were especially liberal and were introduced in a new palace or capital. It is, however, well known that the deities worshipped in temples are treated as kings and it may be that the reference is to certain categories of servants in a temple. It should, however, be admitted that the first sentence in this section seems to refer to a king and not to a deity.

The reference to the second group of pious deeds in the next section (lines 5 ff.) begins with a description of *Kālamēgha* which was probably a secondary name of the donor. This section mentions the provision made for offering meals to the {Brāhmanas} numbering thirty, who were engaged in reciting the Vēdas, in the *sutra-śālā* (free feeding house) close to [the temple of] the god Kālapriya. Next is mentioned the provision of two *prasthas*<sup>1</sup> of oil and one *prastha* of salt daily in order to meet the requirements of the college (*vidyāsthāna*), situated on the bank of the Nāndī in the Gōdāvari valley (*Gōdāvari-taṭ-ādhyaśāśinī Nāndī-taṭ*) and belonging to the Brāhmanas engaged in studies. For this purpose, arrangements had to be made for the storing of nine *khaṇḍikā*<sup>2</sup> of oil and four and a half *khaṇḍikā*s of salt by purchasing the articles from the *grāma-baṭoka* (i.e. the villages and valleys around the town where the inscription was set up). For the bulk purchase of the articles, arrangements were made for the daily payment, in a lump sum, of the price of oil and salt required per day.

The pious work described in *C* is of a nature different from that mentioned in *B*. The first deed referred to in this part is the construction of a *maṇḍapa* (pavilion) named *Sarvalōkāśraya* near [the temple of] the well-known god Keshṭrapāla (probably a local deity or Śiva). Then follows the description of the setting up of five centres for the distribution of water (*praspā*), for the amelioration of the suffering of the people during summer, at five places, viz. (1) the *makara-tōraya* (the gate-way with the makara-motif) in the royal palace (*rāja-grāha*), (2) the *Yaksha-dvāra* (another gate-way endowed with Yaksha figures) adorned with [the image of the god] Maṇḍalāsiddhi Vināyaka,<sup>3</sup> (3) the front of the temple of Kāmādeva close to the area where the chief courtesans of the king lived (*pradhāna-rāja-vilāsinī-pāśaka*), (4) the courtyard of [the temple of] the god Kālapriya, and (5) the above-mentioned pavilion named *Sarvalōkāśraya*. Similarly, fire-places (*agnī-śītikā*) were constructed at five places for saving the poor people from suffering from cold during

<sup>1</sup> A *prastha* is variously regarded as 6, 16 or 32 *pālas*, 1 *pala* being equal to 4 *śikas*.

<sup>2</sup> *Khaṇḍikā* is the same as modern Candy often regarded as equal to 500 pounds.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. a goddess installed in the gate-way (probably in a pavilion) or a temple as mentioned in the Chālikani plate of the time of Kṛishṇa III (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 56).



winter. These five places were : (1) the pavilion called *Sarvaśōkārāya* in the courtyard of *Maṇḍalaśākhī* (probably the same as *Maṇḍalaśākhī-Vināyaka* worshipped at the *Yaksha-dvāra*), (2-3) two places (*pradēśa-dvāra*) near [the temple of] *Kālapriya*, (4) the front of [the temple of the god] *Sagarvāvara* situated (*pramukha*) on the embankment (*pālī*) of [the tank called] *Jagattuṅga-samudra*; and (5) the vicinity of [the temple of the god] *Baṅkōvara* situated in the north (i.e. to the north of the *Sagarvāvara* temple). The arrangements were made for the provision of two tankfuls of water (*jala-dvayam*) and troughfuls of fodder for the cattle (*gṛ-grāśā*) at five places, viz. (1) the market of the *Gūṛjara* (*Gūṛjar-āgāra*), (2-4) the temples of the deities *Vīraṇārāyaṇa*, *Śrīkṛiṣṇēśvara* and *Kaṣṭhāpālā*, and (5) the much-frequented market place (*kṣhūṇṇa-kapṭhāḍ*). To meet the expenses of the above, the amount of fifty *Drummas* was allotted per day. Then, for the *pañchāṅgīṣa*<sup>1</sup> ablution with *pañchēṣṭapachāra*,<sup>2</sup> curds and milk and flower offerings for the temples of the gods *Baṅkōvara*, *Chhālōvara*, *Gōjijagadmanātha*, *Tumbēvara* and *Tuṇḍigēvara* were provided for at the expense of 500 *Drummas* per month. [The provision of] 1 *āṣṭaka*<sup>3</sup> and 55 *palas* of candied sugar (*khaṇḍa*) and 1104 *palas* of sandal (*śrīkhaṇḍa*) is next mentioned. The rest of the text is lost.

The importance of the epigraph lies in the fact that it helps us in locating the city of *Kandhārapura* sometimes mentioned in connection with *Rāshtrakūṭa* *Kṛishṇa* III. This king is described as *Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra* with the title *Kandhāra-puravar-ādhipāra* in the Haṇṇikeri (Belgaum District, Mysore) stone inscription<sup>4</sup> of the Ratta chief *Lakshmidēva* I (also called *Lakshmaṇa* or *Lakshmi-dhara*) of Saundatti, probably dated in 1209 A.D. As the existence of modern *Kandhār* was unknown to Fleet, he observed, "Later records of the Ratta chieftains of Saundatti of the thirteenth century A.D. speak of him (i.e. *Kṛishṇa* III) as *Kṛishṇa-Kandhara* and *Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra*, with the title of *Kandhāra-puravar-ādhipāra* or 'supreme lord of *Kandhārapura*, the best of towns'—a place, however, which is otherwise unknown."<sup>5</sup> He further says, "I do not know of any other mention of such a town in genuine documents. But at *Hirē-Kummi* and *Sattigeri* in the *Pārasga* taluka, Belgaum District, and at *Surkōḍ* or *Surkōr* in the *Rāmdurg* State, there are spurious copper-plate charters, without dates, which purport to have been issued by the same king, who is called in them the *Chakravartin* *Kandhara* and *Kṛishṇa-Kandhara*, and is styled *Kandhāra-pur-ādhipāra*; the *Surkōḍ* or *Surkōr* record also says that he was reigning at *Kandhārapura*."<sup>6</sup> He then concludes that 'the name (i.e. *Kandhārapura*) may possibly have been invented from an imaginary *Kṛishṇa-pura* derived from some passage similar to that in which the Eastern *Chālukya* king *Guṇaka Viṣṇuāditya* III is said to have effected the burning of the city of *Kṛishṇa* II'.<sup>7</sup> There is, however, really no such 'passage' referring to 'the burning of the city of *Kṛishṇa* II'.

<sup>1</sup> This is the five kinds of divine food, viz. milk, curd, clarified butter, honey and sugar.

<sup>2</sup> These five are articles of worship sometimes also regarded as 10, 10, 10 or 64 in number.

<sup>3</sup> The *āṣṭaka* is often regarded as equal to 10, 32 or 64 *palas*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 550. Another record of the same Ratta family, dated in 1218 A.D., describes the Rattas of Saundatti as belonging to the lineage of *Kṛishṇa* III who is mentioned as *Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra* (*JERRES*, O.S., Vol. X, p. 231).

<sup>5</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 419.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 550, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p. 234, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Hultzsch* (*RII*, Vol. I, p. 25, note 3) and *Fleet* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 102, note 26) believed that *Kṛishṇa-pura*, the city burnt by the Eastern *Chālukya* king *Guṇaka-Viṣṇuāditya* III, was a mistake for *Kṛishṇapura*, which Fleet identified with the city of *Māhād*, the capital of the *Rāshtrakūṭas*. But *Kṛishṇapura* occurs in several records like the *Pillāpūram* (cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 239) and *Mallyapūṇḍi* (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 81) plates. *Altekar* identifies *Kṛishṇapura* with *Kṛishṇapur* in the *Balgaṇḍi* District of *Madhya Pradesh* (*The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 95). The *Pillāpūram* plates mention *Sankilā* (*Kalechuri Sankaragaga*) as stationed at *Kṛishṇapura* in the company of *Kṛishṇa* (line 40 : *gṛhasthāśrī-Chakravartin Kṛishṇapura-paṇḍita Sankilān Kṛishṇa-jātām*) while the *Mallyapūṇḍi* plates refer to *Kṛishṇarāja* as stationed at *Kṛishṇapura* (line 43 : *Kṛishṇapura-ādhipāra*).



The Sanskrit name *Kṛishṇa* appears in the Kannada records as *Kannara*, *Kannāra*, *Kanhara*, *Kanhāra*, *Kandara*, *Kandāra*, *Kandhara* and *Kandhāra*.<sup>1</sup> The mention of *Kṛishṇa* III as the lord of *Kandhārapura* in the epigraphs of the *Raṭṭas* no doubt proves the existence of a city called *Kandhārapura* named after a *Rāshtrakūṭa* ruler called *Kṛishṇa* (i.e. *Kandhāra*). The present *Kandhār*, where the *Rāshtrakūṭa* inscription under study has been discovered, is apparently the same as *Kandhārapura* which was very probably a secondary capital of *Kṛishṇa* III.<sup>2</sup> Our record mentions a centre for the distribution of water (*propā*) in the gate-way inside the *rāja-grāha* or royal palace pointing to the existence of a residence of *Kṛishṇa* III at *Kandhāra*. That the ruler stayed there is further indicated, if not by the presence of the *baris*, at least by the existence of the quarters of the king's chief courtesans. It is therefore certain that *Kṛishṇa* III ruled from *Kandhār*, at least for sometime, probably in the latter part of his reign, and that his description as the lord of *Kandhārapura* in the epigraphs of the *Raṭṭas* of *Saundatti* is justified, even though in the earlier part of his rule he was reigning from *Mānyakhēṭa* or *Maikhēḍ* whence his *Dōḷi* plates were issued in *Śaka* 862 (940 A.D.). A copper-plate grant<sup>3</sup> from *Sirūr* in the *Bagalkot Taluk* of the *Bijapur District* was issued from *Kandhārapura* by *Kṛishṇa-Kannaradēva-chakravartin*, who is called the son of *Gōvindarāja* and is described as *Kandhāra-puravar-ādīśvara*. The characters of the record are *Nāgarī* of the 11th century and it is written in *Marāṭhī* and *Kannada*. The genuineness of the charter is of course not beyond doubt. But it is not impossible that its donor was a member of a later branch of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* house ruling from *Kandhār*.

The question now is : who was *Kandhāra* (*Kṛishṇa*) by whom *Kandhārapura* (*Kandhār*) was built and after whom it was named ? *Amīr Hamza*, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Qandhār-i-Dakkān* (*Urdu*) states, on the authority of the *Sigār-i-Hind* and *Tārīkh-i-Khurehid Jāhī*, that *Kanhār* (i.e. *Kandhār*) was built by and named after king *Kanhār* of the *Pāṇḍava* dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Although the *Pāṇḍava* dynasty is mythical, this tradition at least shows that *Kandhār* was built by and named after a king called *Kandhār*. The name of the king and the absence of pre-*Rāshtrakūṭa* antiquities at *Kandhār* suggest that this *Kandhār* was a *Rāshtrakūṭa* king. But was he *Kṛishṇa* III or one of his two predecessors bearing the same name ? Let us see what indication there is on these points in the inscription itself.

Some of the personal names, after which certain deities worshipped at the place and a structure and a tank existing there according to our inscription were named, are : (1) *Kālapriya*, (2) *Sarvalōkārāya*, (3) *Jagattuḍiga*, (4) *Vīranārāyaṇa*, (5) *Kṛishṇa*, (6) *Gōḷḡiga* and (7) *Tuḍiga*. Of these the god *Tuḍigēśvara* was apparently named after *Kṛishṇa* III himself, since the name *Tuḍiga* (i.e. *Tuḍiga*) is applied to him in an inscription<sup>5</sup> of the *Raṭṭas* of *Saundatti*. The name *Sarvalōkārāya* also reminds us of the fact that the same *Rāshtrakūṭa* king was sometimes called *Samastabhuvanārāyaṇa*<sup>6</sup> which has exactly the same meaning. The names *Kālapriya* and *Kṛishṇēśvara* likewise remind us of the fact that the *Karhād* plates were issued by *Kṛishṇa* III when he was camping at *Mēlpāḍī* (modern *Mēlpāḍī* in the *Chittur Taluk* and *District*), for the purpose of creating livings out of the provinces in the southern region for his dependents (*dakṣhiṇa-dān-maṇḍalāni bhṛīyabhāgya*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JIH*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 407 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 244 ; Part II, pp. 394, 410 note 1, 408, 526, etc. The Prakrit name *Kannara* was also sometimes re-Sanskritized as *Karṇa*. See *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *JIH*, Vol. XXXVII, 1939, pp. 407 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *A.R. Ep.*, 1937-38, No. A 20.

<sup>4</sup> We are indebted for the reference to *Khwaja Moinuddin*, Inspector of Registration, *Aurangabad Division*, *Aurangabad*.

<sup>5</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 419.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*







Jagattuṅga, after whom the tank called Jagattuṅga-samudra was named, may have been the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa III for whose merit the Rāshtrakūṭa king made the grant recorded in the Dōll plate.<sup>1</sup> If, however, the city existed before the days of Kṛṣṇa III, Jagattuṅga may also be the homonymous son of Kṛṣṇa II who died before his father.<sup>2</sup> If again, as indicated above, our inscription really mentions Kālanāga as the donor, it may have been a secondary name of Kṛṣṇa III. Although this name of the Rāshtrakūṭa king is not known from any other source, it reminds us of Dantidurga's secondary name Vairamāga.<sup>3</sup>

That the god Kālāpriya was very famous in the locality is indicated by the passage: *Kalikālāpi sakula-lōka-pratigataḥ-divya-īśvār-bhagavataḥ*, 'of the god Kālāpriya whose divine power is manifested to the whole world even in the Kali age.' Close to the tank in which the inscribed slab was found, there are traces of the plinth of some structure. That might have been the plinth of the temple of the god Kālāpriya. Two out of the five āraṇya-places (*agui-stūṭhā*), the construction of which at five different spots is an interesting fact recorded in our inscription, were built near the temple of Kālāpriya. This may indicate that the place was frequented by many pilgrims.

In B, line 25, the king has been compared with the *Kalyāṇapādapa* (i.e. *Kalpavriksha*) for eradicating poverty of the people by various charitable measures. His sympathy was not confined to human beings, but was also shown towards cattle. We have seen that arrangement for the free supply of fodder and drinking water for the cattle was made at the cost of 50 *Drammas* per day at five different places probably on the occasion of festivities in the temples when large numbers of people visited the city, many of them in carts. One of these is stated to have been made near the shop of the Gūrjara who may have been the people of that name settled in different parts of the western regions of India. Their presence at Kandhār may be compared to that of the merchants of Bhīlāmāla (modern Bhīmāl in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) at Sājān in the Thana District of Maharashtra as indicated by the Chīnchani plate<sup>4</sup> of the time of Kṛṣṇa III himself.

As regards the *Dramma* currency referred to in the record, reference may be made to a Kanheri inscription<sup>5</sup> of the time of Amoghavaraha I, which mentions two types of *Drammas*, viz. gold and ordinary (silver). It is, however, difficult to say whether the coin mentioned in our inscription was of gold or silver. The provision for a pair of clothes in addition to the salary of the palace (or temple) servants reminds us of the *Manusmṛiti*, VII, 126, enjoining the payment of 1 *Papa* and 5 *Papas* per day respectively to a lower and higher grade servant together with a *Drōpa* of paddy per month and a pair of clothes every six months.

A centre for the free distribution of water during summer is stated to have been made in front of the temple of Kāmādeva attached to the quarters of the chief royal courtesans. The existence of the temple of Kāma, the god of love, near the courtesans' quarters indirectly points to the popularity of the deity among the courtesan class and is interesting to note.

As regards geographical names mentioned in the record, a college of the Brāhmaṇas is stated to have been situated on the bank of the Nāndi dominating the Gōdāvari valley. Kandhār stands on the Mānyad which falls in the Maljirā, a tributary of the Gōdāvari, and it appears that the Nāndi is identical with the modern Mānyad. The name of the Nāndi is certainly associated

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 430.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 414. Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III was also known as Jagattuṅga (ibid., p. 204).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 382, note 5; p. 223, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 181.



with that of ancient Nāndīkaṣa mentioned as Nāndīkaṣa in the Basim plates<sup>1</sup> of Vākāṣaka Vindhyaśakti II (middle of the fourth century A.D.). The word *kaṣa* is often found at the end of geographical names and Nāndīkaṣa seems to mean a locality on the bank or in the valley of the Nāndī. The name of modern Nāndēd, about 33 miles from Kandhār, is no doubt derived from that of Nāndīkaṣa through the intermediate Prakrit form Nāndīkaṣa. Nāndēd, however, stands on the Gōdāvarī at a distance from the course of the modern Mānyad although, to justify the name, we have probably to think that the Nāndī originally joined the Gōdāvarī, near it. If such was the case, the course of the Nāndī has changed considerably since Nāndīkaṣa was founded at least before the middle of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

[Metres : verses 1-2 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verses 3 *Sārdulavikrīḍita* ; verses 4 *Mālinī* ; verses 5-7 *Vasantatilaka*.]

## First side

- 1 || Om<sup>3</sup> namah Śivāya || 8a jayati jagat-utsava-pravāsa-prathana-patah
- 2 kara-pallavā Murārēh ||<sup>4</sup> lāsad-amṛita-payah-kaṣ-āhika-Lakṣmī-stana-kala-
- 3 [ś]-ānana-labdha-sannivāṣah || [1\*] Ja[ya]ti cha Girijā-kapōla-vihva(ba)-praṇi-
- 4 [h]iṣa-patra-vichitrit-āhṣa-bhittih ||<sup>5</sup> Tripuravijayina[h] priy-ōparō-
- 5 [dhā]d=dhṛita-Madan-ābhaya-dāna-dāna-śva || [2\*] Ścinān=asti nabhasat-āka-ti-
- 6 [la]kaḥ<sup>6</sup> [trai]ṣkyā-nāte-ōtsavō dēvō Maṇmatha-vām(bāh)dhavaḥ kumudini-nāthah Sudhā-
- 7 [d]dhitiḥ | nihāṣah-āmarā-tarppaḥ-ārpita-tano-prakṣiṣat-āhāṣitā-ya-
- 8 ay-āhṣah ai(ā)meā gaṇa-priyatayā nūnam dhṛitaḥ Sambhūnā || [3\*] [Abha]vad-amala-
- 9 [kānti]-taṣya varhāḥ maṣṇāḥ gaṇa iva Yaśu-varhāḥ dṛgḍhaśmīdhūyam[ā]-
- 10 nā | adhigata-hari-nīla-prōllasan-ākyaka-śrīr-āsthila-gaṇa-saṅgō
- 11 bhūṣaṇa[m] yō bhuvō-bhū[ti] || [4\*] Udvṛitta-dāitya-kula-ka[ḍ]dala-sānti-bhūta-tat-  
āvatāra[m-a]-
- 12 dabbāt<sup>7</sup>-Purushah purāṇah | tad-varhājā jagati tūnga-yāṣah-prabhāva<sup>8</sup>-Tum-
- 13 [g]ā iti kṣitihhujah prathitā va(ba)bhūvuh || [5\*] Tat-santatau samabhavad-bhuvana-
- 14 prasiddha-śrī-Rāstrakūṭakula-[a]jāmani Darśidurggaḥ |<sup>9</sup> ēkam-śakāra-śatur-a-
- 15 vāhyu(bdhy-a)pakāṣṭha-sīma-kṣātrah ya śtat=am-lāṅgala-bhinna-durggaḥ || [6\*] Tasmād-  
ap[ā]-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions. For a few suggestions we are indebted to Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed symbolically.

<sup>4</sup> Read "lāsaro".

<sup>5</sup> The other texts have "dantāram-mahā".

<sup>6</sup> The Dool text has *Sāgukā-maṣṇa-bhāṣa*.

<sup>7</sup> This half of the verse is found in the other grants as *Tat-santatau-samabhavad-bhuvana-śakāra-śatur-a-*  
*śakāra-śatur-a-*



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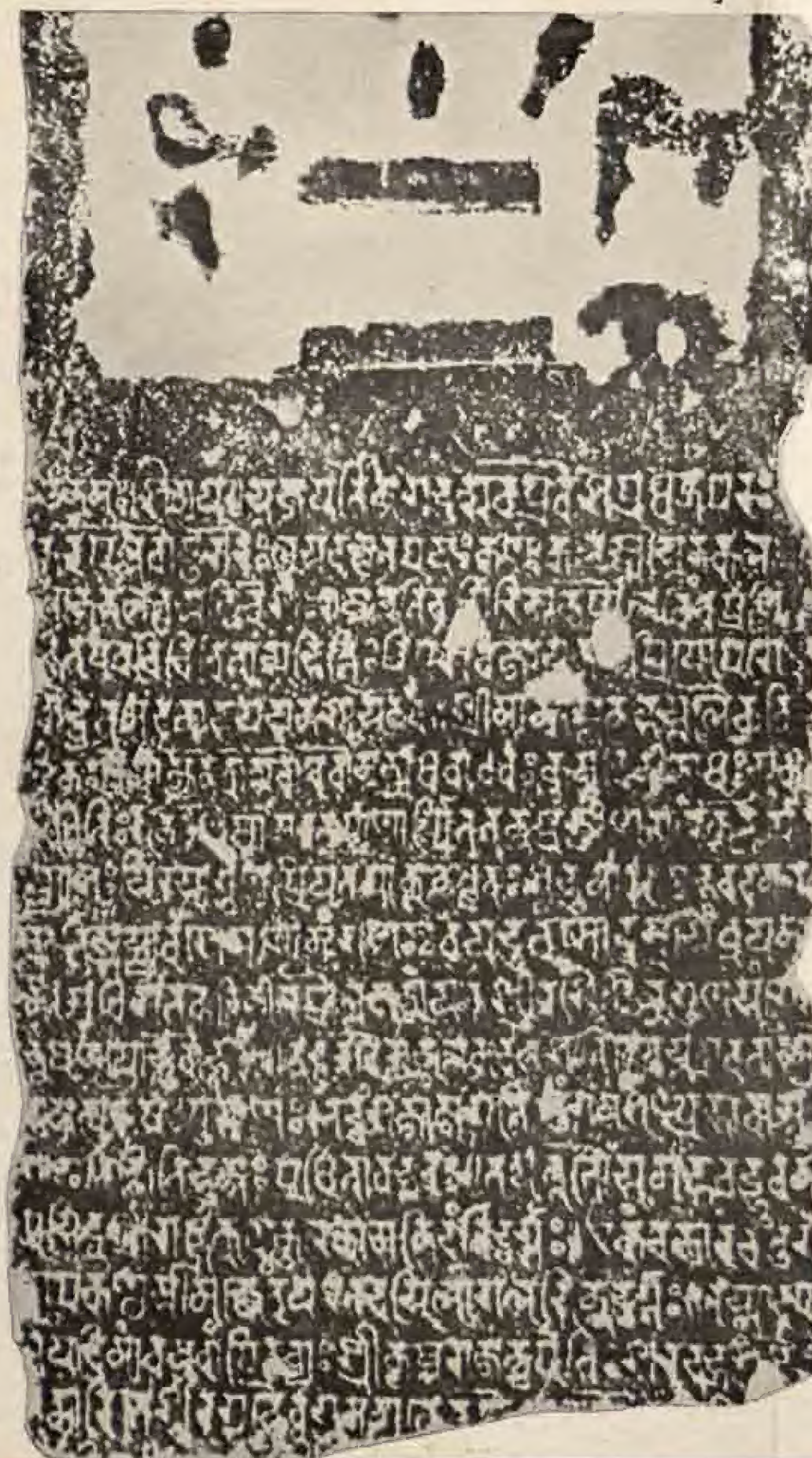
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25. [ja]n-ōpadravah(va)ni-upapādit-ākālpa-kalyāṇa-pā[da]pa  
 26. .... prasara-niya[ta]ch(tam) | prā.....  
 27. ....

## Third Side

- 1 Tathā prasiddha-Kaśētrapāla-samipā evaiva-prāvarav[ā]-  
 2 statav-ādi-parikarab Sarvvalōkārāya-nāmā math[ā]-  
 3 paḥ || tathā rājagrih-āntaravartī-makaratoṣaṇṇāṇāṁ | Math[ā]-  
 4 [la]iddhivānāyaka-mamā[di](ta)-yakaḥ-ivāṇāṁ | pradīh[ā](na)-  
 5 rājaviḷāṣiṇī-pāṭaka-sannihita-Kāmadēv-ā[ya]-  
 6 tana-purōbhāgē | Kalikālā-pī sakala-lōka-pra-  
 7 [tya]kṣha-divya-ākṣīr-bhagavataḥ śrī-Kālepriyasya prāṅgaṇē |  
 8 [pra]tītē cha Sarvvalōkārāya-mamā[di]pā | itī pañchasaṁ sth[ā]-  
 9 [pā]ḥu grīhṣma-samāpā-nītasana-kṣamāḥ dharmāna-natapālī-  
 10 vīḷasakūyamāna-mahima-sprīḥaḥ prapāḥ | ta-  
 11 thā Maṇḍalāniddhi-prāṅgaṇē Sarvvalōkārāya-mamā[di]pā |  
 12 Kālepriya-samipā-pralāsa-drayā | Jagattuṅga-samu[dra]-  
 13 [sya] pā[ḥ]lī-pratishṭhītā[ta]-Saga[\*]vāsvara-purōbhāgē | udīchya-  
 14 dig-varitī-Vaḥ(Baḥ)kēśvara-samipā | itī pañchasaṁ sthānēḥu prala-  
 15 ya-mahāpīlavāyamāna-hēmanva[ta]-kāla-pralāya-vīḷas[ā]-  
 16 [bhv-a]nātha-jana-parirekhaḥ-ārtham-agni-sthītikā[ḥ]\* | tathā  
 17 [Gā]rjjar-āpaṇa-Vīranārāyaṇa-śrī-Kṛishṇaśvara-Kaśētrap[ā]-  
 18 la-kṣuṇṇa-haṭṭikāsu<sup>1</sup> pañchasaṁ sthānēḥu gavāṁ evaḥchāḥanda-pā-  
 19 n-āhāra-nimittatḥ [a][la]-drōgyō[pyau] gō-grāsāḥ-cha tat-pratikara-  
 20 ṇāya<sup>2</sup> pratidinam dramṇāḥ pañchāṣat dra 50 tathā Vaḥ(Baḥ)kē-  
 21 śvara-Cchhallāśvara-Gōjugaḥmānātha-Tumvā[mbē]śvara-Tuḍigāśvarē-  
 22 [ḥu] pañch-āyatanēḥu pañch-ōpachāra-sahitāḥ pañch-āṁṛita-su[ān-ō]-  
 23 [pa]yōgē-dadhī-dugdha-kusum-ārchana-nimittatḥ mās-ā[um]ṣaṁ  
 24 [cha] dramāpāṇḥ pañcha-śatāni dra 500 khaṇḍasya-āk-ā[dhakaḥ]  
 25 palāni pañcha-pañchāṣat pa 55 śrīkhaṇḍasya palāni [chatu]-  
 26 [r-ādhi]kāni śatāny-ākādāśa 1104 pratidinam  
 27. ....

<sup>1</sup> The word *itī* seems to be understood here.

<sup>2</sup> The word *pratikaraṇa* means 'repaying', 'compensation', etc. But here it has been used in the sense of 'meeting the expenses'.



## No. 15—TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, COTACAMUND

(Received on 29.9.69)

### 1. *Khilôr Inscription of Anantavarman (Kāmārpaṇa), Śaka 1075*

About the beginning of 1936, I copied an inscription<sup>1</sup> engraved on the door-jamb of the Śiva temple at **Khilôr** (P. O. Arisal) near the Delang railway station in the Puri District of Orissa. The writing covers an area about three feet in length and ten inches and a half in height. There are six lines of writing, individual *akṣaras*, excluding consonants with vowel marks, being a little above one and a half inches high. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory since the right half of line 1 and most of the letters in the corresponding section of line 2 are lost. A few letters are also lost at the end of the other lines of writing.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Gaṇḍīya alphabet as found in the Orissan records of about the twelfth century A.D. Its language is Sanskrit. The date of the record as quoted in lines 1-2 is only partially preserved. After giving the Śaka year in figures as **10[75]**, the corresponding regnal or *ośka* year in the regnal reckoning of a king must have been quoted together with other details of the date. But, of this section which mentions the secondary name of the king in question as **Anantavarman**, the king's principal name and the year of his regnal reckoning are lost, the available details of the date being [*śakā*]/*śha-śāto-ṭṭaiḥḍyān as-* [*maṇa*]/*śha-nāśe*, i.e. **Āshāḍha-sudi 3, Sammukhavāra**. The use of the expression *sammukha-nāra* (literally, 'the week-day in the forefront') to indicate the day of the week is rather peculiar, although it seems to mean the first day of the week, i.e. Sunday. Unfortunately **Āshāḍha-sudi 3** in Śaka 1075 fell on Friday, the 26th June 1153 A.D. The date may thus be regarded as irregular.

There is no doubt that the king, mentioned in connection with the date of the record referred to above, belonged to the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty which extended its power over the Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa under king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) about the beginning of the twelfth century. In 1153 A.D., the Gaṅga throne was occupied by king **Kāmārpaṇa**, the first of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, who are known to have succeeded their father one after another. Kāmārpaṇa ascended the throne in Śaka 1069 (1147 A.D.) and ruled for ten years down to Śaka 1078 (1156 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> We also know that most of the descendants of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, if not all of them, assumed Anantavarman as a secondary name<sup>3</sup> and that king Kāmārpaṇa is actually called Anantavarman in a number of inscriptions of his reign.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, difficult to be sure whether the name Kāmārpaṇa was mentioned after '*Anantavarma*[ṇa]' in line 1 of our inscription. About fifteen *akṣaras* are lost in this section and the reading may have been either '*dēva-vijayanāṭṭya-samantat*? ... *śakā*' or '*Kāmārpaṇavaddēva-rāṭṭya samant* ... *śakā*'.

<sup>1</sup> This is No. B 258 of *A. N. Ep.*, 1935-56, where the date has been wrongly read as Śaka 10[70] and the inscription has been assigned to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga.

<sup>2</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 20, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1321-22, 1325-27, 1333-34.



The object of the inscription is to record the installation of an *akṣaya-dīpa* or perpetual lamp in the Śiva temple at Khilōr where the inscription has been found. Lines 2-3 mention a person named Paḍālu Kātama who is described as a rich man of Kalinga-dāsa and as the son of Ponnamā. This Ponnamā is described as extremely religious and as attached to (*pratiṣṭhita*, perhaps actually meaning 'hailing from') a place, the name of which ended in the *akṣara* *maḥata*. Lines 3-5 state that Paḍālu Kātama purchased, at the cost of five *māḍas* (probably of gold), a piece of land called *Pōkhataiā*<sup>1</sup> from the merchants (*sāḍhu-prajā*, literally, [the king's] merchant subjects) of Khēllauḍēvara (i.e. modern Khilōr) and installed a perpetual lamp for the god Khēllauḍēvara (i.e. the god Śiva worshipped in the Śiva temple at Khilōr), to last as long as the moon and sun would endure, for the *dharma* (virtue or religious merit) of his mother's mother (i.e. maternal grandmother). It appears that both the village of Khilōr and the god Śiva worshipped there are called Khēllauḍēvara in the inscription. The expression *Khēllauḍēvara-sāḍhu-prajā*, from whom the piece of land was purchased, does not appear to mean 'the honest tenants of the god Khēllauḍēvara' as it is unlikely that the tenants of the temple were rich enough to be in a position to sell a plot of land worth five coins probably of gold. Moreover, the expression *sāḍhu-prajā* occurs in a similar context in some other records associating it with a locality and not with a deity.<sup>2</sup> That the word *sāḍhu* in the expression *sāḍhu-prajā* means 'a merchant' seems to be suggested by the expression *sāḍhu-prodhāna* in the Bhubaneswar inscription of Rāghava.<sup>3</sup>

The coin called *māḍa* in our record is usually spelt as *māḍa* in Telugu inscriptions, as *māḍha* or *māḍhā* in Oriya records and as *māḍai* in Tamil epigraphs. The Telugu spelling in the inscription may have been due to the fact that the person responsible for it hailed from the present Telugu-speaking region. The word is derived from Sanskrit *māḍaka* or *māḍhā* through Tamil.

Lines 5-6 contain two sentences, the first of which prays for the maintenance of the gift by the *apādhanas* or the *apādhanas* (apparently the Śaiva ascetic or ascetics in charge of the temple of Khēllauḍēvara) and the *sāḍhus* or merchants probably meaning the *sāḍhu-prajā* mentioned in lines 3-4. The second sentence states that the giver of a lamp (i.e. a perpetual lamp like the one installed by Paḍālu Kātama) does not commit the five great sins (i.e. becomes free from the sins owing to the merit resulting from the installation of the perpetual lamp).<sup>4</sup> The record ends with the mention of the *sūtrasthāna* or mason whose name is partially preserved, but may have been Trilōka or Trilōchana. He was probably responsible for engraving the inscription.

Of the two geographical names mentioned in our record, Khēllauḍēvara is modern Khilōr as indicated above. The other name is Kalinga-dāsa which seems, in the present context, to have been the district around the city of Kalinganagara (near modern Śrikāñḥam) which was the capital of the early rulers of the Eastern Ganga family including the earlier members of its imperial branch.

<sup>1</sup> The expression *Pōkhataiā* may be compared with *Pāḍhamarā-dāsa* (i.e. the piece of land called *Pāḍhamarā*) in line 23 of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Gaṅga Naraśimha (probably, Naraśimha IV) published above, Vol. XXXII, p. 234. Cf. also *Pāḍhamarā-dāsa* in lines 5-9 of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Khēllauḍēvara (ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 236, No. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. line 5 of the inscription of the time of Rājārāja II, edited below.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 160 and 161 (No. 1, text line 5).

<sup>4</sup> This sentence may be compared with *dīpa-dāsa* *svaya-dāsa* *māḍiga* at the end of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga (ibid., p. 22, No. 1, text line 9). For an alternative suggestion about this passage, see note on the epigraphic text below.



## TEXT

- 1 Saka-samvatsarā<sup>1</sup> 10[75] evasti [āci\*]mad-Anantavarman[ma].....<sup>2</sup>
- 2 dha-sita-tritayāyān sa[mmu]kha-vārō Kaliṅgadēsa(śa)-dhan[ī].....<sup>3</sup>
- 3 makata-pratya(ba)ddha-dharmu-aikapara-Pōnnamā-putra-Paṇḍu-Kā(ama-nāmā(mnā)  
Khāllauḍeva(śva)[ra]<sup>4</sup>.
- 4 dhu-prajā-hastāt pañcha-māḍṇa Pōkhatalā-bhu(bhū)miā kritvā mātu[ś=cha] mātur=  
dīharmu-ārthā...<sup>5</sup>
- 5 eva(śva)radāvāya ā-chandr-ārthā-paryantaśi<sup>6</sup> akhaṇḍa-dīpaṁ datta[ti](ttam) | śtat-artham  
tapōdhams-sādhu...<sup>7</sup>
- 6 ripālanīyam(yam) | dīpa-hā(dā)tā pañchamā(ma)hāpātākī nō bhavati<sup>8</sup> [I\*] su(sā)-  
tradhāra-[Tridhā]...<sup>9</sup>

## 2. Bhubaneswar Inscription of Rājārāja II, Śaka 1094, [Aśka] Year 4

Some of the inscriptions belonging to the time of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and his immediate successors found in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa have already been published by us in the pages of this journal<sup>11</sup> and elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> Another such record is edited in the following pages from impressions belonging to the collection made by Hirananda Sastri in 1932 and preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall inside the third entrance of the Liṅgarāja temple. The record occupies the space above an inscription of the time of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and two of the time of Rāghava.<sup>13</sup> There are altogether nine lines of writing covering an area about twenty-eight inches in length and 17½ inches in height. Individual akṣaras are between one inch and one and a half inches in height. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. All

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Read Saka-samvatsarā.

<sup>3</sup> The right half of the line is lost. The last two akṣaras of this part must have been dīdā.

<sup>4</sup> Of this lost part, only traces of a few akṣaras are visible.

<sup>5</sup> The akṣara lost here was apparently ā.

<sup>6</sup> The akṣaras lost here appear to have been Kāllauḍ.

<sup>7</sup> Read ā-chandr-ārtham or āchandr-ārthā-paryantaśi.

<sup>8</sup> The two akṣaras lost here appear to have been, bhā pa.

<sup>9</sup> The intended reading of this sentence may also be dīpakaṇḍāśā pañchamāhāpātākī bhavati.

<sup>10</sup> The name of the sūtradhāra or engraver seems to have been Tridhā or Tridhāna.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 17 ff., 29 ff., 90 ff., 188 ff., 232 ff., etc.

<sup>12</sup> *J. Ind. Coll.*, Vol. III, pp. 121 ff.; Vol. VI, pp. 71 ff.; *JHQ*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 31 ff. etc.

<sup>13</sup> The first of these inscriptions has been published above, Vol. XXX, pp. 21 ff. (No. 1) and the other two in the same volume, pp. 158 ff.



the letters of the last line, which contains only a few akṣaras engraved below the concluding part of the previous line, are damaged, while about fourteen letters from the beginning of line 6 appear to have been purposely rubbed off. A few akṣaras are also lost at the end of all the lines.

The characters belong to the Gauḍīya alphabet, but exhibit, in some cases, the development of early Oriya characteristics; cf. *m* in *amanta* in line 6, *s* in *asvarga* in line 7, the representation of *p* and *y* by the same sign, etc. The language of the record is an admixture of Sanskrit and Oriya. Thus, while *\*pādānāś* (line 3), *prajānāś* (line 5) and *dīpaṃ-śūnā* (line 8) are in Sanskrit, *Rājārājadevara* (line 1) and *Utarāśvadevara* (line 2) have the Oriya sixth case-ending.

The date of the inscription is quoted in lines 1-2 as the Śaka year 1094, corresponding to year 4 of king Rājārājadeva's reign, Dhanuḥ-kṛṣṇa 4, Monday. The reading of the figures indicating the number of the *tithi* is, however, not beyond doubt as it is considerably damaged. Rājārājadeva mentioned here is Rājārāja II, the third of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), who succeeded their father one after the other in the following order: (1) Kāmārjaya, 10 years—Śaka 1069-78=1147-56 A.D.; (2) Rāghava, 15 years—Śaka 1072-92=1156-70 A.D.; (3) Rājārāja II, 26 [śaka] years=21 years, Śaka 1093-1112=1170-90 A.D.; and (4) Anantabhojita II, 10 [śaka] years=8 years, Śaka 1112-19=1190-97 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The *śaka* reckoning is first used in the case of Rājārāja II in the enumeration of the length of the reign periods of these kings in the official Gaṅga records thus indicating that the popularity of the reckoning began from his rule. But counting of regnal dates in a modified system may have started from the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga while the *śaka* system is known to have been used in the records of the time of his immediate successors Kāmārjaya and Rāghava.<sup>2</sup> Since Rājārāja II began to rule in Śaka 1092, Śaka 1094 would be his third regnal year. It has been quoted in the present record as the fourth year of his reign apparently according to the *śaka* reckoning, since the *śaka* year 4 is the same as the actual regnal year 3. If, in 'Śaka 1094, Dhanuḥ-kṛṣṇa 4', Dhanuḥ is regarded as a solar month, the date seems to be irregular, although the 4th *tithi* of *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīraḥ fell on Monday, the 6th November 1172 A.D.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by the date discussed above. The object of the epigraph, as known from lines 7-8, is to record the installation of a perpetual lamp, to last as long as the moon and sun would endure, for the god Kṛttivīśa, i.e. Śiva worshipped in the Lāṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. It is stated in lines 3-5 to have been installed by Rālā-Kāchchhōṭika, described as an ascetic (*tapādharma*), as a *Saivāchārya* and as the *Rājaguru*, for the salvation of *tapādharma* Śaṅkṛī-pāda who was probably a priest of the god Uttarāśvara. Rālā-Kāchchhōṭika seems to be called a *śiṣya* of the said Śaṅkṛīpāda. Since both of them were ascetics, the word *śiṣya* may have been used to indicate 'a disciple' as in some other cases known to the students of Indian epigraphy.<sup>3</sup> The title *Rājaguru* (i.e. the preceptor of the king), applied to Rālā-Kāchchhōṭika, seems to suggest that king Rājārāja II did not renounce the Śaiva leanings

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 242-43.

<sup>2</sup> For the records of Rāghava's time, dated in the *śaka* years, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 153. Some of the regnal dates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, quoted in inscriptions with corresponding Śaka dates, cannot be reconciled with the actual beginning of his reign and, although he is stated to have ruled for seventy years, a few records of his time bear later dates (cf. Ray, *DHN*, Vol. I, pp. 461-68; Subba Rao, *History of Kalinga*, reprint, pp. 145 ff.). Inscriptions bearing dates both in the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era and belonging to the reign of Kāmārjaya show that the regnal reckoning is really the *śaka* reckoning in most cases (cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-73; Subba Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-56). Unfortunately in some cases the dates are either wrong or incorrectly read.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bhattacharya's List, p. 23, note 1.



# TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS

1. Khilēr Inscription of Anantavarman ( Kāmārāva ), Śaka 1075





2. Bhuvanēśwar Inscription of Rājārāja II, Śaka 1004, [ Añka ] Year 4



( from Photographs )



of the family even though his father Anantavarman Chūḍagadga became a devotee of the god Purnabhūttama-Jagamātha (i.e. Viṣṇu) of Puri after having conquered the Puri-Cuttack region.<sup>1</sup>

To provide for the perpetual lamp, Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika appears to have deposited five māḍhas of gold with a section of the merchants belonging to Āchōpadā-grāma (lines 5-7). The names of some of these people were mentioned in the inscription in line 6; but they are now rubbed off, although it is not possible to say who was responsible for this.

Only one geographical name is mentioned in the inscription. It is Āchōpadā-grāma. I am not sure about the location of the village.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>3</sup> [!]<sup>4</sup> Śaka[vda]<sup>5</sup> 1094 śrinad-Rājarājadēvara<sup>6</sup> pravara[ddha]māna-v[ī]jjaya-  
rā[jy]<sup>7</sup>..<sup>8</sup>
- 2 samvata<sup>9</sup> 4 Dhanu<sup>10</sup>-krishṇa [4] Sōma-vārē [et]<sup>11</sup> Uttarēśvaradēvara<sup>12</sup> [pa]<sup>13</sup>..
- 3 rāyati<sup>14</sup> tapōdbana-Sā[nāhāri(r)]-pādānāṁ mōksh-ā[rth]ē..<sup>15</sup>
- 4 ta-tapōdbana-Saivāchārya-rājā[ra]guru-Vā[Ra]jā-Kāchchhōṭikā..<sup>16</sup>
- 5 kṣṇa Āchōpadā-grāmiya-sādhū-pra[śānān(nām)] ēka-[tāhā]g[ā]..<sup>17</sup>
- 6 .....<sup>18</sup>āḍ[ā]nā sa[masta]..<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Sanskrit Śaśōddā.

<sup>5</sup> Sanskrit dēvara.

<sup>6</sup> The portion of the akshara in brackets is broken away.

<sup>7</sup> Sanskrit rājya.

<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit Dhanu.

<sup>9</sup> Śaṅkhī has not been observed here.

<sup>10</sup> Sanskrit dēvara.

<sup>11</sup> Only a small part of the letter remains, the rest being broken away.

<sup>12</sup> It may be that parāyudh was written to indicate Sanskrit parāyudh.

<sup>13</sup> Only the end of the akshara remains, the major part of the akshara being broken away. The aksharas broken away after this may have been m-va.

<sup>14</sup> The akshara broken away at the end of the line may be m-va. The intended reading seems to have been Kāchchhōṭik-śāntamāna. Bālā is derived from Sanskrit bālā or bālaka.

<sup>15</sup> The intended reading seems to be śāntamāna with a few aksharas broken away after this.

<sup>16</sup> About 14 or 15 aksharas appear to have been purposely rubbed off from this part of the line. This lost section probably contained some personal names.

<sup>17</sup> The word lost here appears to be something like śānta.

<sup>18</sup> DGA/80



- 7 grahaṣṭ suvarṇa-pañcha-mā[ḍhā]<sup>1</sup> śrī-Kṛ[trī]vāsa<sup>2</sup>, . .<sup>3</sup>  
 8 ā-chaṇḍr-ārka-paryanta<sup>4</sup> akhaṇḍa-dī[an]-śkaṇ<sup>5</sup> dā....<sup>6</sup>  
 9 .....<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit: *suvarṇaṣṭ pañcha māḍhā* or *suvarṇaṣṭ pañcha māḍhā*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Kṛit*.

<sup>3</sup> The last akṣaras were apparently *śrīvāsa* or more probably *dīvāsa*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *ā-chaṇḍr-ārka* or *chaṇḍr-ārka-paryanta*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *dīpāyānāy-śkaṇ*.

<sup>6</sup> The intended word seems to be *dādā*.

<sup>7</sup> These four or five damaged akṣaras are engraved below the concluding part of the previous line. The reference may be to the person who was responsible for engraving the inscription.



No. 16—ALAMPUR INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA  
635 AND 636

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.7.1960)

The inscription was copied by me in December 1959 at Alampur, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Mahabubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>1</sup> Alampur is situated on the western bank of the Tungabhadra which flows there northwards to join the Krishna seven miles away. The place is very rich in epigraphical material and I succeeded in tracing about 90 inscriptions representing almost all the important ruling dynasties of Karpāṭak from the 7th to the 16th century A.D. The temples of the place are also of great interest from the architectural point of view.

The inscription edited below has two versions, called here *A* and *B* for the sake of convenience. Both the versions are engraved on the same slab, *A* being to the left side and *B* to the right. The inscribed slab is fixed into the fort-wall near the steps leading to the river in the place called Dēvadrōṣi. It is rectangular in shape and measures about 5' 10" by 1' 2". A portion of the slab is broken away and lost from the right, so that only about one-third of *B* is preserved while only a few letters in the first three lines of *A* are lost. The writing of *A* covers an area about 5' 3" by 1' 2" while that of the extant portion of *B* measures 1' 3" by 11". The space between *A* and *B* varies from half an inch to one inch. While *A* has 7 lines of writing, *B* consists of 8 lines.

The texts of both the versions are similar, though they are written in different scripts. The characters of *A* are early Telugu-Kannaḍa while those of *B* are what are called Siddhamātrikā or early Nāgarī. This reminds us of the undated Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription<sup>2</sup> of Kīrtivarman II, which is also written in versions in these two scripts. Both the Telugu-Kannaḍa and the Siddhamātrikā characters of the present inscription closely resemble their counterparts of the Paṭṭadakal inscription. While editing the latter record, Fleet has compared the characters of the Nāgarī version with those of the Bōdhgayā inscription<sup>3</sup> of Mahānāman and the Sāmangaḍ plates<sup>4</sup> of Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga. The characters of *B* and their counterpart in the Paṭṭadakal inscription may also be compared to those of the Pallava king Aṭṭagachanda's epigraph<sup>5</sup> at Sāluvaṅḡpam, which is referred to the 8th century A.D. Fleet referred the Paṭṭadakal inscription to c. 754 A.D. and observed that the use of the Nāgarī characters in that record furnished the earliest instance in Southern India.<sup>6</sup> Since the inscription under study is dated in 713 A.D., it would carry back the antiquity of the use of early Nāgarī or Siddhamātrikā by 40 years at least.

<sup>1</sup> The record has been registered as Nos. B 136-37 in *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60. A transcript of this record has recently appeared in *Telangana Inscriptions*, Vol. II (1960), p. 8. There are some errors in this published transcript.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> *OH*, Vol. III, p. 276 and Plate XII.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 110 and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. X, Plate facing p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf. Somā. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 377, note 3.



In respect of orthography, there is nothing special to remark except that, in *B*, the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* in line 8. The language of both *A* and *B* is Sanskrit, except a sentence in line 7 of *A*, which is written in Kannada. The composition of both the versions is prose, except the invocatory verse at the beginning.

#### A. Inscription of Śaka 636

This version begins with the symbol for Siddham followed by the verse in praise of the Varāha (Boar) incarnation of Viṣṇu, which is often found in the records of the Bādāmi Chālukyas. Then, after the usual *prastāva* introducing this dynasty in lines 1-3, the record mentions in lines 3-5, six kings of the family, viz., Pulakṣin I; his son Kirtivarman I; his son Satyāśraya (i.e. Pulakṣin II); his son Vikramāditya I; his son Vinayāditya and the latter's son Vijayāditya who was the ruling king. Lines 6-7 state that at the command of Vijayāditya, the teacher Iśānāchārya constructed the enclosure (*prākāra-bandha*). It is not stated for which temple or temples this enclosure was intended. It may, however, be observed that the fort, in which the slab bearing the inscription is fixed, itself forms a sort of an enclosure to the group of temples called Navaliṅgavarā, the most important of which is the Bālabrahmāśvara shrine. The record does not give any details about the teacher who was responsible for the construction of the enclosure.

The date of the record is given in line 6 as Śaka 636 (expressed in words), 18th regnal year, Vaiśākha śu. 13. Since Śaka 610 current was the first regnal year of the king,<sup>1</sup> Śaka 636 current would be the 18th regnal year as stated in the record. The date cannot be verified as the week-day is not mentioned. But in the year in question, Vaiśākha śu. 13, fell on Friday, the 13th May, 713 A.D.

Line 7 contains a benedictory sentence wishing welfare to the cows, Brāhmaṇas, the king and his subjects. This is followed by another sentence in the Kannada language which states that Iśānāchārya constructed the faultless enclosure (*niramalya-prākāra*). The record ends with the expressions *offitāge* and *śāntam-astu*, one being the translation of the other.

#### TEXT\*

- 1 Siddham\* [ ] Jayaty=āviśkritam Viṣṇor=vvārāham kṣobhātārṇava[m](vau) [ ]  
dakṣiṇ-śmṣṭa-damṣṭr-āgra-vitrānta-bhuvanam vapuḥ [ ] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-  
saihatyāmāna-Mānavya-.....\*
- 2 mātṛ[ ]=abhiwarddhitānām Kīrtikōya-parirakṣaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-pāramparāgām bha-  
gavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-Varāha-..... \*śa-ma[hī]bhṛtām
- 3 Chalukyānām kulam=alākhaṣṇō(rishō)=Aśvamōdha-āvabhṛta(tha)-śāna-pavitṛṣṭa-  
gātrīya śrī-Pulakṣī[ś]-vallabha-mahārājasya priya-tanaya[h]-.....  
..... mahārājah tasy=ā-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bomé, *Guz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 370, note 5.

\* From the impressions.

\* Expressed by symbol.

\* The damaged letters may be restored as: *apṛāṇa-śmṣṭa Hṛdī-patrānta* *apṛāṇa-śmṣṭa-māyābhāṣya*.

\* The damaged letters may be restored as: *śrī-Pulakṣī-śrī-vallabha-mahārājah*.

\* This shloka is damaged.

\* The damaged letters may be restored as: *Kīrtivarsana-prāhiraṇa*.



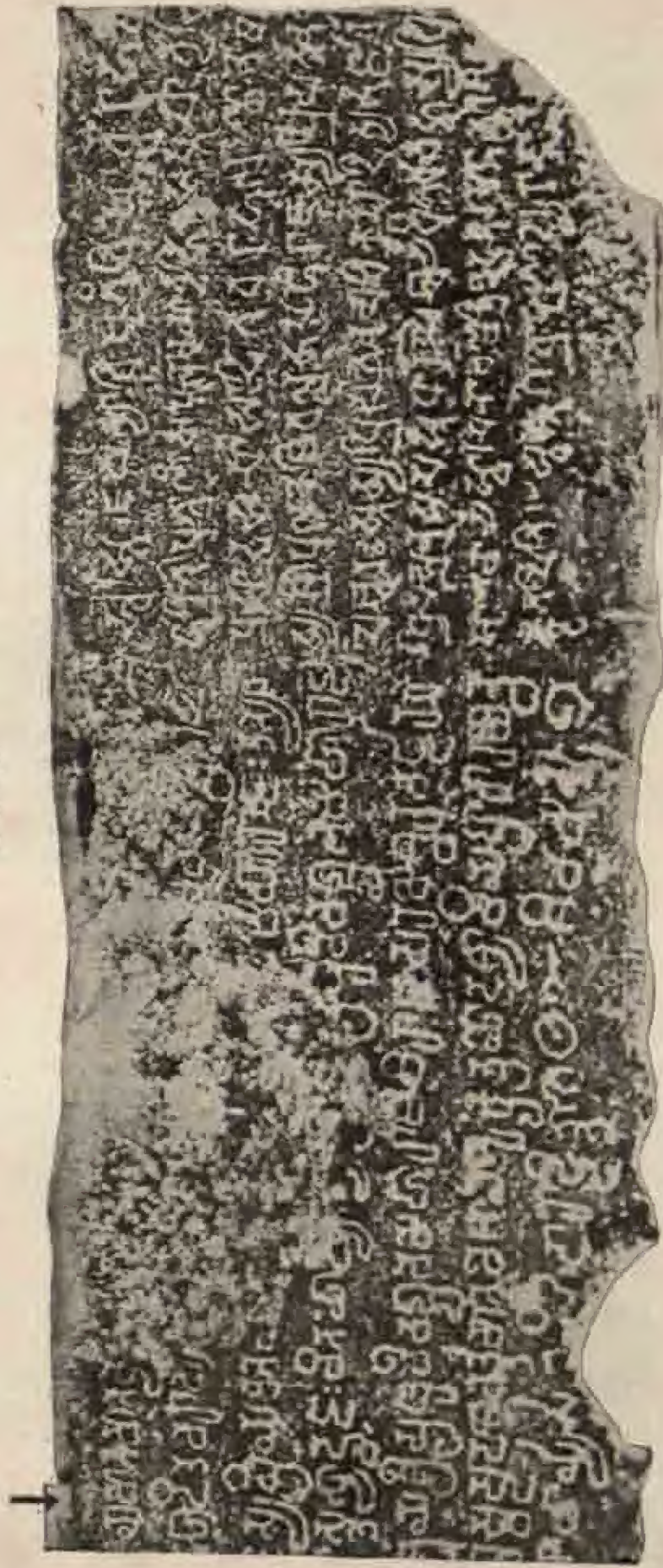
ALAMPUR INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 635 AND 636

Left half





Right half



( from Photographs )



- 4 dms(tms)jsh Satyāśraya-Sripriṭhu(thi)vivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara=tasya  
priya-tanayaḥ Vikramāditya-bhaṭṭāraka=tasya=kṛma(tma)jsh Vinayāditya-  
[Satyāśraya-Sripriṭhu(thi)vivallabha-mahārāja-  
5 dhīrāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya priya-sūnuḥ=samasta-pāramāṇvarya-vibhava-chihnaḥ  
Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-Sripriṭhu(thi)vivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-  
bhaṭṭāraka-  
6 sy=ājñayā bhāgavad-īśānāchāryya-śrāmīnā śhaṭṭrimśad-uttara-śhaṭ-chhatē Śaka-  
varshē pravarddhama(mā)na-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarēśv-ashta(śhā)daśē  
varttamānē<sup>1</sup> Vaisākha-śukla-trayōdaśyām=īya(m)<sup>2</sup> prākāra-bandha(b\*)  
7 kṛtam=iti<sup>3</sup> || Svasti gō-brāhmaṇasya<sup>4</sup> rājñah prajāñah cha āvām bhavatu || — Niruvadya-  
prākāramān=īśānāchāryya=sajm=bi<sup>5</sup> dōc=olliti=āge || — Śivam=astu ||<sup>6</sup>

## B. Inscription of Saka 635

As stated above, though only about one-third of this inscription is now preserved, a comparison of the extant portion would clearly show that it is a copy of Inscription A written in the Siddhamātrikā script. The chief interest of the record lies in its palaeography which has been discussed above. The inscription is dated Saka 635 instead of Saka 636 as found in A, the details regarding the regnal year being lost. Since Saka 636 of A has been shown to be a current year, Saka 635 of this record may be considered as expired. The purpose of the inscription, as already indicated, is the same as that of A.

## TEXT

- 1 Siddham<sup>1</sup> svasti ||<sup>2</sup> Jayaty-āvabhṛtam Viṣṇūr=vvārāham [kahō]<sup>3</sup>.....  
.....  
.....  
2 Hārīṣ-puttrāpām sapta-śūka-mātrī(bhi) sapta-mātrī(bhi).....  
.....  
.....  
3 prasāda-samāśārita-Vārāha-īśānāchāryya-ś[kahe].....  
.....  
.....

<sup>1</sup> The subscripts of these damaged letters can be seen in the impression.

<sup>2</sup> There is an unnecessary anuvāsa-like-mark above sv.

<sup>3</sup> Read "m-ayom. The anuvāsa mark is engraved above the next letter prā.

<sup>4</sup> Read krīṣa śi.

<sup>5</sup> Read "brāhmaṇāśārya.

<sup>6</sup> These three letters are damaged.

<sup>7</sup> From the impressions.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>9</sup> The last portion in this and in the following lines may be restored with the help of A edited above.



- 4 *śya śrī-Pulakēśi-vallabha-mahārājasya priya-tana*.....
- 5 *māśvarāḥ(ra)=tasya priya-tanaya(yō) Vikramāditya-bhaṭṭāra*.....
- 6 *priya-sūnu(h\*) samāsta-pāṭamaśvartya(rya)-vibhava-chihvasya Vi(ja)*.....
- 7 *śāpāchāryya-śvāminā pāḍcha-ttrichśad-uttara-śhaṭchobha(t-chha)tō Śaka-va*.....
- 8 *kṛitam=iti<sup>1</sup> || Svasti gō-brāhmanasya<sup>2</sup> rājā(h) pra(jā)*.....

<sup>1</sup> Read *ipita* *śi*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *\*brāhmanapāyaka*.



## No. 17—COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR

(4 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.10.1960)

### 1. Grant of Jivagupta

Early in the year 1958, I was asked to give my opinion on the date of a copper-plate grant, a set of impressions of which was received by me, for examination and return, from Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division of Bihar, Patna, through the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. In the month of December of the same year, I visited Patna and Mr. Sohoni was kind enough to allow me to take impressions of the inscription. The inscription was secured by Mr. Sohoni from **Katra**, headquarters of a Police Station of that name in the Munaffarpur District of North Bihar.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a **single plate** measuring 10½ inches in height and 6½ inches in breadth. There are altogether 22 lines of writing, 19 on the obverse and 3 on the reverse of the plate. The seal originally affixed to the top margin is now lost. A strip nearly 1½ inches wide was cut off from the lower end of the plate apparently for testing the metal if it was gold. Of this strip, only a small piece (2½ inches long) from the right-hand side is now available while the rest (a little less than 4 inches in length) is lost. This has resulted in the loss of more than half of the writing of lines 16-19, only the concluding portion of the lines being available on the small piece referred to above. In the left-hand side of the upper margin on the obverse of the plate, the *alsham* ra is found between two symbols. This letter seems to have been meant for insertion in a line from which it was omitted through oversight. But the omission cannot be satisfactorily located in the extant part of the epigraph.

The **palaeography** of the inscription is interesting. The characters belong to the Siddhamatphikā (i.e. Northern) alphabet of the 7th or 8th century A.D. But they are carelessly and cursorily formed. An interesting feature of the palaeography of the epigraph is that in some cases the same letters and signs exhibit both earlier and later forms while in some other cases the letters are either early or late. The characters may be compared with those of such East Indian records as the Bōdhgaya inscription (385 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> of Mahānāman, Midnapur plates (c. 619 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> of Śaśāṅka, Aṣṣaṇḍ inscription (c. 670 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> of Ādityaśeṇa, Mangraon inscription (c. 700 A.D.)<sup>4</sup> of Viśvaguṇḍa, Dēo-Baraṇḍīk inscription (c. 720 A.D.)<sup>5</sup> of Jyotiṣgupta II, Nālandā inscription (c. 730 A.D.)<sup>6</sup> of Yaśodharman and Khillimpur plate (c. 800 A.D.)<sup>7</sup> of Dharmapāla. Such a comparison would show that the palaeography of our epigraph should have to be referred to a date later than the

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 274 ff. and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1943, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 200 ff. and Plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 341 ff. and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 213 ff. and Plate XXIX, B.

<sup>6</sup> *Above*, Vol. XX, pp. 37 ff. and Plate.

<sup>7</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXII, Part I, pp. 53 ff. and Plate.



beginning of the 7th century and earlier than the end of the 8th. The letters *y* and *ś* are of the earlier type, the first of which is found in the Aphaud inscription and earlier records while the latter is noticed in a modified form in the Aphaud inscription and later records. But *ś* of the same early type is sometimes found in such East Indian epigraphs of the second half of the 7th century as the Tippera plate of Lōkanātha, dated 564 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The hooked form of *r* and the shape of *ś* in the record under study remind us of the forms of the same letters in the Aphaud inscription and later epigraphs. On the other hand, *ḍh* and *k* appear to resemble their forms in the records of the 8th century. In some cases, a curved stroke is attached to the lower left end of *k* (cf. *ḥari* in line 7) and this is not usually found in records earlier than the Mangraon inscription of about the beginning of the 8th century. *Y* has a cursive form resembling *ry* of the contemporary North Indian epigraphs. The letter *l* in *kuḍḍi* (line 5) is more cursive than elsewhere in the record. *M* of the record under study is a cursive modification of the form of the letter as found in records like the Mangraon inscription referred to above. But, unlike the Mangraon epigraph, the upward opening of letters like *p* is in some cases closed in our record and this is a sign of lateness. The letter *v* sometimes resembles the closed type of *p* (cf. *prati* in line 8 and *vaśi* in line 14). While the medial sign of *i* is generally short as in the earlier records, medial *ṣ* is written in several forms, one of which exhibits later development and differs little from the sign of medial *i* (cf. *ś-ṣara* and *śima* in line 11). *ḍ* has both the earlier form without the tail and the later one with the tail (cf. *ś-ḍharmya* *ś-ḍḍiḥ* in line 12). *Ḥ* has been written with the sign for *v*. It will thus be seen that some of the palaeographical features exhibited by the inscription under study suggest a date earlier than the 8th century while others suggest one later than the 7th century. We are therefore inclined to assign it to a date about the first half of the 8th century since it is difficult otherwise to explain the use of the later forms of some of the letters though the earlier forms of some of them may be regarded as having persisted with some people in certain areas of the country.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in a mixture of prose and verse. There is only one stanza in *ślokaśatā* in the king's description in the introductory part and two of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses occur at the end of the document. The orthography of the inscription resembles that of the contemporary epigraphs of Eastern India. The date of the record is given in line 10 as a day of the bright half of Chaitra in the king's second regnal year.

The charter begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the auspicious word *svasti*. Reference is first made to the issue of the grant from the donor's camp or capital situated at a locality called *Tārā*. Lines 1-5 then introduce the reigning king *Jivaguptadāva* who was the son of king *Rāmaguptadāva* and queen *Rāmā-bhāṭṭārīkā*. Both *Jivagupta* and his father are described as *Paramahādēvara* (greatly devoted to Mahādeva, i.e. the god Śiva) and are endowed with the imperial style *Paramahādēvara-Mahādēvādēvīja-Purandhara*. *Rāmagupta*, the father of the reigning monarch, is described as born of queen *Tārā-bhāṭṭārīkā* although the name of his father is not mentioned. King *Jivagupta*, donor of the charter, is called *laghu*, i.e. the younger. This probably suggests that his grandfather was another *Jivagupta* who may have been known to the subjects as 'the elder' especially if *Rāmagupta*'s reign was short so that the reigns of the grandfather and the grandson bearing the same name were close to each other. As indicated above, the present record was issued by 'the younger' *Jivagupta* quite early in his reign. We have instances in which a king's grandfather bearing his name was mentioned as 'the elder so-and-so',<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 234; *JRS&S*, Letters, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 372, col. III.

<sup>2</sup> *Aborn*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 241-22.



Lines 5-8 contain a stanza in the *Anuṣṭup* metre describing the fame of king Jivagupta, the donor of the charter. Then comes the king's order in respect of the grant which was addressed to a number of his officers and subordinates as well as to the inhabitants of the localities called **Surabhākra**, **Yāmyā** and **Hari-grāmaka** situated in the north-eastern part of **Tirāṭṭhala-pāṭaka** in the **Chāmupā** *rickhys* of **Tira-bhukti**. The royal officers and subordinates mentioned among the addressees are *Mahāśāhivagrāhika* (minister for war and peace), *Akshapa-lāhika* (officer in charge of records and accounts), *Sarvādāhārīka* (chief administrator or minister), *Pratikhāra* (officer in charge of the defence of the gate of the royal palace or the capital city), *Sāndyapā* (commander of forces) and *Mahāśāmantas* (subordinate rulers). The following passage in lines 10-17, parts of which are lost, apparently states that the three localities in question were granted by the king, after having taken a bath on the occasion of the *Vishuvat* (i.e. the *Vishuvamākrānti*), in favour of the temple of the goddess *Chāmupā-bhaktārikā* for the merit and fame of his parents. Since the date of the charter falls in the lunar month of *Chaitra*, the *Vishuvat* apparently refers to the vernal equinox. The localities were granted as a permanent gift together with land and water, with the mango and *mālūka* trees, with pits and barren lands, with the land upto their boundaries, with all their hamlets, with the metal and salt mines, with the *udraṅga* (probably, taxes on temporary tenants), with the space above the ground and with all the dues payable to the king (*rāja-pratyādāya*). In this section, the word *pratyādāya* has been used in the sense of *pariyāya* known from many records. A damaged passage in this section seems to state that the temple of the goddess *Chāmupā-bhaktārikā* was in a place (the name of which is uncertain). A lady of the same locality, whose name may have been *Suprabhā*, is mentioned in the same context.

The main problem raised by the inscription is the identity of king Jivagupta, his father Rāmugupta and probably also his grandfather whose name may have been Jivagupta, as well as of the dynasty to which the kings belonged. The facts that their dominions included *Tira-bhukti* or North Bihar and that the palaeography of the record suggests a date about the first half of the 8th century A.D. point to the possibility of these rulers having belonged to the so-called Later Gupta dynasty. The Later Guptas originally ruled in East Malwa and later became rulers of Bihar. The following members of the family are as far known from epigraphic and literary sources : (1) *Kṛishnagupta*, (2) his son *Harshagupta*, (3) his son *Jivtagupta I*, (4) his son *Kumārāgupta I*, (5) his son *Dāmodaragupta*, (6) his son *Mahāśānagupta*, (7) his son *Kumārāgupta II*, (8) his younger brother *Mādhavagupta*, (9) his son *Ādityasena*, (10) his son *Dēvagupta*, (11) his son *Vishnugupta* and (12) his son *Jivtagupta II*.<sup>1</sup> Of these, *Kumārāgupta I* came into conflict with *Maṅkharī Śānvarman*, one of whose known dates is *Vikrama* 611 (553-54 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> while *Dāmodaragupta* was killed in a battle apparently with the same *Maṅkharī* king.<sup>3</sup> *Mahāśānagupta* claims to have fought with the *Kāmarūpa* king *Suśhītarvarman*, father of *Bhūkaravarman* (c. 600-50 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> *Bāṇa's Harshacharita* mentions *Kumārāgupta II* and *Mādhavagupta* as the two sons of the king of *Mālava* (*Mālava-rāja-putras*) who are stated to have taken shelter at the court of the *Thanesar* king *Prabhākara-varādhana*, the father of *Harshavardhana* (606-47 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> That *Bāṇa's* *Mālava* is East Malwa is quite clear from his *Kādambarī* which associates the river *Vetravati* and the capital city of *Vidishā* with *Mālava* and places *Ujjayini* in the land of *Avanti*

<sup>1</sup> See *Bhandarkar's List*, pp. 390-91.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 323, verse 31; *JRAB*, Letters, Vol. XI, p. 70, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> See *CHI*, op. cit., pp. 14; *JRAB*, op. cit., p. 71, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Parab's* ed., pp. 138 ff.







Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the name of Tira-bhukti is preserved in that of the modern Tirhut Division of North Bihar. I am not sure about the location of the district of Chāmupā-vishaya, the subdivision of Tishāhala, the gift villages called Surabhākra, Yāmyā and Hari-grāmaka and the locality called Tārā whence the charter was issued. It is possible that the name Chāmupā-vishaya was derived from the temple of the goddess Chāmupā mentioned in the record.

## TEXT

*Optans*

- 1 Siddham<sup>1</sup> evanti [ ]\* [T]ārā<sup>2</sup>-vāṣṭa-āri-jayaskandh[ā]vārāt-paramamāhākarasya śrīmat-Tā-  
[rā]-
- 2 bhāṭṭāṅkāyām=utpannasya paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-
- 3 ramādevata-śrī-Rāmaguptadēvasya putrah paramamāhākarah śrī-Rāmā-līla-
- 4 ṭṭārikāyām=utpannah paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramādevata-āri-
- 5 Jivaguptadēvo laghu<sup>3</sup> kuṣāṭi [ ] Ya[d]-yaṣṭi vimala<sup>4</sup>vākya<sup>5</sup> avalambavap<sup>6</sup>=a[ya]<sup>7</sup>[m]<sup>8</sup>
- 6 ā<sup>9</sup>ai [ ]\* sūtipūrpam śanākair=iddhātā la[ya](ja)yāc=ārgama(nō) vi[ra]<sup>10</sup> [ ]\* Tira-bhuktan  
[Ch]āmupā[ā]-
- 7 vishayē pūrvvōttara-Tish[ā]hala-pājakō Surabhākrō Yāmyāyām Hari-grāmakō  
[cha]<sup>11</sup>
- 8 mahāśāndhivigrahak-āchhapatālikā[-sarvādhikāraka-pratīha(hā)ra-
- 9 sūnāpati-mahā[s]āmānta-prabhīritā-nivāśinaś=cha janapadānvō(nōbō)dhaya-
- 10 ti samājñāpayati [cha]<sup>12</sup> vāditam=astu bhavutām yathāśpari-śi[śh]ita-grāma[ā]h[ā]<sup>13</sup>
- 11 sa-jala-śhala(lāh) s-āmra-madhūka(kōh) s-gartava(rit-ō)khara(rāh) sva-ānā-paryantā-  
(nālāh) sa-
- 12 sa[sa](va)-jallika(kālī) sa-lōha-lavag-ākara(rāh) s-ādhimāga(āyāh) s-ādhimā(kāh) samvatsa-  
[rā]-
- 13 ja-pratīśālyu-samētā [yā]nā<sup>14</sup> d-ā-chandr-āraka-kāṭi-sama-kālam-samābhā[ā]h[ā] anā-
- 14 tvā Visha(ahuvati) pūtrāḥ puṇya-yasō-vividdhaya<sup>15</sup> Chāmupā-bhāṭṭārikā-
- 15 ..... \*pratīśhāpūtakō=ttis pratīvā[ā]nyā=śap(r)a[ā]hā[ā]
- 16 ..... <sup>16</sup>pō[ā]-sa[ā]sk[ā]r-ārttha

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of the name does not appear to be Nārā.

<sup>4</sup> Read vimalaśhāyā vāṣṭa vāpā.

<sup>5</sup> The alakhara ya is written below the line.

<sup>6</sup> There is an unnecessary mark above sa.

<sup>7</sup> The intended reading seems to be vāṣṭa.

<sup>8</sup> The metre of the stanza is ānandakā.

<sup>9</sup> There are traces of some alakhara here. But their reading is doubtful.

<sup>10</sup> There are traces of a few alakhara here at the beginning of the extract part of the plate. But their reading is doubtful, though they may be [kha]jādhāpūrita.

<sup>11</sup> The alakhara sa is written below the line.



- 17 ..... sanatvāna<sup>1</sup> pradatta(viś)ā mī |  
 18 ..... śaibhā-cha pratyādāyā<sup>2</sup>  
 19 ..... śābhā<sup>3</sup> ||<sup>4</sup> sam 2 Chakra-[su]dī ..

### Rever

- 20 Va(Ba)kubhīr-vasundhā [bhaktā] rājadhī Sagar-śāibhīr-ya[śa]<sup>5</sup> yaśya yadā bhūmī-  
 laśya ta-  
 21 sya tadā<sup>6</sup> phalām(lam) ||<sup>7</sup> Sva-dattā[m]-para-dattāmiv<sup>8</sup> yā harāta vasundharām(rām) |  
 as vishthāyām  
 22 [kr]mīr-bhūitā pūjābhī-maha paśyātā ||<sup>9</sup>

### 2. Two Grants of Sauryāditya

The two copper-plate grants published in the following pages are lying in the possession of Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, and were copied by me in August 1960. They were secured by Mr. Sohoni from some locality under the Bagaha Police Station in the Champaran District of North Bihar.

Both the charters were issued by a king named Sauryāditya who enjoyed the imperial style *Paramabhaṭ* (*śrāṭa Mahārājādhipati Paramatraya*) and the introductory stanzas, eleven in number, are common to both. The king was the son of Hamsarāja and the grandson of Hālavārāha and belonged to a branch of the solar race (*Surya-dynasty*), of which the progenitor was a royal hero named Malayakṣetu. Both the grants are dated, the first in Vikrama 1077 (1020 A.D.) and the second in Vikrama 1083 (1026 A.D.).

King Sauryāditya and his father and grandfather are known for the first time from the inscriptions under study. But there is no doubt that these rulers were later members of the Malayakṣetu family known from the Gurnahā (Gorakhpur District) and Gorakhpur plates,<sup>1</sup> both issued from Vijayapura (the first of the two grants in Vikrama 937=879 A.D.) by P.M.P. Jayāditya II, the son of P.M.P. Dharmāditya and queen Chandrā and the grandson of P.M.P. Jayāditya I and queen Yagā. It appears that the rulers of the Malayakṣetu family were ruling over the north-eastern Districts of Uttar Pradesh and the adjoining areas of North Bihar. They may have attained imperial status after the fall of Yasovarman (c. 722-53 A.D.) of Kanauj and appear to have been subdued by the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj about the close of the ninth century, either under king Bhōja I (c. 836-55 A.D.) or under his son Mahāndrapala I (c. 885-908 A.D.). The present records of 1020 and 1026 A.D. appear to show that the Malayakṣetu kings remained subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratihāras for more than a century and again raised their head on the decline of Gurjara-Pratihāra power about the beginning of the eleventh century. This is an interesting example of the survival of an imperial family and its emergence after a long period of obscurity.

<sup>1</sup> The intended expression is no doubt *tāra-tāra-tāra-tāra*.

<sup>2</sup> The intended expression seems to be *śaibhā-cha pratyādāyā* *śaibhā-cha pratyādāyā*.

<sup>3</sup> The intended expression seems to have been *śaibhā-cha pratyādāyā*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *śaibhā* | *śaibhā*.

<sup>5</sup> This stanza is written below the line.

<sup>6</sup> The metre of this and the following stanza is *śaibhā-cha*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *dattā* *vā*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bhattacharya's List, Nos. 34, 1194.



# COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR—PLATE I

## 1. Grant of Jivagupta





20

22



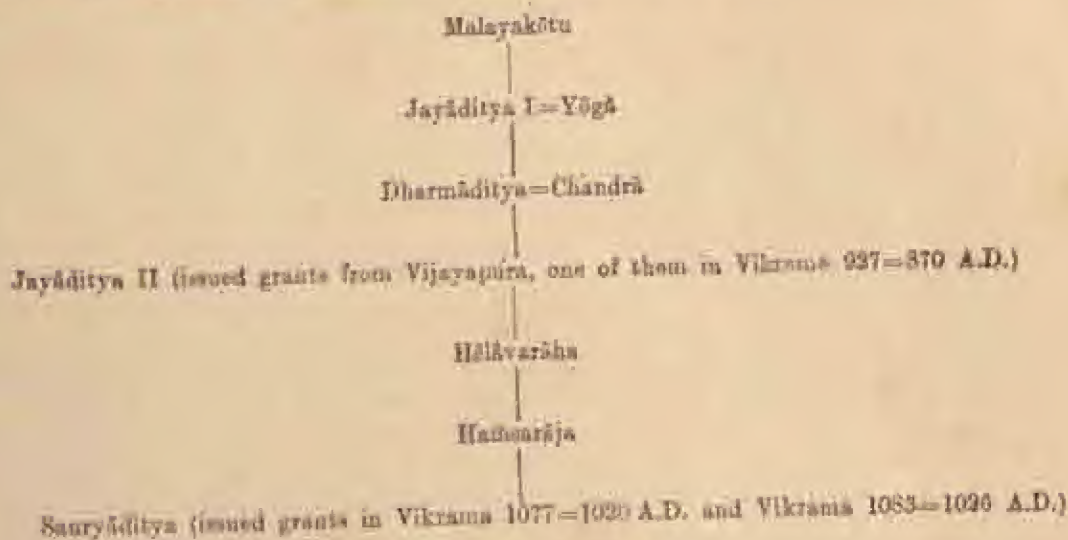
20

22

Size : One-half



With the help of the Gurmukh and Gorakhpur plates referred to above and of the records now under study, the genealogy of the Malayakṣṭu family of the solar race may be tabulated as follows :



#### A. Grant of Vikrama 1077

This is a single plate measuring 15½ inches in breadth and 15½ inches in height with a projection at the top (about 3½ inches broad and 1 inches high) having its top part rounded. The projection was meant for using the seal by means of two knobs, parts of which are still sticking in the two holes in the projection, which were made for receiving the knobs.

There are altogether 31 lines of writing engraved on the first side of the plate, the second side containing only two lines. The engraving is neat ; but the preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in certain sections.

The characters are early Nāgarī of about the eleventh century. Among palaeographical peculiarities, mention may be made of the use of both the Bengali and Nāgarī types of *anusedra* and the undistinguishable representation of *ch*, *y* and *n* in some cases (cf., e.g., *chandrā* in line 21 and *yāvat* in line 32). The consonant *n* has been written in two ways (cf. *n* in *chandrā-draṇḍ* in line 11 with the same letter in *vyajāṇḍ* in line 8 and *dhīpāṇḍ* in line 15). The form of final *n* (e.g. in *gātā* in line 17 and *parāṇā* in line 20) is interesting. For final *r*, see *gar*, in line 25, and for the *avagraha* sign, cf. line 24. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. The orthography is characterised by wrong spellings exhibiting the influence of local pronunciation. Cf. *caṇḍ* (line 2) for *vanḍ* ; *haṇḍ* (line 4) for *haṇḍ* ; *jaiṇḍ* (line 13) for *jaiṇḍ* ; *dhāṇḍ* (line 13) for *dhāṇḍ* ; *jan-vaṇḍ* (line 15) for *jan-vaṇḍ* ; *dhāṇḍ* (line 18) for *dhāṇḍ* ; *dhāṇḍ* (line 18) for *dhāṇḍ* ; *dhāṇḍ* (line 20) for *dhāṇḍ* ; *dhāṇḍ* (line 22) for *dhāṇḍ* ; *dhāṇḍ* (line 28) for *dhāṇḍ* ; *dhāṇḍ* (line 29) for *dhāṇḍ* ; *dhāṇḍ* (line 27) or *dhāṇḍ* (lines 29-30) for *dhāṇḍ* ; *dhāṇḍ* for *dhāṇḍ* (line 29) ; *dhāṇḍ* (line 30) for *dhāṇḍ* ; etc. It will be seen that some of these characteristics are now more marked in the East Indian pronunciation. Reduplication of consonants after *r* is noticed in some cases ; but we have generally *rt* and *ry* without reduplication.

The date of the grant is quoted in line 25 as *Sarhvat 1077, Chaitra-sudi 14, Friday*, while line 22 states that it was made on the *Mahāchaitrī tithi* in the month of Chaitra, i.e., Chaitra pūrṇimā. It would appear therefore that the record was kept ready on Chaitra-sudi 14 ; but the







joining the Bāghmati in lat. 25° 45' and long. 86° 2'. The district of Daradgaṇḍakī is also mentioned in an inscription (Vikrama 1167) of king Kirtipāla of Saumyasindhu or Uttarasaṃudra.<sup>1</sup>

## TEXT\*

[Metres : Verses 1-3, 8 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 3-7, 9-11 *Sārdūlavakrīḍita* ; verses 12-19, 21 *Anuśṭubh* ; verse 20 *Pashpitāgrī*.]

## Obverse

- 1 Siddham\* ॐ svasti | **Sāry-ānayaś** prakata-vikrama-bhūmir-āsīt(sid) bhūpāla-maṇi(li)r-īha  
bhūpatir-ādibhūtaḥ | li-ālayō **Malaya**[kē]tur-atulya-dhāmā |<sup>2</sup> sarv-ādibhūt-aika-vasati-  
[r-ija]-
- 2 gatī prasiddhaḥ || [1\*] Tad-vansa(vadāsa)jāḥ krama-paramparayā pratāptī bhūpō va(ba)bhūva  
bh[uvī dāsa-jala]-pravāhaḥ || [2\*] **Hālavarāha** īha sāhasa-vāsa-bhūmir-yat-kīrtitayaś-  
tri-bhū(bhu)vanāni
- 3 pavitrayanti || [3\*] Dhaṛiyam-kārya-vidhāsa yasya vilasata(sat)-saundaryam=ś(ol)drīśām gām-  
bhūryaḥ]\* naya-varma\*-guptishu girām-saundaryam-āry-śchitāt(tam) | tyāgō yaaya cha  
mārggaṇḍahu vi-
- 4 nayō vidvatsu kīrtiriddhī(r-ddi)sām |<sup>3</sup> yasy-āyath-charitārthatām-upagataḥ sarvō guṇānāś-  
gaṇaḥ || [3\*] **Hāl-nirjita**-vaini-kuṇjara-ghaṭaḥ sau(sau)tīrya-va(ba)dīb-ādaraḥ śhādguṇy-  
śdadhi-
- 5 va(bu)ddhi-madithama-bhava-śri-ratna-laydhō(bdh-ō)layaḥ || [4\*] kṛdā-nirbhara-bhavya-  
vāramagi-līlā-vilāś-ālayō bhūpāḥ kīl-śha vicāntya yasya chaṇtaḥ rājyē-pi<sup>4</sup> lajanty-  
am || [4\*] Bhūtō bhū-
- 6 mibhu[jāḥ] vibhūbhaga-maṇiḥ putrō dharmatṛipatīḥ |<sup>5</sup> tasy-śddapōśa-bhūja-pratāpa-laraṇi  
śri-**Hansa**(**Harha**)rājah kṣaitau || (1) dhāmā śō(yē)na dhīrāt śad-śdītam-īha sphāraḥ  
pura-mma-
- 7 śpalam |<sup>6</sup> yasy-ālōka-vidhīś-śhakāra sajan-āmbhōjā vikāśa-śriyati(yam) || (1) [5\*] Nī(ty-  
ānānda-kṛit-śmava)h[1\*] pratidinam<sup>7</sup> prandha-pratāyō(p-ō)ditāḥ mad-vaidagdhya-vadhō-  
patirva(r-bu)dha-ja-
- 8 na-prāravdha(bdha)-gōṣaḥhī-rataḥ || [6\*] kāryā(vy-ā)mbhōja-saś-śpalam(la)mbha-madhupō gam-  
bhūm-āmbhōnidhīḥ ||<sup>8</sup> r-yasy-āyath viś(vi)rataḥ kal-śmāraśō kṣitō-śpasaktir-jjanah ||  
[6\*] Tishthantaśmi<sup>9</sup> n[1]vri-
- 9 [tya] sarva-jagatō dāśa-śpiśś-sau(śam)kayā pūḍibhūya śad=śiva viamaya-bhavas-trāpāya  
yamin guṇāḥ || (1) yasy-śśīta(śī) paraman-tu<sup>10</sup> dāśaya-kaṇaḥ sarvasya nī(śh)kāraṇaḥ

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 92. It is possible that Kirtipāla's family owned the Malayakṛta about the close of the 11th century to be themselves ousted by the Gāhajavāha shortly afterwards.

\* From impressions.

\* Expressed by symbol.

\* The danda is superfluous.

\* These aksharas are restored with the help of the other inscription.

\* B has manta.

\* B has rājyaḥ.

\* The danda is superfluous. Read patimāyā.

\* B has a different reading.

\* The danda is unnecessary. Read nīdhi\*.

\* Read tishthanti sma as in B.

\* We may have it as paramanta\*, but B has paramanta.



- 10 sarvvasya evam<sup>1</sup>=ajharat-kila yasō(śō) digō(g-yō)shitam varābhāṣ<sup>2</sup> || [7\*] Saṁdhāni nish-  
phuratayā kumudāni gaudhāḍ=dugdham rasēna madhura-dhvanibhāṣa-cha kausāḥ(harṣāḥ) ||  
(jñā)tāḥ katham(tha)ñchid=[i]ha
- 11 yasya yasya<sup>3</sup>=samudra-samplāvitā jagati ātaruchi(r\*)=mṛigāśakā || [8\*] Saṁnuḥ tasya<sup>4</sup>  
narēndra śeṣa vijayī chandr-śuanō bhūtalā dharmmaḥ samprati yasya kīrti-
- 12 laṣikā vra(bra)hmāṣṭam-ārōhati | yēn=āṣṭam-akhaṇḍa-dhairya-gurupā lavdhā(bdh-ā)-  
bhāṣāḥ-kriyā-mātrāḥ-aiva cha vikramēṣa vijitā yuddh-āṅgaḥ vairāḇaḥ || [9\*] Tyā-
- 13 gō-āsa(sya) na varṇanā vijayatō Kartṭasya rūpa-śrīyā u-ānāṅgasya na saṅgarāḥa  
jai(jayi)maḥ<sup>5</sup> |<sup>6</sup> saṁ(śau)ryēṣa sīṅghī-patēḥ<sup>7</sup> || [10\*] gāmbhī(mbhī)ryēṣa na sāgarasya vidu-  
shām gōchhāḥ
- 14 Vāchaspatēḥ |<sup>8</sup> śābhir-ana Pura(nāra\*)sya nripatēḥ kō=nyāḥ prakāśa-kramāḥ || [10\*]  
Yuddhō Kuṣṭjaravaraḥ śeṣa kim-iti śrutya-aiva nāma dvishō magadhā kēchana pāda-pa-
- 15 ākaja-tala-ebchhāyā-nishānāḥ(ayāḥ) kha(ksha)ṇāt | n=āta(ch\*)=chitram-idan=to yasya  
charitam nistatīna<sup>9</sup>=dhārā-jalā | a(ya)n=majjanti kiyaty-api khatipatēḥ-matta-dvipāśāḥ  
ghatjāḥ(āḥ) || [11\*]
- 16 sa paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājāśhīrja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-Sauryādityadēvaḥ kṣālī ||  
Daradgupḍaki-maṇḍalē Vyāḥisi-vishay-āntashpātī<sup>10</sup>-Vadāpālī-
- 17 grāmā samupagatān sōśaba-ra(rā)japurushān mahārājā-rāḡaka-ṭhaka(kku)<sup>11</sup>=ānātrō(itya)-parō-  
hita- |<sup>12</sup> mahāmahattaka-mahāśāndhivigrahika-mahā-
- 18 prathāra-mahā-akṣa<sup>13</sup>-patalika- | mahāśādhānika- | mahāpūṣpati- | mahāśō(śō)nāpati- |  
mahākatākā<sup>14</sup>=dha(dhya)kṣa-dushāśā(śā)dhyasādhānika- | dā(dā)ṇḍika- | dardḍapāśī(śī)-  
ka- |
- 19 saṁ(śau)ḥkika- | gauhika- | gamāgamika- | dūtasamprēṣanika- | talavarggika-<sup>15</sup> | sāgara-  
kṣika- | chāḥṭa-bhaṭṭa<sup>16</sup>-prabhritin yathā-śhā(nu)-niryuktā(n\*) rāja-pād-śpajivī- |
- 20 na(nō) rājapurushān yathārcharaṁ mānayatī vō(bō)dhayatī ādikāḥ | viditam=astu bhavātām |  
yathā grāmō-yauḥ sa-jala-śhalaḥ ā-śmvara(mra)-madhu(dhū)kṣa<sup>17</sup> sva-śī(śī)ma-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'śrī-sarvasam' as in B.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'allāḥam'.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'pakar'.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'Sūrasakaṇḍa'.

<sup>5</sup> The danda is unnecessary.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'śimā'. Possibly the word śāśhīpati (literally, 'the husband of the lioness') has been used to indicate 'a lion'. The 'husband of Simhī (Simhikā)' may also be understood in the sense of Śīra among others.

<sup>7</sup> The danda is unnecessary. Read 'patē-dū'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'nītrīmā'.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'śāśhīpati'. The ś in śpā really stands for the *apāśhīśhāṣṭya*.

<sup>10</sup> The danda here and elsewhere below in this line and the following lines is superfluous.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'mahāśhā'.

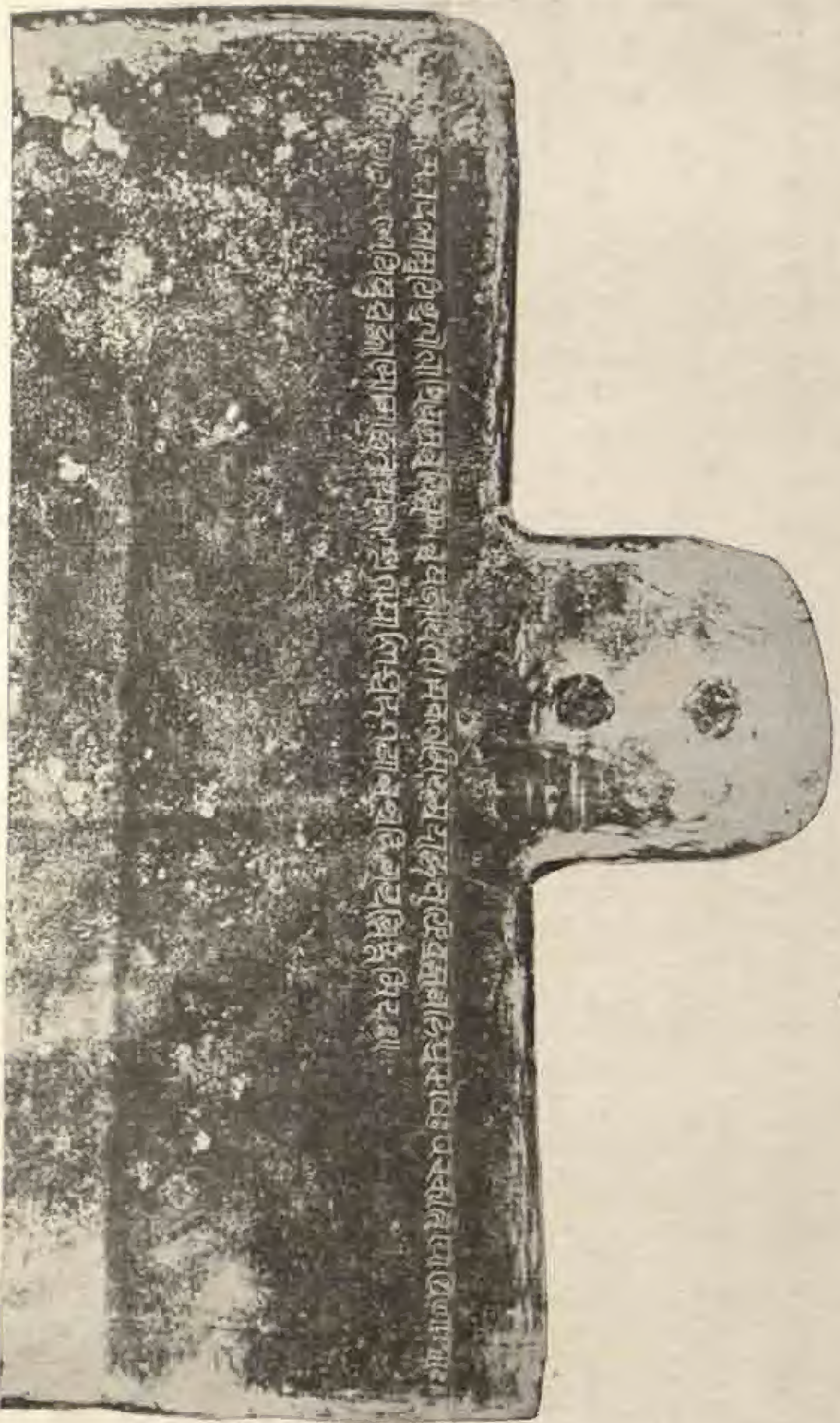
<sup>12</sup> Read 'śhā' has not been observed here.

<sup>13</sup> This is the same as chāśh-śhāṣṭya of earlier inscriptions.



[illegible]





( from Photographs )



- 21 paryantaḥ phala-ratikō ramya[ḥ\*] e-śhara[ḥ\*] sa-gorti-āvaskara[ḥ\*] jana-dhana-sahitaḥ  
sa-pallikah sa-kṛishṭa[ḥ\*] mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś-cha pū(pu)ṣya-ya[śś\*]-bhivṛiddhaye |  
chandrā-
- 22 rikka-kṣhiti-kālam yāvat | pārvva-bhū(bhu)jyamāna-dāva-vrā(brū)hmana-khō(kshō)tra-  
khaṇḍalakasḥ va[rja\*]yitvā | Chaitrē māsi Mahāchaitryām vidhivata(vat) snātva  
bhagavantau Bhāskar-Ēśānā-
- 23 v=abhyarchcha(rohya) tila-darvbbhō(rbbh-ō)deka-pavitra-pāṇinā Chehhāla-vinirggata-<sup>1</sup> Uśya-  
grāmiya-Sāvarṇṇa(rṇya)-sagōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-<sup>2</sup> Āpnavāna-<sup>3</sup> Aurvva-Ya(Ja)-  
mādagai śtā<sup>4</sup> pañcha-
- 24 pravaraṇya Bhaṭṭa-śr[ī]-Yasādityāya<sup>5</sup> Bhaṭṭa-Vāṭṭhō-śutāya Bhaṭṭa-<sup>6</sup> Adavi-nāptre tā-  
mraśśānukṛtiya sampradattō=<sup>7</sup> amābbhiḥ | bhavadbbhir-anumantavyaṭh nivāsibhiś-cha ā-
- 25 jñā-śravaga-vidhēyibhūya yat kiñchid-rāja-pratyāy-ādikaḥ tad-asy-ōpanṣṭavyaṭh(vyazm) |  
Samva(Samva)t 1077 Chaitra-śudi 14 Śukra-dinō ōvam(va)m-anāna vidhinā  
grāma[m]
- 26 datvā(ttvā) rāj-ēdam-abhidhattē ||<sup>8</sup> || Va(Ba)hubbhir=vvasunddhā(dhā) dattā rājabbhi[ḥ\*] Sagar-  
ādibhiḥ ||<sup>9</sup> || yasya yasya ja(ya)dā bhūmi[ś\*]=tasya tad(ta)sya tadā phala[m\*] || [12\*]  
Bhūmtyaḥ<sup>10</sup> prastigrihā(hpā)ṭti yaś-cha bhū-
- 27 mi[m\*] prayachchhati || uḥhau tau pū(pu)ṣya-karmamāṣan niyataḥ svargga-gāminau || [13\*]  
Shash(hi)chēti-varecha-sakādrā(śrā)ṇi mōdatē divi bhūmi[daḥ] ||<sup>11</sup> || śachchhētā ch=anumantā  
cha tāny=ōva narakam
- 28 [vra]ḥt || [14\*] Sam(Śati)khaḥ bhadrāsanam chehha(chha)tram var-āśvō vara-kūṭjara-  
(raḥ) | bhūmi-dānasya chūhāni phalam-ēttata Pranandara<sup>12</sup> || [15\*] Sva-datām(ttām)  
para-dat[ā]mvā<sup>13</sup> yō hara(rō)ta vasundharām(rām) || sa vi-
- 29 śhṭhāyūṭh kṛimir-bhu(bhū)tvā pūṭribhi[ḥ\*] saha pachyatō || [16\*] Gām-ēkām suvarṇṇam=  
ēkam bhūmēr-apy-ēkam-aṅgulaḥ(lam) || haraṭh(ran) narakam-āyāti jā(yā)vad-āhūta-  
satōplavath(vam) || [17\*] Tatṭā(tā)kūni saha-
- 30 śrā(śrā)ṇi<sup>14</sup> nāvamēdha-sa(śa)tāni cha ||<sup>15</sup> || gavām kōṭi-pradānēna Bhūmi-hartā na śuddha-  
(āhya)ti || [18\*] Phalatkiśhā<sup>16</sup> mahimā datvā(ttvā) sa-vi[ḥ]ja(jāṭh) asya-mālini[m] ||<sup>17</sup> ||  
yāvat-sūrya-kṛiṣṭ(ś-ā)lōkah<sup>18</sup> tāva-
- 31<sup>19</sup> t=svarggō mahiyatō || [19\*]

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'daga-ō'.

<sup>3</sup> The form of this personal name is not grammatically correct.

<sup>4</sup> There is a symbol of two concentric circles between the double dashes.

<sup>5</sup> Read Śāśānā yā.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'Gat Pranandara.

<sup>7</sup> Read dattām vā.

<sup>8</sup> Read Phala-kṛishṭam.

<sup>9</sup> This small line begins after leaving the space for about four akṣaras.



## Records

32. Iti kamala-dal-āmruṃbho-viṇḍa-lōlūm śriyaṃ-anuchinta(ntyā) manuṣha(śhya)-jīvitam  
[cha\*] | sakalān-idam-udāhṛitaś-cha vu(bu)ddhā(dāhvā) na hi puruṣaḥ para-kṛtsayō  
vilōpyāb || [20\*]
33. [Ā]dityō Varuṇō Viśva Vrahmā<sup>1</sup> Sōmō Kātāsa(śa)nā(nā) | Śālapāpāś-cha bhagavān-anva-  
bhī<sup>2</sup>mandanti bhūmidāḥ(ām) || [21\*]

## B. Grant of Vikrama 1083

This single plate measures about 15½ inches in breadth and 14½ inches in height. There is a projection at the top, about 2½ inches high and 5½ inches broad. The upper part of the projection and the four corners of the plate are rounded. The figure of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, engraved on the projection, was meant to serve the purpose of the proper seal. The figure is of a boar-faced human form, having a crown and other ornaments and standing to right in the *pratyūṭṭha* pose with the left elbow raised upwards.

There are 31 lines of writing in all on one side of the plate. In regard to **palaeography, language and orthography**, this inscription closely resembles *A* edited above. But lines 1-21 are more efficiently engraved than lines 22-31, the first part containing fewer orthographical errors than the latter part. Of the 11 stanzas of the introductory section, verses 3-11 have their respective numbers engraved after each of them. The ten imprecatory and benedictory stanzas at the end of the inscription are, however, not similarly numbered. The date of the record is quoted in lines 23-24 as **Saṃvat 1083, Chaitra-śudī 13, Saturday**. If the year is regarded as current (*Kārttikādi*), the date would correspond to the **2nd April 1028 A. D.**

The beginning of the inscription is similar to that of *A*. The 11 stanzas, occupying lines 1-11, have already been discussed in connection with *A* (lines 1-13). The following section in prose referring to the donor is also the same as in *A*; but the list of subordinates addressed by the king and that of the donee's privileges, though similar to those in the other record, are not exactly the same and the gift land in the present case is **Yamaṇiōṇḍa-grāma** situated in **Dvichatvārimśantikā-vishaya** of **Dardachapḍikā-maṇḍala**. The name of the *vishaya* is merely a Sanskritized form of that of the Vyāliṃ sub-district known from *A*; but, as already indicated above, the two do not appear to be identical since they were situated in different *maṇḍalas* or districts. Like the list of subordinates and the donee's privileges, other details in lines 17-22 are similar to those in *A*. But the donee's name is left out, though his *pravaras* are enumerated as Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpuryāna, Jamadagni and Aurva without mentioning the name of the *gōtra* which was apparently **Sāvarṇya** as in the case of the donee of *A* edited above. A few other details found in *A* are also similarly left out in this inscription. In this section, we have *paṭṭāḥ-tāmrakāntīritya* instead of *śrī-rakṣantīritya* in *A* and other records. As we have suggested elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> the word *paṭṭāḥ* means 'a deed of purchase'. The nature of the present record thus seems to have been different from that of *A*.

But the most important feature of the record under study is the absence of the donee's name. It is of course tempting to suggest that this was due to a mistake of the scribe or engraver.

<sup>1</sup> Read "ghor-śruti".

<sup>2</sup> Read "śāntā".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *JAS*, Vol. XX, p. 205. Cf. Tamil *paṭṭāḥ* in the same sense.



It is, however, interesting to note that there is the following endorsement at the end of the record in the last line (line 31): *śaśa-śhāsanaṃ-uddēśa-mātrava-iti*, "This grant is merely an illustration." This suggests that the present plate was not actually issued in favour of a donee, but was merely kept in the record office of the king as a sample draft for being consulted by the scribes to prepare similar other documents. The mention of the *pracaras* seems, however, to indicate that the original intention was to issue it in favour of a donee belonging to the Sāvarṇya *gōtra*, though it was discarded owing to mistakes creeping in the text.

The geographical names mentioned in the record are: (1) Yamañiūpda-grāma, (2) Dvichatvāriṃśatikā-vishaya, and (3) Dardachanḍikā-maṇḍala. I am not sure about their location.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> ā namāḥ(mah) ||[\*] **Sūrya-ānvayē** prakṛta-vikrama-bhūmīr=śāt(ā)d=bhūpāla-mauli  
(li)=iha bhūpatir=ādibhūtaḥ | ||ālayō **Maḥa**\***ṣyakōtur**=atulya-dhāmā sarvv-ādibhūta-aka-  
vasatir=jagati prasiddhiḥ(dhah) || [1\*] Tad-vamsa(vat=ā)jāḥ=krā-
- 2 ma-paramparayā pratāpō(pī) bhūpō vahl(u)vi<sup>3</sup> dāna-jala-pravāhaḥ | **Hōlāvarāha** iha sāhasa-  
vāsa-bhūmīr=yat-kīrtiṭayaa=tribhuvānāni pavitrāyanti || [2\*] Dhairyaṃ kārya-vidhāsa  
[yasya\*] vilasatāu(t=au)nda-
- 3 ryanvi(m=ē)pidpīśām(śām) gāmbhīryam=naya-mantra<sup>4</sup> guptiśu girām=audāryam=āry-śchitam-  
(tam) | tyāgō yasya cha mārggaśeṣu vinayō vidvatṛu kīrtir=chīsām(śām) yasy=āyam  
charitārthatām=upagataḥ sarvvō gupt-
- 4 nā[th] gaṇaḥ || 3 || **Hilā-nirjita**-vairi-koṭijara-ghaṭaḥ au(āu)līrya-va(ha)ddh-ādarah |<sup>5</sup>  
śhōdguny-ōdadhi-vu(bu)ddhi-manthana-bhava-(śrī)-ratna-lavḍhō(bdh-ō)dayaḥ | kīrjā-  
nirbhara-bhavya-vānarama-
- 5 pī-lilā-vilāś-ālayō bhūpāḥ kīś=cha vichintya yasya charitār rājyēṣu lajjanty=amī || 4 || Bhūtō  
bhūmi-bhūjāmvi(jām vi)bhūṣhaṇa-namāḥ putrō dharitripatis=taṣy=ōddagḍa-bhūja-pratā-
- 6 pa-taraṇḥ śrī-**Hansa(Harisa)**rājāḥ kshitan ||(i) nāmnō<sup>6</sup> yēna dhṛitam sad=ōditam=iha  
syā(aphā)raḥ punā(na)r=mmamḍalam yasy=(ā)lōka-vidhīs=chakōra sajan-āmbhōjō vikāsa-  
śriyām(yam) || 5 || Nity-śoa-
- 7 nda-kṛit-ōtsava-rata<sup>7</sup> praudha-pratāp-ōditah sad-vaidagḍhya-vadhū-patirvva(r=bbu)dhā-  
jana-prāravdha(bdha)-gōshthi-rataḥ | kāvy-āmbhōja-rae-ōpalambha-nudhapō gambhīra-  
(ri)m-āmbōnidhir=yasy=āya-
- 8 mvi(m vi)rataḥ=kal-ānkarapō kshīp-ōpasaki<sup>8</sup> janah || 6 || Tishthanti sma nivvi(vri)tya  
sarvva-jagatō dōcha-sprisā(śrī)-sa(śam)kāyā piḍḍibhūya sad=aiva viemaya-bhuvae=trūpāya  
yasmi-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.<sup>3</sup> Read *buddha* *dhara*.<sup>4</sup> *A* reads *surma*.<sup>5</sup> The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.<sup>6</sup> Read *dhārmā* as in *A*.<sup>7</sup> *A* has *\*rak. praudhārah*. The intended reading in *B* may be *\*sarvō-sarvārāṇa*.<sup>8</sup> Read *\*śakti*.



- 9 n-gupāḥ | yaay=ist=param=atra<sup>1</sup> dūchapa-kapaḥ sarvvasya nishkārapam hrit-sarvvasa-  
(eva)m=ajharat=kila yasō(śō) dig-yōchitāmva(m va)llabham(bham) || 7 || Saudhāni nishtha-  
(ah)hu)ratayā
- 10 kumudāni gandhāt(ndhād) dūgdam rasēna madhura-dhvanibhiś-cha hanā(bhahsāḥ) |  
j[ā]tāḥ kathamchid=iba yaaya yasah(śah)-samudra-sa[m]p[ā]l[ā]vīt jagati ātarnchir-  
mmrigāngāt(ākāt) || 8 || Sīnus=ta-
- 11 sya narēnira(ndra) ēcha vijayī chantrā(odr-ā)napā(uō) bh[ā]ta<sup>2</sup> dh[r]\*mmah samprati  
yaaya kirti-latikā vrapthā(brahmā)qdam=ārō[ha]\*ti | yēn=ākāqdam=akhaqda-dhairya-  
guruqā lavdhā(bdh-ā)bhishōka-kriyā-
- 12 mātrey=aiva cha vītramēṇa vijitā yuddh-āṅgaṇā vairipāḥ || 9 || Tyāgēn=āya na varopasā  
vijayatā Kairpasya rāpa-triyā n=ānāṅgasya na samgarēshu ja-
- 13 yinaḥ sau(āau)ryēṇa nīghī(sihhī)-patēḥ | gūmbhīryēṇa na sāgaraaya vidushām gūahthāhu  
Vāchaspatēr=llābhīr=ana Parandarasya nripatēḥ kō-nyah praka-
- 14 rsha-kramah || 10 || Yuddhē Kuṣṭjaravareha ēcha kim-iti sru(śru)tv=aiva nāma dvishō magnāḥ  
kōchana pāda-pāṭkaja-tala-chohhāyā-nishapāḥ khaqāt | n=aitach=chitram=idan=ta  
yaaya
- 15 charitach nistrīhās(atrichā)-dhārī-jalō yan=masjanti kiyaty=apī kahitipa(tēr)=mma[ttā-dvi]-  
pānā[ya]m<sup>3</sup> ghaṭāḥ || 11 || Sa paramabhatpāraka-mahārājōdhīrāja-paramēvara-
- 16 śrīmat-Sauryaśdityadēvaḥ kusa(śa)llī | Darddashapdikā-maṇḍa[la]-pratīva(ba)ddha-Dvi-  
chatvārīśā(rihāa)tikā-vishay-āntahpātī(ti)-Yamaqlūpa-grāmah | samupa'ga-
- 17 t-śēcha-rājapa(pu)rushān rūṇaka-phakur-āmātya-purōhita-mahās[odhi]\*vigraphika-mahā-  
prathāra-mahākehapajalika-mahāsōdhanika-mahā-
- 18 pūpāti-mahāsōnāpati-mahākaṭakādhyaksha-duṣṭasōdhyasōdhanika-du(dā)qjika-daṇḍipā-  
[āika]<sup>4</sup>. sanika<sup>5</sup>. gaulmika-gamāgamika-dōtasamtō(mprē)ahapika-ta-
- 19 lavargrik-āgarakahaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prabhyatin<sup>6</sup> yathā-sthāna-nīy[ā]k[ti]a-rāja-pā[d-ō]pajivi-  
[nō] [tā]japurusān |<sup>7</sup> yathārham mānayati vō(bō)dhayati | ādīa-

<sup>1</sup> A has paraman=ta.<sup>2</sup> Read dvipāsam.<sup>3</sup> Read grāma-samupa<sup>4</sup>.<sup>4</sup> Read dāṇḍapātika.<sup>5</sup> Read sūltika.<sup>6</sup> Read prabhyatī.<sup>7</sup> This danda and some others in the following section are superfluous.





*[The page contains dense handwritten Sanskrit script in Devanagari style, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the leaf. The text is largely illegible due to fading and ink transfer.]*







- 20 ti | viditam=astu bhavatām | yathā grāmō-yam sa-jala-sthala[<sup>h\*</sup>] śmā-paryantaḥ |  
a-āmra-madhūkāḥ | sa-garit-ōsharaḥ | sa-nidhi-nidhānaḥ | sa-jana-dhanaḥ | sa(eu)-palli-
- 21 k-ōpētaḥ | sukriṣṭaḥ | mātā-pitrōr-ātmanā-cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhaye | chandr-  
ārka-kāṭi-kālāṁ yāvat | pūrvva-bhujyamāna-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-
- 22 kabōtra-khaṇḍalāṁ viḥāya<sup>1</sup> gōtrāya Bhārggava-Cha(Chya)vana<sup>2</sup>-Āpnumā(vā)na-Ya(Ja)-  
madagni<sup>3</sup>-Aurvva-pravara(rā)ya paṭṭ[<sup>h</sup>5]li-tāmvra(mra)śāsanīkṛitya pradattō=amābhīr-  
mma-
- 33 [tvā] bhavadbbhir=anna(nu)mantavyath(vyam) | nivāṣbhīś-oh-āijā<sup>4</sup>-śravapa-vidhāyibhāya  
yata(yat) kiñchit rāja-pratyādāy-ādikaṁ tad-asy-ōpāna(nē)tavyath(vyam) | Samvat<sup>5</sup>  
1083
- 24 Chaitra-āndi 13 Sa(Sa)man | śvam=amunā vidhinā grāmam=śna[<sup>h\*</sup>] datvā(ttvā) rāj-  
ādām=abbhidhattō | Va(Ba)hubhi[r<sup>6</sup>]=vvasundhā da[<sup>h</sup>7]tō rājahiḥ Saganā(r-ā)dibhiḥ |  
yasya yasya ya-
- 25 dā bhūmīś=asya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [<sup>h</sup>8] [12<sup>9</sup>] Gām=śkām svarṇam=śkaṁ (cha<sup>10</sup>)  
bhūmīś=apya-śkam=aṅgula[m] [<sup>h</sup>9] haraṁ=narakam-āyāyati<sup>11</sup> yāvad=āhūti-saṁpa(pla)vaṁ-  
(vam) || [13<sup>12</sup>] Shashṭi-va[r]ṣha-sahaśrā(śrā)ṇi
- 26 mōdatō divi bhūmidāḥ | āchōhāttō(ttā) ch=ā[nu]mantā cha tāny=ēva narakā[<sup>h</sup>10]  
vra[<sup>h</sup>11] || [14<sup>12</sup>] Saṁ(Śaṁ)kha[<sup>h</sup>10] bhadr-āsanāḥ chōkha(ohha)trāṁ vana(r-ā)śvō vara-  
kūḥ(ku)ṇjaraḥ | bhūmī-dānasya chiknō(hnā)ṇi phalaṁ sva-
- 27 rggas=tath=aiṣa cha || [15<sup>13</sup>] Bhūmīṁ ya[<sup>h</sup>11] pratigrihṇāti ma(ya)ś=cha bhūmīḥ tha-  
(pra)yachōhātī [<sup>h</sup>12] dra(u)bhau tau puṇya-karmāpau [<sup>h</sup>13] mīmataḥ<sup>14</sup> svarṇga-gāminau ||  
[16<sup>15</sup>] Sva-dattā[<sup>h</sup>10] para-dattāmvā(ttāṁ vā)
- 28 yō harōdvāsundharā<sup>16</sup> [<sup>h</sup>14] [śva]-pi(vi)śhṭhāyām kṛimīr-bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha pachyatō ||  
[17<sup>16</sup>] Shashṭi-varaha-sahaśrā(śrā)ṇi shash[<sup>h</sup>15]-varaha-tatāni cha | guvām kōṭi-[pra]dānā  
bhūmī-ha-
- 29 rtiā na āndhyati || [18<sup>17</sup>] Pha(Phā)la-kriṣṭāṁ mahīm dadhyō(dyāt) sa-vi(bi)jāṁ śasya-  
m[<sup>h</sup>16] [19<sup>18</sup>] In kamala-  
dattā(l-ā)-

<sup>1</sup> The following section is defective as the expected name of the donee is left out. The word left out before gōtrāya was Śāuryya.

<sup>2</sup> Śaṁkī has not been observed here.

<sup>3</sup> Read ā/ā.

<sup>4</sup> Read Somaṁ.

<sup>5</sup> There is a symbol looking somewhat like an anusvara of the Bengali type before the dāda.

<sup>6</sup> Read āyā.

<sup>7</sup> The śravya-sign was first engraved, then panned through and afterwards endowed with a restoration mark.

<sup>8</sup> The dāda is unnecessary.

<sup>9</sup> Read nigatam.

<sup>10</sup> Read Śaśṭi varuṇakṛmī.

<sup>11</sup> Read pānt=śravya-kṛit-śikṣa=śravya-śravyā.



- 30 mva(mbu)-vinda-lāṣāḥ śriyam=anna(nu)chintya manna(nu)shya-jīvitam cha [1\*] sa-  
kalam-idam=ulāhṛitam cha [1\*] vuddhā\* na hi purnahaiḥ para-kīrtitayo vīḍ(15)pyāḥ  
[1\*] [20\*] Ādityo Varuṇo
- 31 Viṣṇu Vraṣṇā\* M(85)uṣo Hutāsanah [1\*] Śra(Śū)lapāṇis=cha bhagavān=abhinandati  
[bhūmidam\*] || [21\*] śtatashānōddiśā\*-mātram=iti [1\*]

### 3. Grant of Bhulla, Vikrama 1381

This copper-plate grant was secured by Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, and now lies in his possession. Mr. Sohoni kindly allowed me to take impressions of the inscription in August 1960. The plate is stated to have been secured from the village of Bagān under the Bihis Police Station of the Shahabad District of Bihar.

This is a **single plate** measuring about 13 inches in length and about 10½ inches in height. There is a small hole in the middle of the top margin of the plate. It was probably meant for hanging up the document from a nail in the wall. The corners of the plate are rounded off and there is no seal attached to it. There are 23 lines of writing only on one side of the plate, the last line being engraved vertically in the left margin. The engraving is neat and the writing is in a quite satisfactory state of preservation.

The **characters** of the record are Nāgarī of about the fourteenth century A.D. The rare *alshara* *ja* occurs in line 3. *B* has been written by the sign of *v*. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of the *siddham* symbol and the word *siddhiḥ* at the beginning and the date in figures, etc., quoted in the left margin. **Orthographical errors** are not too many. But *y* has been written for *j* in some cases according to the peculiarity of the pronunciation of initial *y* especially in the East Indian dialects and, as in many other records, final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anumā* at the end of the halves of stanzas. *ḥ* has been written for *ś* under the influence of local pronunciation. There are again some cases of confusion between *ḥ* and *s*.

The **date** of the epigraph is given in verse 3 as **Sunday**, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of **Jyāishtha** in the **Vikrama** year counted by the words *śani*, *naga*, *vahni* and *indu*. Of these words, *śani*, *vahni* and *indu* respectively mean 1, 3 and 1, while *naga* or 'mountain' normally means 7, although some late writers are known to have recognised the word also in the sense of 'eight'.<sup>1</sup> Thus according to the *vīma-gatī* principle, the year would be Vikrama 1371 or 1381. But the same date has been quoted in a prose passage incised on the left margin of the plate as *Sonī 1381 Jyāishtha-tudi 10 Rāmu*. The Vikrama year was therefore really 1381 and not 1371. Sunday, Jyāishtha-tudi 10, in Vikrama 1381 corresponds to the 3rd June 1324 A.D. The year was Kārttikādi current or Chaitrādi expired.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the *maṅgala* : *siddhiḥ* and a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the god Hari. Verse 2 (lines 1-3) introduces a great warrior named **Parāṇ** who is stated to have belonged to **Majhivāra** (*Majhivāra-śekhara-maṇḍ*) and to the

<sup>1</sup> These *śanāḥ* are superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Read *vuddhā*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Vishnu* = *Viṣṇu*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *ḥ* = *ś* = *anumā* = *anumā*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sowell, *Ellipsis of the Moon in India*, p. 8.



**Chēravu** race (*Chēravu-tanida*). The next stanza (verse 3 in lines 3-5) mentions Parāū's son **Durlabha** while verse 4 introduces the donor of the charter. This is king **Bhulladēva** who was the son of Durlabha and is described as the ruler (*śarapati*) of **Vihāpurī** and as the receiver of favours from the *Khaliphā* **Mahamanda-sāhi**. Bhulladēva is called **Bhullēśvara** in verse 7 (line 10) and **Bhūllēśa** in verse 10 (line 20), his actual name being **Bhulla**.

Thus Bhulla, who was the son of Durlabha and grandson of Parāū and belonged to Majhivāra and to the Chēravu race, apparently owed allegiance to *Khaliphā* Mahamanda-sāhi. The language of the record does not clearly indicate Bhulla's subordinate position, though it can be easily inferred from the otherwise inexplicable reference to the Muslim sovereign. The name *Chēravu* is the same as *Chērō* and we know that chiefs belonging to the aboriginal tribes called Oraon, Kharwar and Chērō flourished in the Shahabad-Palaman region during the medieval period.<sup>1</sup> The reference to Mahamanda-sāhi, i.e. Muḥammad Shāh, and to his title *Khaliphā* is very interesting. It appears that, by *Khaliphā* Mahamanda-sāhi, the overlord of the Chērō ruler Bhulla, the contemporary Muslim Sultān of Delhi is meant. The designation *Khaliphā* stands for Arabic *Khalifa* meaning 'the successor to sovereign power', the title being especially applied to the Prophet Muḥammad's successors who united the characters of the head of the State and of the Muhammadan religion, while many of the Sultāns of Delhi are described as *Khalifas* in the legends on their coins as well as in the inscriptions of their times. Muḥammad Shāh, mentioned in our inscription, appears to be none other than Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh of the Tughluq dynasty of Delhi, whose reign period is generally assigned to the period 1325-51 A.D. It should be pointed out that Sultān Muḥammad is believed to have ascended the throne in February or March 1325 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> while our inscription bears the date: 3rd June 1324 A.D., suggesting that the Sultān actually ascended the throne before the middle of 1324 A.D., that is to say, more than six months earlier.

Verses 5-9 of our record speak of the donee of the grant and the donation he received from king Bhulla, the donor of the charter. Verse 5 mentions Vidyādharma belonging to the race of learned Brāhmaṇas (*śāstrīya*) of Manṛinagara, his family being known as Gaṇḍasvāmī-kula (i.e., the lineage of which the progenitor was Gaṇḍasvāmin). As we shall see below, this Brāhmaṇa family belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*. Vidyādharma's son Chulhēśvara is mentioned in verse 6 (lines 8-9) and the next stanza (lines 9-10) speaks of Sagunē (or Gunē), the son of Chulhēśvara and the donee of the charter. It is stated that Sagunē obtained the post of *Śāḍpati* and satisfied his master Bhullēśvara by his services. From verse 8 we learn that Sagunē was devoted both to the goddess Śivā (i.e., Pārvatī, wife of Śiva) and Kēśava (i.e., Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa) while verse 9 states that Bhulladēva dedicated the village of Vagēndī in favour of the said Sagunē belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*. Either the village was situated on the bank of the Ganges or the donor made the grant while he was standing or camping on the river bank.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 311, note 16; Vol. XXXIV, p. 26, note 2. According to tradition, the Chērōs, who now work as coolies and wood-cutters and are reputed for being 'one of the hardest drinking castes', had formerly their own kings having one of their capitals at Bithia. This plain is said to have been occupied by the Rajputs settled at Manjha on the Ghogra in the Saran District, who subdued the Chērōs in a struggle lasting for several centuries. The names of some Chērō rulers are known from traditions. Muslim historians mention a Chērō king named Maharta whose activities covered the road from Bihar to Bengal and whom Shēr Shāh subdued with great difficulty. See *Gazetteer of the Shahabad District*, pp. 19, 21, 162, 166-67, 169-70.

<sup>2</sup> *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 133. The year of his accession is given as A.H. 725 (from the 15th December 1324 A.D. to the 8th December 1325 A.D.). He is believed to have ascended the throne on his father's death about the beginning of that year. This is because the Bāḥālgadh (Damoh District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription, now preserved in the Nagpur Museum and noticed in Hensley's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 1932, p. 59 (No. 106), and *A. & K. Ep.*, 1932-33, pp. 19, 88 (No. 69), is reported to refer the Hijri year 725 to the reign of Ghayathuddin Tughluq Shāh, father of Muḥammad. See *Ep. Ind.—A. P. Suppl.*, 1953-56, pp. 70, 112.



The above account is followed in lines 14-20 by some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (verses 10-18). Verse 19 (lines 20-21) contains Bhūllā's prayer to other kings not to resume the grant made by him.

Verse 20 (lines 21-22) states that the grant was approved by (cf. *anumatri*) Jauṅa who was the chief scribe (*śaṁṭa-janīra*) and the other scribes (officers or ministers). It is difficult to say whether Jauṅa was an officer of Bhūllā or he was Muḥammad Shāh's viceroy of the Shahabad region. But the facts that there are cases of a grant being *anumata* by one of the donor's subordinates<sup>1</sup> and that the second half of the verse speaks of the composition of the *prastāva* (i.e. the document under study, by a Brāhmana poet named Dhyanu, who was probably the court Pandit of Bhūllā, may suggest that Jauṅa was one of Bhūllā's officers. Verse 21 (line 22) says that the copper-plate grant (*tāmrakṣara-pāṭṭala*) was written by Dhānū who was endowed with the qualities of the scribe (*Kāyastha-guṇa-sampanna*). It appears that Dhānū had the qualifications of a scribe but did not belong to the Kāyastha community and that he merely wrote the letters on the plate for facilitating the work of the engraver.

The geographical names mentioned in the epigraph are : (1) Vihāpurī, the capital of the Chērū ruler Bhūllā ; (2) the village of Vagēndī granted by him in favour of his Brāhmana general Saguhā ; (3) the river banks on the bank of which Vagēndī was situated or the donor was standing or camping while making the grant ; and (4) Maḡēmagara whence the donee's family hailed. Of the above names, Maḡēri is no doubt modern Maner in the Dinapur Sub-Division of the Patna District while Vihū is the same as Bihiyā, a railway station in the Shahabad District a few miles to the west of Arrah, the headquarters of the District. Vagēndī is modern Bagān, the headspot of the charter. Maḡhivāra, mentioned in verse 2 (line 3) probably as the original home of Bhūllā's family, may be modern Chandauli-Maḡhwar, a railway station near Mogalsarai, in the Bhahua Sub-Division of the Shahabad District.

#### TEXT

[Metres : Verse 1 *Arjā* ; verses 2-5, 7-9 *Śrīrājavikrīḍita* ; verses 6, 10-19, 21 *Maṁkadhā* ; verse 20 *Uṇṇāḍī*.]

1. śiḍḍham\* ||[\*] śiḍḍhiḥ || āśvagna-jaladhībhuvaṣ rochir-ādhara-pāsa-bhā<sup>2</sup>vanā-maikaṁ(kam) |  
vikanta-mukuhita-maṁḍa-prahasita-nayannā Harit vāhā || [1\*] Vihā-Chēravu-
2. varṇa-bhūṣaṇataya lavdhā(bdh-ā)tiṣṭhā purī<sup>3</sup> vikhyātā dharaṇi<sup>4</sup> nṛpa-kuṭ-śaśā-  
ḥṣa-aṁśaṁśy-śdayāḥ ||[] tan-mukhyā jvalan-śrīka-duḥkhata-
3. mah-śaśr-śakra-śikhi-gurur-śrī-śrī<sup>5</sup> bhūn-Maḡhivāra-śāhara-maḡir-anānnā Parāś mataḥ ||  
[2\*] Tasmāś-śāhara-śrī-śrī-śrī<sup>6</sup> paripatān-nārā-
4. cha-śakra-śāhara-śāhara-śāhatriya-gōma-putra-nivahā. śāhā-durllabhā Durllabhā<sup>7</sup> |  
nāśhāt-śrīva(śrīva)śa-kīrti-maṁḍita-maḡh-śrīśh(śrī) varṇitā gupat-śāhā-
5. namḍita-vaṁśi-śrīhāra-dharaṇiśvāḥ prabhāś-śrīva(śrīva)śa || [3\*] Tat-śāhara-Vihāpurī-  
nara-patīḥ śrīrāva yaśā-bhūṣaṇā bhāga-śāhara-maṁḍa-rakhaṇa-parā-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> From *anumatri*.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> An unnecessary *anumāna* above śāh is deleted by the engraver.

<sup>5</sup> This *śāhā* is unnecessary.

<sup>6</sup> The *śāhā* is engraved above the line.



॥ मिहिः। आनिगिरुनमिन्वन्नुविनामभयवनापरिकविकर्मिन्मुकुलितमंदपुल्लभितयनं हविर्वेदोवांमस्य त्रय  
 वंशेष्टपलनद्यानेत्राप्रिकोःपुनादिष्टानावलीतनेनृपकुलोआदाप्रसौदीदयागतमुष्टु। कृत्तनाहं दुःमहत्त  
 नन्यैवनिशल्यायुते येनोचूमादिवात्रोषत्रभल्लित्वापनाहमतगात्रमादिउविदधेःपत्रिपत्रज्ञा  
 वरुकेल्लतोल्लविश्यात्रपुत्रतिवदः। उमादुर्लभोदुर्लभः। दूरोक्षनको। त्रमंरितमहीप्रक्षोगनिष्ठा। पुल्लोना  
 नोदितसंदिहदयमलोदेवःप्रभावेहानातयुनेतिहोत्राननपत्रिः। यीप्रानयरोचलभमानेकनेयनल्लपनी  
 यत्तेप्रतापावयिनयेनाप्रोमहमेदमाहिलिफादत्रःप्रमादःपत्रमोयातदूतनभूपालतिपथः। योनुज्जरेव  
 सुयोभागदस्त्राप्रिकलेमसमययुल्लम। कौविद्यायज्ञिनेसावाजाहोवदुहलमद्विजोःसंयवेतोः। सवेवेः। यमंमं  
 या। न्मल्लिपत्रप्रमसासनैपावनेज्ञात्रेनकुलेनृषल्लः। मममंवाहोदयायनोवक्ष्मावाः। तस्मादेहोरेवक्ष्माआसामत्रुल्लेख  
 तस्मैतोमिहोरेवोदयादनुदाजं। याकात्रनृषल्लमसुत्रोहोरेकस्मैवर्म्मनित्रतः। यत्रसुलीसुहोदीनाहोपदुर्विक्तोमिम  
 शुतेनास्त्रापमिहजितोमिनापत्यमवाद्यातसुविधयाकायेषुमं। सुवज्जोहः। मगत्रममंकेषुत्रिस्तोनुअथनेप्रतद्या  
 नोक्तयशपयस्यमलममद्येमादनुयवित्रेसुदमेतकेरात्रकथापूजासुनोतिशयः। प्रकुंरेदुममानकोद्विद्यम  
 स्त्रीमनदिशितयापीनामसासदत्तमुक्त्वमयुल्लकेखा। म्रवकुंल्लमगा। रूस्ममदिउज्जरेवहपत्रिमादित्यगोत्रायवशा  
 मयामयुल्लस्यमसुविनेनास्त्रावर्गदीति। तवविर्कमंरुजोवतिनेमंरुजोदुभिः। मयरोनोमोक्षशिनान्नयायदरो  
 भोणात्रदत्रवाता। नृमियाप्रतिशृज्जतिनृमयखेप्रयकमि। उनीतोपुल्लकस्मैलोतिप्रत्रंशृणीमि। नौ। वहुभिः। दि  
 वोदत्तनाज्ञिनेमगमादिभिः। राययुद्धयदासुमिमंशतशतदापल्लः। हदत्रोपत्रदत्रोवादेनेहसुधंशो। मदिज्ञायाश  
 मिमूत्वापिधिनः। मंदपद्येतो। रोषभुद्राशनेकंउवै। नाख्यावनेवानल्लः। नृमिदन्मृवा। वहुनातिफलमेतमुत्रदना। दिन  
 लमल्लिभृक्तानिवसा। नृनलाविवातेनमहमिमिदद्वयेनदत्रोवसुवेनासुवर्ल्लमकाशमकोममंनयधंमगुलोहने  
 दोनेकमात्रोमिद्यावेदाहतेमम्रवातेदागतोमद्वयल्लयेखमधरातेनवागवोकोटिप्रदानेननृमिहन्नानयुयात्रा। व  
 शिवसमदस्त्राप्रिकलेमसमिदमदपत्रकेत्रोमोनुमंशवानन्यवतनकुवमंता। वाभिहोनेषुनलोषुयुक्तकोटनवा  
 मनेः। सुखमपाः। प्रजोयहोदववेष्मसिहोति। हज्जमिन्नेविश्याः। पुत्रेयोकावेनेतो  
 होवासीसुदिनोकेनो। दानानुमंशोकोनसुवी। तस्मैलोमयः। राविदेः। ममंरुजोमिनेनशवकोमंरुजोकातेनो  
 भापुतोमंमुदील्लेनायोमानोहनिनेदे। नमसासनेपदेकोपा। यस्यायुगमपत्रोयअथः। मंशुवमील्लो। यमंमं











- 19 *śhṭai(śhṭi)-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggaṃ vasati bhūmidah | āchekhhātā ch=ānumantā cha-tāoy=ōva*  
*narakā vasāta(śēt) || [17\*] Vāri-hinēshv=aragyēshu sushka-kōjara-vā-*
- 20 *ainah ||\** *kṛishgasarpṇah prajāyantē dēva-vra(brahma-sva-hāriṇah || [18\*] Iti matvā na*  
*hartavyā dēja-bhūmic=nnarādhipāḥ | Bhūllēsō yāchstē rājā*
- 21 *kṛitē saṃpuṭṭau karau || [19\*] Dān-ānumantā karapa-pravīrah śri-Jaṇpa-samjñah ka(sa)-*  
*chīyāḥ samētah | praśastim=ētasya chakāra viprah śri-Dhyāna-nā-*
- 22 *mā sukaviḥ suśilah || [20\*] Śrīmāna(mān) Dhōnā lilākh=ēdam tāmra-sāsana<sup>1</sup>-paṭṭakam(kam) |*  
*Kāyastha<sup>2</sup>-gupa-saṃpannō vra(brahmaṇyaḥ sat-savatsalāḥ || [21\*] śubham=astu [1\*]*
- 23 <sup>3</sup>*Siddham<sup>4</sup> ||\** *Sam 1381 Jyaishṭha-śudi 10 Ravau ||*

<sup>1</sup> Read ānuma.

<sup>2</sup> We may also read *Kāyastha (sthā)* and suggest that Dhāna belonged to the Kāyastha Community.

<sup>3</sup> This is a vertically written line engraved in the left margin.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.



## No. 18—PENUGONDA PLATES OF HASTIVARMAN

( 1 Plate )

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.7.1960)

This inscription is engraved on a set of five plates, discovered at the village of Penugonda in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh. It was secured by the late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundry, who sent it for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in February 1953. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, as No. A 14.

The plates, which are thin, measure each about 9 inches in length and 1·9 inches in height. They are held together by a ring (·3 inch in thickness) passing through a hole (·5 inch in diameter) in the left margin of the plates. The ring had not been cut when the inscription reached the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. The second, third and fourth plates bear their respective numbers in the left margin on the obverse. The joint of the ring is soldered to an elliptical seal which bears the figure of an animal facing proper right and a legend, both very much obliterated. The animal seems to be a bull and the legend apparently contained the name of the donor of the charter, viz. king Hastivarma, although, of the five *aksharas* in which it was written (probably *śrī-Hastivarmā*), only the two at the beginning can be read as *śrī-Ha*. The first and fifth plates are written on the inner side while the other plates have writing on both the sides. The weight of the five plates together is 54 tolas and that of the ring with the seal 22½ tolas.

Excepting the second side of the fourth plate and the inner side of the fifth, which have each three lines of writing, the other inscribed faces of the plates have only two lines each. Thus there are altogether eighteen lines of writing in the whole inscription. Individual letters, excluding *a*, *r*, etc., as also the conjuncts and the consonants endowed with vowel marks, are generally a little less than half an inch in height.

The palaeography of the inscription under study generally resembles that of such records of about the middle of the fourth century A. D. as the Kāṅkollu (Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh) plates<sup>1</sup> of the Śālaṅkīyana king Nandivarman I and there are some expressions common to both the records, though the language and orthography of the present epigraph may suggest a date slightly later than that of the Kāṅkollu plates. As regards palaeography, the inscription uses the initial vowels *a* (lines 3, 5, 10, 17 and 18), *ā* (line 12) and *āḥ* (line 6) as well as symbols for the numbers 2, 3 and 4. The mark of punctuation is indicated by a small vertical stroke in line 13 (cf. the somewhat bigger marks in the double *daṣṭa* in line 14) and by a small curved stroke opening towards the right in line 16.

As regards language, it may be pointed out that, while the Kāṅkollu plates are written partly in Prakrit and partly in Sanskrit, our epigraph is couched in Prakrit, Sanskrit and an admixture of both the languages. The Prakrit used in both these records is what may be called the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff. and Plates. See also the Bhīṣṭakṣāra grant (below, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 1 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Macrop over *a* and *o* has not been used in this notation.



later inscriptional Prakrit characterised by the reduplication of consonants.<sup>1</sup> But, while Sanskrit is used in the Kānukollu plates only in the imprecatory and benedictory sections containing a few stanzas at the end of the charter, our inscription not only has the corresponding section in Sanskrit verse but uses Sanskrit words elsewhere in the Prakrit section as well. By way of illustration, we may refer to the two expressions in the passage *dharm-āy-bala-viuddhas-uttam* *śar-nayan-ārthasācā* in line 4, in which the first expression is in Prakrit and the second in Sanskrit. In *nānā-gotra-charana-tapa-sajjāya-homa-vrata-niyama-ratānak* in lines 6-7, *gotra* and *vrata* are typical Sanskrit words in an otherwise Prakrit compound expression, while, in the passage *yojana-yājan-ādhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-choḥkarmma-niradānak* in lines 9-10, *nirada* (Sanskrit *nirata*) is a typical Prakrit word in a Sanskrit compound. It will be seen that *ta* and *dāya* of Sanskrit have been retained in *rata* and *ādhyayan-ādhyāpana* respectively but have been modified respectively in *nirada* (Sanskrit *virata*) and *sajjāya* (Sanskrit *sādhya*). The above quotations will show that the influence of Sanskrit in the language and orthography of our epigraph is more pronounced than on the language of records of the type of the Kānukollu plates. The language of the present inscription thus represents the final stage of Prakrit in South Indian epigraphy before its complete supersession by Sanskrit about the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Our inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the fourth century on the grounds of palaeography, language and orthography.

A few other points regarding the orthography and language of the inscription may also be mentioned here. Both *ṣ* and *ṣa* have been indiscriminately used in the inscription, and *dh* has been reduplicated in conjunction with *y* in *ādhyayan-ādhyāpana* in line 9. For what look like *śaśāḍa* in line 17 and *\*gupaḍa* in line 2, *chaski* and *gupaḍa* (for Sanskrit *gopaḥa*) were really intended, the second of the two words exhibiting the Dravidian tendency to non-aspiration. In *vayapana* (Sanskrit *vachanena*) in line 3 and *panayapa* (Sanskrit *parachana*) in line 8, *cha* has been changed to *ya* by the process of the elision of the consonant and the substitution of the remaining *a* by *ya*. The letter *k* has been similarly changed to *y* in *\*yathamiyaya* (Sanskrit *\*yathamakāyā*) in line 13. But *niradānak* in line 10 exhibits the modification of a *\*urd (ū)* to *sonant (d)*. In *ppamuka* (Sanskrit *pramukha*) in lines 5-6 and *sa-muk-ā* (Sanskrit *sa-mukh-ā*) in line 14, *kā* has been changed to *k* and, in *pariharatha* (Sanskrit *pariharatha*) in line 12, *kā* has been modified to *dā*. The words *niraga* and *chhandovichita* (line 8) have been used in the senses of the medical and metrical sciences respectively.

The inscription is dated in the regnal reckoning of the donor. Unfortunately the word indicating the year of his reign in line 13 is rubbed off, though from the traces of the letters on the impressions it can probably be restored as *dabē*, i.e. 2. The other details of the date are: the eighth of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyeshtha (*āṣṭamīyaya* Sanskrit *āṣṭamīyāyām*), Bhādrapada-nakshatra. Whether the nakshatra was Pūrva or Uttara Bhādrapada is not specified in the record though the position of the nakshatra shows that the month was *amānta*. It is interesting to note that, even though the charter was issued probably in the king's second regnal year, he was then a hundred years old (cf. *vāsa-sat-āyukha* Sanskrit *vāsa-sat-āyukha* in line 2). The circumstances leading to his accession to the throne at such an advanced age cannot, of course, be determined without further light on the subject.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the mention of the victorious [city of] Jayapura whence the charter was issued. Lines 1-3 state that it was issued in the words of Mahārāja Hastivarman who was a hundred years old and was devoted to Bhagavat Nārāyaṇa, while lines 3-8 show that the king's order in respect of the grant was addressed to the villagers

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Abbott, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.



(*grāma*-Sanskrit *grāma*, literally 'a village', used here in the sense of *grāmagāka*) of Mulukali in the *dhāra* (district) of Kāntara, headed by their *mutuḥa* (*mutuḥa*, no doubt meaning 'the village headman'), and that the grant was made for the increase of the virtue (*dharma*), longevity and strength of the king, for his passage to heaven (*sva-rayaṇa*) and for his attainment of religious merit. The donees of the grant, described in lines 5-10, were sixty Brāhmaṇas whose names are not enumerated. They are, however, stated to have belonged to various *gotras* and *charaṇas* and to have been engaged in penance (*tapas*), recitation of sacred texts (*svādhyāya*), offering of oblations to gods (*homa*), observance of vows (*vratas*) and religious austerities (*niyama*) as well as in the six duties enjoined on a Brāhmaṇa (*choḥ-karman*), viz. *yajana* (offering sacrifices), *yājana* (conducting sacrifices), *adhyayana* (study), *adhyāpana* (teaching), *dāna* (charity) and *pratiṅgraha* (receipt of gifts) and were also experts in the *vedas*, *vedāṅga*, *śikṣā* (tradition), *śāstra*, *āyoga* (medical science), *śākhā-śikṣā* (metrics) and *pramāṇa* (exposition). The concluding part of the sentence in lines 10-11 states that the grant of the village was made to the said Brāhmaṇas as *śikṣā* for what is called *prathama-kalyāṇa* that they must have performed for the king. The word *kalyāṇa* here no doubt means a ceremony to bring health or prosperity to the king while the adjective *prathama* suggests that it was the first of a series which the king contemplated to perform. Unfortunately the exact nature of the ceremony cannot be determined. It is, however, interesting to note that, although the increase of the donor's longevity was one of the objects of the grant, another object was his passage to heaven. This latter, when considered along with the fact that the donor was a hundred years old at the time of making the grant, suggests that the charter was issued when the king was afraid of death in the near future. The prayer for longevity, however, precludes the possibility of the case being exactly similar to that recorded in the Rāṣaśāhī (Sondarban) plate of Dommanspala.<sup>1</sup>

The residents and the headman of the gift village were ordered to exempt the village with the customary exemptions of obstacles for the sake of the *devatā* probably meaning the god Nārāyaṇa to whom the king was devoted (lines 11-12) while the donees were expected to enjoy the gift permanently (lines 12-13). It is possible to think from the reference to the god in this connection that the god Nārāyaṇa was worshipped in a temple at Jayapura which the king visited on pilgrimage and that the *kalyāṇa* ceremony, on the occasion of which the grant was made, was performed in the said temple. It further suggests that many of the donees were associated with the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Jayapura.

The date of the charter, already discussed above, is quoted in lines 13-14 where it is also stated that the grant was executed under orders of the king himself (*sa-mukh-āpatti*-Sanskrit *sa-mukhā-āpatti*). This is followed in lines 14-15 by two of the usual imperatory and benedictory stanzas. The document ends with the mention of *Amāta* (probably, a minister) Jayasvāmin who appears to have been its writer.

The inscription does not offer any indication regarding the dynasty to which king Hastivarman belonged. But, about the time in question, the Śālaśākyaṇas of Vēṅgi (modern Pedda-Vēgi near Eluru in the West Godavari District) are known to have been ruling over the region between the lower courses of the Kṛishṇā and Godāvari rivers and it is possible to think of the identification of our Hastivarman with one of the two known Hastivarmans of the Śālaśākyaṇa family, viz. (1) Hastivarman I who was probably a contemporary of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) and flourished about the middle of the fourth century A.D., and (2) Hastivarman II who was a son (probably the eldest son) of Nandivarman I (the donor of the Kārukollā plates

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 42 ff.



referred to above) and the grandson of Hastivarman I and is known from the Kāṇḍakollu copper-plate inscription of his own son Śaṇḍavarman, which is written in the Sanskrit language. Since the language of our inscription, as indicated above, stands midway between that of the Kāṇḍakollu Prakrit plates of Nandivarman I and the Sanskrit plate of Śaṇḍavarman from the same place, it is probably better to identify our Hastivarman with Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman II.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that the known Śālaṅkāyana charters are all issued from the city of Vāṅḍī which was the capital of the Śālaṅkāyana kings and that these rulers are generally represented in their records specifically as Śālaṅkāyana and also as devoted to Bhagavat Chitrarathasvāmin. As regards the mention of the kings as Śālaṅkāyana and the reference to the god Chitrarathasvāmin, it may be pointed out that the Kāṇḍakollu copper-plate inscription of Nandivarman I, one of the earliest known Śālaṅkāyana charters, does not contain any such references. The said elements thus appear to have been popularised in the records of the family at a later date. Their absence in a charter of one who appears to have been the immediate successor of Nandivarman I is thus not unintelligible. As regards the issue of our grant from Jayapura instead of Vāṅḍī, it has to be noticed that the charter may not have been issued from the capital of the donor, but, as indicated above, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Jayapura.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are [the city of] Jayapura, the district of Kāñira and [the village of] Mulukuli. I am not sure about the exact location of any of them. Mulukuli, however, reminds us of Mulukalagalli in the Nagur Taluk to the West of the Madras District.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

1 Siddham\* [(\*)] Vijaya-Jayapura bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-charaṇa-graviṇḍa-

2 rajo-yagnodita<sup>1</sup> śrāma vīra-ant-āyukāśa mahārāja-vīri-

#### Second Plate, First Side

3

3 Hatthivarmmaśa varagana Kāñira-ādhira appaga<sup>2</sup>

4 dhūma-āyā-bala-rivaddha-attabhi<sup>3</sup> śar-paṇḍa-attabhi-cha-

#### Second Plate, Second Side

5 amha<sup>4</sup>-punn-appāyana-nimitta Mulukuli<sup>5</sup>-mudnda-ppamu-

6 hā(hā) gāma iddipitavve [(\*)] etam g[ā]maṁ nānā-gotra-charana-

\* Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading is \* *gavita* for Sanskrit *gavita*.

<sup>4</sup> This is inscribed on the left margin to the left of the ring hole.


<sup>5</sup> The passage from *appamu* here to *nimitta* in line 5 should properly be read in the next sentence, beginning with *dot* in line 6.

<sup>6</sup> The reading may be *amha* also.


<sup>7</sup> The word *gāma* seems to have been omitted here through the oversight of the scribe or engraver. Cf. *mulukalagalli-Nandivarman charters* *Pidāp-pāṇḍa mudnda-ppamu*, *amha*, etc., in lines 7-8 of the Kāṇḍakollu plates of Nandivarman I.




2


 ॐ ह्रीं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः


4


 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः

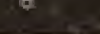
6


 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः

8


 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः




 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

† ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

The image shows a close-up of a palm-leaf manuscript. The leaf is dark brown and has a circular hole on the left side. Two lines of handwritten text in Tamil script are visible. The first line reads "சுருதி யமு வந்த னுந் திருவாய் மொழி நயம்". The second line reads "மேலும் பார்த்துக் கொள்ளுமின் உபதீபனம் சுவாமிநாதர்".



*Third Plate, First Side*3<sup>1</sup>

7 tapa-sajjāya-homa-vrata-mayama-ratāgam veda-vedāṅg-eti-

8 hīsa-putāya-siroga-chikandovichita-pavayaya-paragāman

*Third Plate, Second Side*

9 rajana-yāpan-śodhayan-śodhyāpana-dāna-pratigraba-śatka-

10 mama-niradāpana sajjhi-Bamha<sup>2</sup>pāpan ambehi prathama*Fourth Plate, First Side*4<sup>1</sup>

11 kalyāṇa-dakṣiṇa-nimitta sam[pa]dattam [[\*] tam devat-stha(t)hojya

12 akra-bādha-parihārahi pariharadha [[\*] ā-śanda-tarakad

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*13 bhūjanta | [dabe<sup>1</sup> sa]vachchhara(rā) Jeṭṭha-māsa-kāl-aṭṭhamiyaya14 sa<sup>2</sup>-maḥ-āyatī<sup>3</sup> Bhadrapada-naksha[tre] sampadattam | Babubhū<sup>4</sup>-vva-15 dhā dattā balmbhū<sup>5</sup>-ch-ān[upāli]t[ā] [[\*]*Fifth Plate*16 yaaya yaaya yadā [bhū]mi-taaya taya tadā phalam [[\*] ]<sup>6</sup>17 Shashdi(śhi)-varsha-śha[s]r[ā]ṇi svagā(rgga) modati [bhū]midaḥ [[\*] apaharītā ch-ānu-  
mantā cha<sup>7</sup>18 tkranamarakam-pi[ch]chhati [[\*] amōtys-Jayas(v)āmi(mi)nā<sup>8</sup> [[\*]

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-6) 'Let there be success! From the victorious **Jayapura**, the villagers of **Malukuli** in the **Kānta** district, besied by (their) **mukha**, should be addressed in the (following) words of the illustrious **Mahārāja Hastivarman** who is one hundred years old and whose head is covered

<sup>1</sup> This is engraved in the left margin on a level a little above that of the ring hole.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *śha* had been incised; but the *ś*-stroke was rubbed off.

<sup>3</sup> This is engraved in the left margin to the left of the ring hole.

<sup>4</sup> These two *śh*-strokes are badly rubbed off.

<sup>5</sup> This *śh*-stroke has been incised to the left of the ring hole.

<sup>6</sup> The intended expression seems to be 'devotion'.

<sup>7</sup> The metre of this stanza and the following one is *Anuṣṭup*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *yaaya yaaya yadā bhūmi-taaya taya tadā phalam* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>9</sup> This line begins from below the middle of the previous line.

<sup>10</sup> The *yaaya* (and) *śh*-strokes seem to have been omitted for want of space at the end of the line.



with the pollens of the lotus that is the feet of Lord Nārāyaṇa : "For the increase of our virtue, longevity and strength and for our passage to heaven, (and also) for our attainment of religious merit,—

(Lines 6-11) this village is granted by us, as the *dotshina* of the first *śaigṣa* (ceremony), to the sixty Brāhmaṇas (i.e. the priests who performed the ceremony) who belong to various *gotras* and *śāstras* ; who are engaged in penance, recitation of sacred texts, offering of oblations to gods, observance of vows and religious austerities ; who are experts in the *veda*, *vedāṅga*, tradition (*śūdra*), *purāṇa*, medical science (*airoga*), metrical science (*śāstra-śāstra*) and the exposition of texts (*pramāṇa*) ; and who are (*śāstra*) engaged in the six duties (of the Brāhmaṇas, such as) study, teaching, offering sacrifices, conducting sacrifices, charity and receipt of gifts.

(Lines 11-14) Exempt the said (village), for the god's (i.e. Nārāyaṇa's) sake, with all exemptions from obstacles. Let (the donors) enjoy (it) as long as the moon and stars endure. (It) is given by orders from our own mouth on the dark eighth (i.e. the eighth of the dark fortnight) of the month of Jyeshṭha when the nakshatra is Bhādrapada and the (regnal) years are (to be counted as) two."

(Lines 14-16) (Two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.)

(Line 18) (Written) by Aradya Jayasvāmin.



## No. 19—GRANT OF KADAMBA MRIGESAVARMAN, YEAR 2

(I Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 26.2.1969)

A set of photographs of the copper-plate inscription, which is edited below, was obtained by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra for the office of the Government Epigraphist for India about the end of 1957. The plates were found somewhere in the old Mysore State; but I have no information as to their findspot and the circumstances leading to their discovery. The set consists of **three** plates each measuring about 5.6" long and 3.5" broad. There is a hole on the left margin of each plate for the ring to pass through and a **seal**, oval in shape and measuring about 1.3" by 1", is attached to the ring. The counter-sunk surface of the seal contains the figure of an animal which cannot be made out from the photograph. The weight of the set is not recorded.

The first and third plates are engraved on one side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. The first plate and the two sides of the second plate have each 4 lines of writing while the third plate contains 5 lines. Thus there are 17 lines of writing in all. The letters are boldly and deeply cut and the writing is very well preserved.

The **characters** are the box-headed variety of the Southern type and closely resemble those of the Hahā<sup>1</sup> and the Devagiri<sup>2</sup> plates of king Mrigēśavarman who issued the present charter. Of the initial vowels, *a* occurs in lines 6, 8 and 11 while *u* is found in line 16. Medial *i* is indicated by a curve inside the loop. Final *o* occurs in lines 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14 and 17. The **language** is Sanskrit, and, except an imprecatory verse at the end, the text is in prose. Of grammatical interest is the rare use of the *Parasmaipada* form *plavati* in lines 9 and 10. In respect of **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is doubled.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Vijaya-Sīva-Mrigēśavarman** of the Kadamba dynasty and registers gifts of some lands made by him to the Brāhmanas Rudrārya and Nandārya of the Bhārgava *gōtra*. The king has the usual epithets found in his other grants and there can be no doubt about his identity with Mrigēśavarman, the eldest son and successor of Śāntivarman and the grandson of Kākaśavarman. He is also called *paramabrahmanya* in our record.

The chief interest of the inscription lies in its **date** which is given as the **tenth day** of the **fourth fortnight** of **Hārmanā** in the king's **second regnal year**. This is the **earliest** inscription of Mrigēśavarman discovered so far. Till now the Devagiri<sup>3</sup> plates of his third year were regarded as the earliest record. I have shown elsewhere<sup>4</sup> that Mrigēśavarman may be referred to the period 450-75 A.D.

The gift consisted of two plots of land: one within the limits of the village **Kōgulipōguya** which was situated in **Antarmalaya-rājya**; and the other, within the limits of **Vālpālī** and **Pōttara** which were also apparently included in the same territorial unit. The extent of both the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 24-25 and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 37-38 and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. Or. Res.* (Madras), Vol. XVII, pp. 39 ff. For another suggestion regarding Mrigēśavarman's date, see Sircar, *Proc. Ind. Soc.*, pp. 234-36.



fields was as far as the water would flow. Probably there was a stream or a rivulet in both the places and the land irrigated by the water of the stream was granted. The field is called *pukkōlli* *āshūra* in both the places. The expression *pukkōlli* occurs in some other grants of this period and though its exact significance is not known, I have suggested that it may mean a 'kind of field'.<sup>1</sup> This suggestion is strengthened by the present inscription where the context in which the expression *pukkōlli* occurs shows that it is a kind of cultivable wet land.

Antarmalaya-rājya as well as Kōgulipōguyapalli, Vēllalli and Pōttara, which were situated by it, cannot be identified.

Text<sup>2</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Śiddham<sup>3</sup> || Vijaya-Vaijayantyaṃ(ntyām) Svāmi-mahāśāna-mātri-gaṇ-ā-
- 2 mūddhyāt-ābhāhikṭāya<sup>4</sup> Māmārya-śaṅṭrāya Hārītī-
- 3 putrāya pratikṛita-chaṇḍehā-pārasya Kadambhānām(nām)
- 4 dharmma-mahārājāya śrī-Vijaya-Siva-Mṛigēśavarmanṇaḥ

## Second Plate, First Side

- 5 vijaya-vaijayikāḥ sāmivva(va)tsarāḥ dvitīyāḥ Hēmanṭa-pakṣaḥ
- 6 cchaturtthāḥ tithir-ādaśamī anay-ānupūrvyē brāhmaṇābhyām
- 7 Bhārgava-śaṅṭrābhyām(bhyām) va-śāhāra-sampannābhyām(bhyām) Rudrāryya-
- 8 Nandīāryyābhyām Antarmmalaya-rājyē Kōgulipōguya-pallī(y)līli<sup>5</sup>

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 śāma yāvad-āpaḥ plava(m\*)ji tāvat-pukkōlli-kahṭtram(tram) Vēlpalli-
- 10 Pōttarayōḥ śāma cha yāvad-āpaḥ pūrvat(m\*)ji tāvad-ēvaṃ
- 11 pukkōlli-kahṭtram aṅka-jamāntar-āpārjita-tubha-samākāra(h)
- 12 va-viśuddha-pitṛi-mātri-vamśaḥ n-āika-vīdha-pradāna-ditṛaḥ parama-brahmaṇya(h)

## Third Plate

- 13 Dharmma-mahārājāḥ Śrī-Mṛigēśavarmanṇā dattavān-ātma-krīyā-bhyudaya-
- 14 nimittam(ttam) sarva-parihāṭṭaḥ brahmaṇya-samayēna (I\*)
- 15 yō-bhīrakahati sa tat-puṇya-phala-bhāg-bhavati yō bhātī sa
- 16 mahāpātaka-yuktō bhavati || uktaśāśha (I\*) Bahubhīr-vamśilī bhuktā
- 17 rājābhīr-Śāgav-ādibhīḥ (I\*) yasya yasya yadō bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā pha(lam) ||

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 218. For another suggestion regarding *pukkōlli* see above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> From the photographs.

<sup>3</sup> This word is written about the beginning of the second line.

<sup>4</sup> There is an unnecessary hook-like mark after *apa*.

<sup>5</sup> [The reading is *Kōgulī-Pōguya-pāllīyā*.—E.A.]



2

1  
 2  
 3  
 4

II, a

6

5  
 6  
 7  
 8

II, b

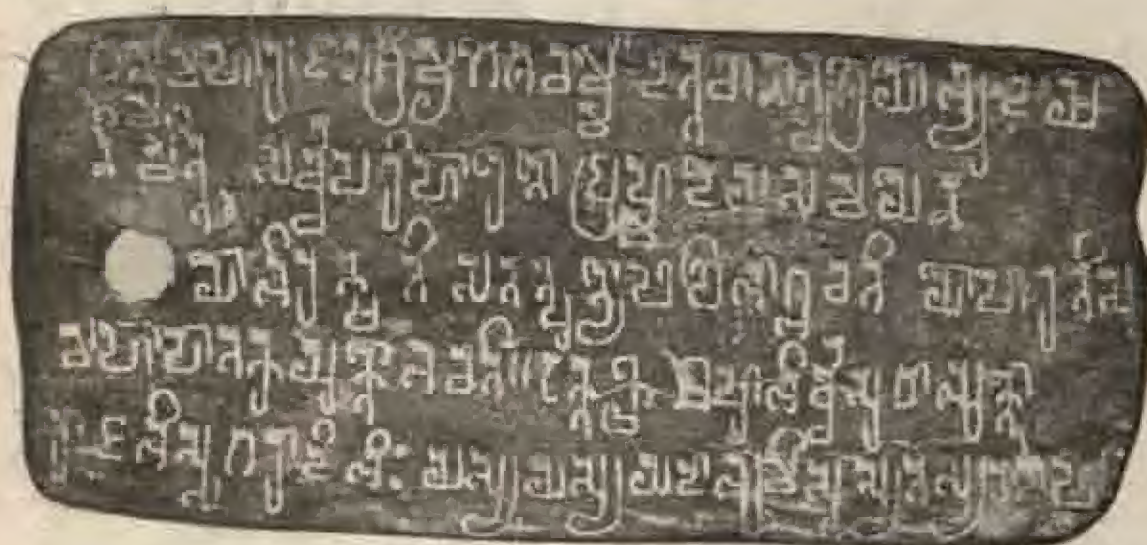
10

9  
 10  
 11  
 12

10

12





SEAL



(from Photographus)



The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar  
before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. GARY  
*Government Geographer for India.*



No. 20—SPURIOUS GRANT OF GAHADEVALA VIJAYACHANDRA, VIKRAMA 1223

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 25.1.1961)

The Tārāchandi rock inscription<sup>1</sup> of king Pratāpādhavāla of Jūpila, dated Vikrama 1223, Jyēṣṭha vadi 3, Wednesday (16th April 1169 A.D.), records the interesting fact that the Brāhmanas of Suvarṇahala or Svārṇahala secured a forged grant in respect of the two villages of Kalahandi and Badayilā by bribing Deū who was an officer of king Vijayachandra of Gādhinagara or Kanyakubja, i.e. the Gāhaḍavāla king of that name who ruled in c. 1155-70 A.D. In this record, Pratāpādhavāla advised his descendants not to recognise the spurious document but to collect revenues and tolls from the two villages as usual. Suvarṇahala or Svārṇahala (modern Sūnahar), Kalahandi (modern Karvaṇḍiyā) and Badayilā (modern Bamilā) are localities near Tārāchandi about three miles from Sasaram in the Shahabad District of Bihar. Thanks to the energy of Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, the forged grant issued in the name of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra to the Brāhmanas of Suvarṇahala (Svārṇahala) has been recently secured by him from the house of an inhabitant of Sūnahar. In August 1960, Mr. Sohoni kindly allowed me to copy the inscription at his residence at Patna.

It is a single plate measuring 17 inches in length and 12.6 inches in height and having writing on both obverse and reverse. There are twenty-six lines of writing on the first side and only ten lines on the second. No seal is affixed to the plate, though we have a hole (6 inch in diameter) in the centre of its upper part disturbing the continuity of the writing of lines 1-3 on the obverse.

In respect of **paleography**, **language** and **style**, the inscription closely resembles other Gāhaḍavāla charters including those of Vijayachandra himself.<sup>2</sup> As regards **orthography**, it may be said that class nasals have been more often used than anusvāra.

The interesting fact about the writing of the grant under study is that the *akṣaras* in many cases have been inaccurately formed so that often the sign of one *akṣara* looks like that of another or of no *akṣara* at all. In this respect, the present inscription has a close similarity with the Varanasi plate<sup>3</sup> of the Kalachuri king Karna (1041-71 A.D.). This peculiar feature of Karna's grant is explained by the fact that it was issued by the king when he was performing his father's annual *śrāddha* ceremony at Prayāga on the Vēṇī (Trivēṇī near Allahabad). When the king was far away from his capital, no experienced engraver may have been available to him and he had probably to engage a local goldsmith who failed to read the draft of the record prepared by an officer of the king and shaped the *akṣaras* as he believed to have seen them in the draft. Similar seems to have been the case with the grant under study. Its draft, probably prepared by Deū known from the Tārāchandi inscription to have been an officer of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra and to have been bribed by the Brāhmanas of Suvarṇahala (Svārṇahala) for securing the forged

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A grant of Govindachandra and another of Vijayachandra have been recently published in this journal. See Vol. XXXIII, pp. 176 ff. and Plate facing p. 180; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 233 ff. (without illustration). For two other copper-plate charters of Vijayachandra, see above, Vol. IV, p. 117; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.



charter, appears to have been given for engraving to an ordinary goldsmith having little experience in this kind of work and he shaped the aksharas as he thought fit. The engravers in both these cases appear to have had very little education.

The peculiar nature of the writing discussed above renders it difficult to prepare an accurate transcript of the inscription, though the introductory and concluding parts of the record are similar to the corresponding sections of the other known charters of Vijayachandrita, referred to above. As will be seen below, the date of the grant is quoted as **Vikrama 1223, Bhādra sudi 9, Monday**. This corresponds regularly to Monday, the 5th September 1166 A.D., the year being current and the month Nija-Bhādrapada.

The inscription begins with what was meant to be a *śiṅgha* symbol followed by the auspicious expression *śamśi*. This is followed by twelve stanzas already known from the other records of Gāhādavāla Vijayachandra though they are engraved in an indifferent way as indicated above : (1) *Aditya-śikha-Varaṇaśa*, etc. (line 1) ; (2) *Āśid=Āśitadya*, etc. (lines 1-2) ; (3) *Tal-sat=bbān=Mahachandra*, etc. (lines 2-3) ; (4) *Tasy-ābhāt=tatagā*, etc. (lines 3-4) ; (5) *Tirthānī Kāśi-Kaśī-Śiva*, etc. (lines 4-5) ; (6) *Tasy-ālmaj=Madanapāla*, (lines 5-6) ; (7) *Tasy-āśid=Vijaya-prajāpā*, etc. (lines 6-8) ; (8) *Tasmād=ajāpala vij-āyata-bāha*, etc. (lines 8-9) ; (9) *Na katham=apya=alābhanta*, etc. (line 9) ; (10) *Ajaya Vijayachandra*, etc. (lines 9-10) ; (11) *Loka-tray-ākramana-kāśi*, etc. (lines 11-12) ; and (12) *Yasmani=chalaty=śadāśi*, etc. (line 12).

The above section in verse is followed by a passage in prose as known from the other charters of Vijayachandra, in which the reigning monarch is represented as the successor (cf. *pūṭ-dan-dhyāta*) of **Govindachandra** who was himself the successor of **Madanapāla**, the successor of **Chandra**.<sup>1</sup> Then follows the grant proper. The king's order in respect of the grant is addressed to the inhabitants of **Kirihindī** together with **Badaṣṭā** situated in the **Saputrāra paṭṭāl** as well as to a host of subordinates and officers, whose list is similar to that generally found in the records of the Gāhādavālas. It will be seen that **Badaṣṭā** and **Kalahaṣṭī** of Pratāpachavala's epigraph have been written here as **Badaṣṭā** and **Kirihindī**. The second name may be a mistake for **Kalahaṣṭī**, though the modern form of the name, viz. *Karahaṣṭī*, would suggest that **Kirihindī** or **Karahaṣṭī** was an alternative form. The name of the *paṭṭāl* or district of Saputrāra is not known from any other source and it is difficult to say whether it has been correctly written.

The passage quoting the date of the grant in lines 21-22 reads as : *śiṅghaspatiro-vāḍapa-antarā-kāśi-śiṅghapāṭi māhī śita-ṛakāśi bhavatyā tigha Bhāra-dāś apāṭi=pi sam 1223 Śāpro-sudi 9 Śoma Śimhanāśi saritāri*. The intended reading for this was apparently : *trayōvīṇatya-adhika-āśādika-lata saritāntari Bhādrapāṭi māhī śita-ṛakāśi nayanānā-tūhau Śoma-dina nāhāt=pi sam 1223 Bhādra-sudi 9 Śomā Śimhanāśi saritāri*. The charter is thus purported to have been issued on Monday, the 9th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year [Vikrama] 1223 when the sun was in the Śiṅha rāśi. This date corresponds to the 5th September 1166 A.D. as indicated above.

The following passage in lines 23-25 states in the style of the Gāhādavāla charters that the grant was made by the king after having taken a bath in the waters of the **Ganges at Vārāṇasī** for the merit and fame of his parents and himself. The donors of the grant are mentioned in line 25 in the passage : *Sonahala-grāma-nivāsi-puṇḍrīścharaṇa-lākhāḥpi mātā-gaurīlāḥ Vratnāyika* for which the intended reading is no doubt *Svarṇahala-grāma-nivāsi-mātā-cīda-charaṇa-lākhāḥpi mātā-gaurīlāḥ Brāhmarābhāṇa*. Thus the grant is purported to have been made in favour of the

<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions of the Gāhādavāla family generally quote his name as *Chandraditya*, though his own records sometimes give it both as *Chandraditya* and *Chandradityapala*. See above, Vol. XIV, pp. 194 (text line 14) and 198 (text line 9) ; but of Vol. IX, p. 504 (text lines 4 and 7).



**Brāhmanas of Svargahala**, who belonged to various *gōtras*, *charanas* and *kūṭhās*. The name *Sonahala*, as found in our record, is a modification of *Svargahala* or *Sourghala* noticed in the Tārāhapāṭī inscription. It is thus these Brāhmanas who were charged by king Pratāpadevāla of Jājala with the possession of a forged document fabricated with the help of an officer of the Gāhaḍavāla king.

After advising the inhabitants of the gift villages to pay the royal dues to the donors (line 26), a number of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 27-33. The language of this section also resembles that of the corresponding part of other Gāhaḍavāla charters. The last line of the record (line 36) reads: *likhitaṃ śikhaṃ tīprakhaṃ mahāśhapatalika-ghora-śrī-Śrīpatika-śrī* no doubt standing for *likhitaṃ śikhaṃ tīprakhaṃ mahāśhapatalika-ṭhakkara-śrī-Śrīpatika-śrī*. Thus the charter is purported to have been written by the *Mahāśhapatalika-ṭhakkara-Śrīpati*. The same *Mahāśhapatalika-ṭhakkara-Śrīpati* is known from a number of inscriptions of Govindachandra (c. 1114-35 A.D.) and Jayachandra (c. 1170-83 A.D.),<sup>1</sup> though his name does not occur in the published records of Vijayachandra himself who was the successor of the former and predecessor of the latter.<sup>2</sup>

It will be seen that the present grant was forged in September 1166 A.D. and Pratāpadevāla declared it to be spurious in April 1169 A.D. Apparently the Brāhmanas of Svargahala exposed themselves when they had presented the forged document to the officers who went to collect taxes for the villages of Baḷayālā or Baḷaiālā and Kalahapāṭī or Kirihindī on behalf of Pratāpadevāla. It is of course not clear whether Pratāpadevāla was a subordinate of Vijayachandra or ousted Gāhaḍavāla rule from what is called *Saputrāra-pattalā*, i.e. the modern Sasaram Subdivision of the Shahabad District. We can see, however, that the exposure of the Brāhmanas' crime does not come soon after the winter (i.e. the harvesting season when taxes were generally collected) of the years 1167 and 1168 A.D. This may be explained by the supposition that the overthrow of Gāhaḍavāla rule by Pratāpadevāla from the area in question took place after the winter of 1168 A.D. or that the Brāhmanas were hesitating for some time to put up their claim to the two villages on the authority of the forged document. It is also possible that the tax-collectors were originally deceived successfully by the culprits who were caught after sometime.

The **geographical names** occurring in the inscription have already been discussed above.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

#### *Charters*

- 1 *Siddham*<sup>4</sup> paṃ(ṣ) khabhṭi(ṣvaṣṭi) || Akṇṭh-ō(t\*)kaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭha-piṭha-quṭu(ṭha)karah || sa(n\*)ratuḥ(mbhah) surat-ārabhṭe(mbhē) sa āripaḥ(yuh) bhūna(ārāya)śe=sa(stu) rah(vah) || 1\* *Āśid*=*Āśi*(M)tagu(dyuti)-kadibha(vadhā)-jāta-nmā(kahmā)pāla-
- 2 māṭṣu divam gatāu || sṭvādn(kshād=Vi)vasphāra(svān=i)va bhūri-dhatammā(dhāmmā) nāmnā *Yasōvipa(gra)ha* itpu(ṣy=n)dyā(dā)rah || 2\* *Tat*=*sat*ś-shita(bhū)n=*Mahita-(cha)ndrasva*(ś=cha)ndra-dhāma-nibham nija(ṣṭ)(jam) || (i) yāṇ(n=ā)pāra-
- 3 m=akṇṭpācha(ra)-pārē vyāpāritam yalah || 3\* *Tasy*=ābhāt=tanayō nay-aira(ka)-va(ra)-sikalā kṛānta-dvishan-malḍa(ḍa)lō vidhyaat-ōdva(dūha)ta-viś(ra)-yōvi(dha)-tṭmiva(rah) *śrī-Chandradēvō* arīpah || (i) yān-ōlārātara-

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., above Vol. IV, pp. 115, 121, 123, 124, 129.

<sup>2</sup> A grant of Vijayachandra written by the same person was recently copied by us in the Lucknow Museum. This epigraph is being published below along with some other Gāhaḍavāla charters. See pp. 204 ff. below.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions. In the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, subscript *y* generally looks like subscript *p*. In the present transcript the sign has been read as *p*. The metres of the verses are not indicated since the stanzas are well known from other records.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.



4. *prati-pa-saśa*(mit-śśa)-*praj-ūpadravam śrimad-Gādhipur-śhivādya(rā)ya*(m=assas(ma)u= dōrdvi(r-vi)kramāśa(g=ā)rijitam || [4\*] Tirthāni Kāśi(ā)-Kun(ā)kā(k-ō)-tara(rā)-Kāśal-Endrast(ā)stha(miyakāni paripā-
5. *layat=ābhigasya(mya)* | *hām=ātma-toj(ya)m=anisa(ā)n=dadātā divijēnyō(bhyō)* 48(yō)n= āngi(ā)kā [va]mmati *saśa*(taka=tulābhū || [5\*] Tasy=ātmaśō **Madanapāla** iti kshatindra-chūdāmali(ā)-
6. *ndri(t=vvi)jayatē nija-gōtra-chandra* | *yasy=ābhishēka-kales-ōllasitā* payōbhū *pra-kshālita*(kāti-rajab-(pa)lalaṁ dharitryā || [6\*] Yasy=śi(ā)d=vijaya-prapāla(pa)-samayō tūg-ā-
7. *chal-ōchekaiś=chalan=mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kraśō(m-ā)sama-(bha)ra-bhrasya-mahf-malo-* (ndō)ś || [7\*] *chūdā-ratna-ribhinnā-tālu-gaita-styāgō(n-ā)stig-ula(d)bhāstā* Śēshah prē-(pē)sha-vaś(ā)d=iva kahaṇam=asa krōdō
8. *vi(n)līn-ā*(ta(na)ma) || [7\*] Tasmād=sjāyata ti(ni)j-āyata-vā(hā)hu-valli-vaddhā(bandh-ā)-varuḍḍha-va(na)va-tāgha(rā)ya-gajō ne(rē)ndrah | *śāmr-āmrīta-drava-muvāb(chōō)* ga(pre)bhavō gavām yō [Gō]vīndava(**cha**)ndra iti chandra i-
9. *v=āgrihu(mobu)-[rā]śā(hā)* || [8\*] *Ra(Na) katham=appa(py=a)latpatta(bhanta)* rapa-ka-māhanti(khamāna=ti)rihu dika(kehu) gajātacha(n=atha) Vaji(jri)ga | kakuti(bhi) potra(badhra)mur=Abhiramurātata(vallabha)-pakti(prati)-bhaṇa ha(t)va yasya ghatā-gajā || [9\*] **Prat(A)jani Ri(Vi)-**
10. **ayara(cha)ndrō** tātu(nāma) tāhātātātē(smān=narō)ndrah sutapatir=ira(va) bhūbhrit-paka-(ksha)-vītā(kshō)pa-damjab(dukshab) | *tru(bhu)vata(na)-dalata(na)-ha(hā)ā-rhemyā-* chamiya-Habvīl(la)ra-tārā(nārī)-tapāta(nayana)-jasa(la)da-sa(dhā)rā-nē(dha)ta-vūli(hāhō)-ka-tāpa || [10\*] LJO(Lō)-
11. *śā(ka)-tray-ākramala(na)-kēli-rīgira(viśvīkha)lāri(ni)* praghō(ddyō)pa-sūti(kirū)-viri(kavī)-varṇāta-dai(vai)bhārī(vān) | *yava(aya)* [Tri]vikrama-pada-krama-bhāgi(ōji) bhānni-(nti) prāma(prō)jrimbha(yanti) *Va(Ba)h-rāja-na(bha)ya*h yalānūmō(ni) || [11\*]
12. *Yasti(smīn)ś=chalapu(ty=ō)dadhi-tō(nē)mi-sa(ma)hī-jay-ārgha(rīhān)* mādyat-karēdra-tu-(ga)ru-bhāra-ti(ni)pidit-śva | yāti *Prati(Pra)jāśa(pa)ti-padam* sa(ka)rapa(n-ār)thiā bhūva(s-ta)ngabhu(t-tura)śga\*)-nira(va)h-ōrtha(tāha)-rajaśra(ś-cha)lāta(na) || [12\*]
13. *śō-yam samasta-rāja-chakra-samskritam(vita)-va(cha)rapah paramaha(bha)jīśrābha(ka)* mahāra(rā)jādhirāja-paramēvapa(śvara)-paramatahpa(māhōśva)ra-ti(ni)jatu(bhu)-ōrppāji(pārjji)ta-(rī)-Kutpa(nya)kuja(b)j-dhipati(tya)-rī-Vaddha(**Chandra**)dēva-pā-
14. *d-ānudyāta-parana(ma)bhagha(tā)ra-ka-ta(ma)hātā(rā)jāpi(dhi)riga(ja)-paramābhya(śva)-ra-param(ō)(ma)māhōma(śva)ra-tyō(ā)matma(n-Ma)danapāladūra(va)-pāp(ā-d-ō)nu-* dhyāta-paramābhātāra-ka-mahārājādhirāja-
15. *ramēara(śva)ra-paramanā(mā)hōra(śva)ra-ōtva(śva)pati-gajarpāta(pati)-narapati- rājātā(ja-* tra)y-ādhipati-vividha-righa(vidyā)-rīrā(viśā)ra-chara(vācha)pati-śrimad-Gōvīndava-(**cha**)ndrapō(dē)va-pād-ānudyāta-
16. *paramābhagha(tā)ra-ka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēara(śva)ra-paramamāhōtō(śva)ra-śhva-* (śva)pati-gajapati-narapati-rājara(tray)-ādhipati-vividhāvighā(dyā)vivā(chā)ravāva(cha)-spati-rī-
17. *mad-Vijayava(cha)ndradērō(vō) vijayi* || || *Saputrāra-pattakya*h *Va(Ba)ṇā-saha-* Kirihihō-śrāma-nivāśinō niśvi(khī)la-janapadrā(dā)ra-upagātā=api cha















- 28 var-ābhyaś(śvā) varā-vāṇulāḥ(nāḥ) [1\*] sūti(bhūmi)-dānasya viśaṭi(chihānāni) phalaśaś(ra)-  
(m=ēta) (=Puraṇdara) [14\*] Sarvāṇa-śāṇa-bhāṇiṇaḥ pāṭi(r\*)bhivēndrāṇa-bhūpō(yō) vāśa-  
(bhūyō) yāchatā Rānara(machāṇi)drāḥ | āṇāpō(māyō)-yūn
- 29 varāra(dharmma)-sūtur-onripālām(nām) kāś kāś pālānā(ni) yō bhavābhiḥ(dhāḥ) [15\*]  
Anēdrasā(Amud-vāśāḥ) parikṣitā yuḥ kaśchinnā(n=ri)patir-ḥaṇō(vēt) [1\*] tasy-ākāśi  
kāra-lagnō(gnō)-(s)ni sū(śā)śānāni na ppa(vya)tikramō-
- 30 : [16\*] Ta(Ba)bubhir-vasudhā bhuktā rājābhiḥ Sagar ād(i)bbhiḥ [1\*] yeshā(aya) yuśā(aya)  
yadā bhūmi bhāśā(s=āya) tasya ra(ta)ḍjā phalaśaś(lam) [17\*] Gām=ēkāch vērguḥ(avaruṇa)-  
m=ēkāśi va(cha) sū(bhū)mūr-apy-ēkāśi-āṇulāḥ(lam) |
- 31 haraṇ-narakānālō(m=āpō)ti yāvai-āhūva(ta)-sāṇplavāṇ(vam) [18\*] Taḍjāgānāḥ saha-  
bhūḥ(śrō)na āpanā(śāvatnō)dhā phalāma va(cha) [1\*] garvā(vām) kōṭi-pralāṇaṇa ta(bhū)mi-  
haritā na supya(śudhya)ti [19\*] Śva(Sva)-dattāḥ para-
- 32 datvāḥ(titāni) vā yō harēd-vasūmrarāṇa(dharām) | sa vintā(śihā)gāḥ kṛimīrāṭyā-  
(r=bhūtvā) pīṭiḥhiḥ saha māḥ[ti] [20\*] Shapāni(śhīm) vāśa-va(m)hāṭā(śrā)ṇi sū-  
(ava)rggē vasatī bhūmīdāḥ [1\*] āchēkhētā(tā) vānata(ch=ānūma)ntā va(cha)
- 33 tā(ny=ā)ra narakē vasātā(sūti) [21\*] Vāvi(ri)hāṇāḥ-araṇyāṇa(nyēḥ)ni sūknā(śuśka)-  
kōṭara-vāśitāḥ(nāḥ) | kṛima(śhū)arppā-cha jāyatā vā(yō) va(cha) rahua(lrahma)-  
va-hāṭiṇaḥ [22\*] Vāḥ=Iḥā dattā(ni) parā na-
- 34 rēndrāḥ-āṇāni dharmm-ārtha-yatātka(śka)rāli(ni) [1\*] nirmāṇāya(īya)-[vāḥita]-prāṭimāni  
tāni kō tā(nā)ma vātuh(āḍliuḥ) vu(pu)nar-āḍavō(dō)ta [23\*] Vāḥara(t=āḍhā)-vi-  
bhramam=īdātī rābhurāṭi(vasūlā-āḍhī)ṇāya-
- 35 m=āpāta-mūtra-mādhurā viśay-āpāśō(bhō)gāḥ [1\*] grātō(prāṇā)=trīn-āpa(ga)-jāla-vi(bi)-  
ndu-samā ta(na)rūgāḥ dharmāḥ(rimāḥ) sakhā parāma(m=ā)ḥō paralaḥ(āḥ) yātō(nō)  
[24\*] |
- 36 Ukhātāḥ vāksham(ch=ēdam) tāpra(mra)kaśi sa(ma)hāśhapaṭalika-glu(thakku)ra-ār-  
śāṇpātikēn=āṇi | |

\* Read *harāḥ* for *haritā*.

\* Read *para*.

\* The engraver made here what was supposed to be the floral design found on the Gāḥaḥvāḥa plates.



## No. 21—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NANDED DISTRICT

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND G. BHATTACHARYA, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 24.1.1961)

We have referred above to our plan to make a search for inscriptions in the Telugu-, Kannaḍa- and Marāṭhi-speaking areas of the former Hyderabad State.<sup>1</sup> The results have been encouraging. Two inscriptions copied in the course of the said search, viz. (1) Warangal inscription of Raghudēva and (2) fragmentary Rāshtrakūṭa inscription from Kandhār, have already been edited above.<sup>2</sup> Two other inscriptions of the same collection are published in the following pages. Both these epigraphs come from the Nanded District, Bombay State.

### 1. Hoṭṭal Inscription of the time of Chālukya Sōmāśvara

The village of Hoṭṭal (or Hoṭṭu) is five miles from the headquarters of the Dēglur Taluk of the Nanded District. In the year 1959, we learnt from Shri Manohar Rao Deshmukh of the said village of the existence of a rectangular stone pillar with an inscription lying near a dilapidated temple at Hoṭṭal. The village abounds in ruined structures, two temples amongst them being specimens of beautiful architecture with sculptures of good workmanship, the parallel of which is not to be found elsewhere in the Nanded District. Unfortunately the temples are in a ruined condition, wild vegetation and lack of care contributing to their gradual destruction.

The inscribed pillar referred to above lies near one of the said temples. It measures approximately five feet eight inches in length, one foot five inches in breadth and one foot and a quarter inch in depth. Shri Manohar Rao informs us that the inscription was copied a few years back by Shri Polnerkar of the Archaeological Department of the former Hyderabad State.

The record is incised on two sides of the pillar. Individual letters on the first side are bigger in size (about 8 inch) than those on the second (about 6 inch). As the first side of the inscription was exposed to the sun and rains, its writing is damaged in some places while, in three places about the middle, some letters are completely rubbed off. The writing on the second side is better preserved. There are altogether 135 lines of writing. Above the beginning of the inscription, the figures of the sun, the crescent, a recumbent bull, a cow with calf and a Śiva-liṅga are engraved in relief. This fact indicates the Śaivite character of the epigraph.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. and its language is Sanskrit. Excepting the salutation to the god Śiva at the beginning and two passages in the last line, the whole text is written in verse. There are 43 stanzas in all and they are consecutively numbered. As regards orthography, it may be noted that some consonants have sometimes been reduplicated in the association of *r*. Final *m* at the end of a verse or half verse has invariably been changed wrongly to *maśvara*, but it occurs in the last word of the record. There are a few cases of wrong *śandhi*.

The inscription is undated, though it mentions the Later Chālukya king Sōmāśvara as ruling at Kalyāṇa. There were, however, four Later Chālukya kings bearing that name, viz. Sōmāśvara I (1043-68 A.D.), Sōmāśvara II (1068-76 A.D.), Sōmāśvara III (1126-38 A.D.) and

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126 ff.; Vol. XXXV, pp. 193 ff.



*Sōmāśvara* IV (1184-1900 A.D.). As will be seen below, it is difficult to say which of these *Sōmāśvaras* is mentioned in our record, though the possibility is that he was *Sōmāśvara* I or *Sōmāśvara* II. Thus the inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. It is stated in verse 37 that the record was caused to be written out by a local ruler at midday in the month of Kārttika when the *tithi* was *rātā* (full-moon) and the *nakṣatra* *Kṛttikā*. But no year is mentioned.

The inscription opens with the expression *Om namo(h) Śivāya* which is followed by a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the god Śiva. Verses 2-3 describe Mount *Kailāsa*, which is in the Himalayas, while verse 4 mentions the hermitage of *Agastya* which was apparently situated in the valley of the *Kailāsa* and is stated to have been resounding with the chanting of the Vedic hymns by young ascetics at prescribed hours. Verse 5 mentions the austere penances of *Agastya* in that hermitage. Verses 6-11 describe the birth of a hero who was the progenitor of 'the family or race of Fire' (*kuḷa* of *Pāṇḍa*, *Vakui* or *Agni*). We are told how *Agastya*'s *Kāmadhēnu* (i.e. wish-fulfilling cow) was snatched away by certain rulers (verse 6) and how the sage offered in a great rage an oblation to the blazing fire without uttering a curse (verse 7). The result was the birth of a great hero from *Agastya*'s fire-pit (verse 8), who after having killed those rulers, brought back the *Adva-dhēnu* to the sage as if it were the sage's *mānu-siddhi* (i.e. 'the restoration of prestige') incarnate (verse 9). By his prowess, 'the son of Fire' became a powerful ruler after having conquered enemies in the three worlds and helped *Indra* by uprooting the demons (verse 10). According to verse 11, this hero became known as *Munimānasiddhi* (literally, 'the restorer of the sage's prestige'). The latter half of verse 11 and the following stanza (verse 12) introduce a ruler named *Dhōrarāja* (*Dhruvarāja*) as an ornament of the 'Fire family' which is represented as the third dynasty, the celebrated solar and lunar races probably being the other two. The second half of verse 13 is damaged and its purport is difficult to determine, though reference is made in its first half to *Munja* and *Tailāvara* who are no doubt the famous *Vākpati* *Mukja* (973-96 A.D.) of the *Paramāra* dynasty and *Taila* or *Tallapa* II (973-97 A.D.) of the Western *Chālukya* family, and to the *kośaka* (probably, 'army') of the said two *chakravartins* (i.e. imperial rulers). *Dhōrarāja* was thus a contemporary of the said kings who flourished about the last quarter of the tenth century. There was a long-drawn struggle between the *Paramāra* and later *Chālukya* kings, which seems to be vaguely indicated in the singular used in the expression *śrī-Munja-Tailāvara* as in *nāi-nakulam*, though what part *Dhōrarāja* played in the struggle is not possible to guess from the incomplete nature of the stanza. The second half of the verse seems to mention one *Gōpāla* whose relationship with *Dhōrarāja* is unascertainable from the damaged text. Verse 14 introduces another member of the 'Fire race', whose name was *Uttama*. The language seems to suggest that he was the son of *Dhōra*, although it is difficult to be sure on this point because of the mention of *Gōpāla* in the previous stanza. Verse 15 introduces *Uttama*'s son *Kalichōra* (I) who was succeeded by his son *Argadēva* according to verse 16. The next eight stanzas (verse 17-24) describe *Argadēva*'s valour and his achievements on the battle-fields. Verse 21 says that, owing to the fame of the *Kahatriya* hero (i.e. *Argadēva*) spreading everywhere, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇa*, and the *Ākṣayikā* were all forgotten.

Verse 24 is the last stanza on the first side. Verse 25 is engraved on the second side of the pillar, the first three lines of which are considerably damaged. Verses 25-26 appear to introduce *Kalichōra* (II), a devotee of *Hara* (*Śiva*). But whether *Kalichōra* was just another name of *Argadēva* cannot be determined from the damaged text of verse 25 which may have contained a word meaning 'son' so that *Kalichōra* II would be the son and successor of *Arga*. The description of the 'Fire family' ends with verse 27 which continues to describe the glory of *Kalichōra* II. This stanza represents the chief as the ruler of twenty thousand villages.



Verse 28 introduces a Vaiśya named Siddhugi who was a friend of the king, apparently meaning Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race'. In the following stanzas (verses 29-32), Siddhugi is highly praised for his noble qualities. Verse 31 compares him to Nāgārjuna, Kārṇa, Vikrama (i.e. king Vikramāditya), Śibi and Vairāḥana (i.e. Balī). Verse 33 states that Siddhugi installed Lord Sthānu (Śiva, i.e. a Śiva-līṅga) at Kalyāṇa which was the capital (*pura*) of king Sōmēśvara, the moon of the Chālukya family (*Chālukya-chandra*). Then the king is stated to have donated a *nishka* and a *dramma* from every village and town for [the worship of] the said god in the presence of 'the preceptor' Chandrarāśi (verse 34). This seems to refer to the ratification, by the Chālukya monarch, of a grant actually made by one of his provincial rulers as indicated later in the record. The Śaiva ascetic Chandrarāśi, who was the preceptor of Sōmēśvara or of the provincial ruler, appears to have requested the Chālukya king for the ratification. Of course, the language may also be so interpreted as to suggest that it was the semi-independent local chief of the 'Fire family', who made the grant without reference to the Chālukya king. But the first alternative is more likely since that would easily explain why such a big grant was made for the maintenance of a temple at the capital of another king. That the chiefs of the 'Fire race' were the feudatories of the Later Chālukyas is known from the Karaḍhālī inscriptions referred to below.

Verse 35 states that, as long as the members of the 'Fire family' (*Pāvaka-santati*) and the god Siddhēśvara, made by Siddhugi, would flourish on this earth, for that length of time covering a thousand kalpas, the arrangement regarding a *dramma* together with a *nishka* from each of a thousand villages was made by king Raibhēya after creating the *śilā*, i.e. after causing the *prastāvi* to be written on the stone. Verse 36 again speaks of the same arrangement made for the god Siddhēśvara by the ruler of the territory of Yerga (*śrī-Yergadhātīputi*) in respect of a *dramma* and a *nishka* from every town, etc., in the district (*vishaya*, i.e. the Yerga district). If Kalichōra II is regarded as identical with Arga and not as the latter's son, the expression *Yerga-dhātīputi* may possibly also mean 'king Yerga' (i.e. Arga). But it appears better to take Yerga mentioned here as a geographical name because there is actually a locality called Yergi near Hottāl. It has also to be noticed that the 'Fire race' chief's territory consisted of twenty thousand villages and the gift concerned only one thousand villages probably comprised in one of the districts in his territory. It is thus expected that the name of the particular district should be mentioned in the record.

This section thus suggests that Raibhēya belonging to the 'Fire race' was the governor of the Yerga *vishaya* under the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara. There is also little doubt that Raibhēya (literally, 'the son of Rēbha or Rēbhā') was the same as Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race', who, as we have seen above, was either the son of Argadēva or Arga himself. If he was identical with Argadēva, we can assume that Rēbha was another name of Kalichōra I. In case, however, he was Argadēva's son, his mother's name may have been Rēbhā. It may be mentioned in this connection that Rēbhēśvara, referred to in verse 37 below, was apparently named after the same Rēbhā or Rēbhā. If the expression *guru-maṭha* in the verse referring to the Rēbhēśvara temple is understood in the sense of 'one's father's temple,' we can say that Rēbhā was the name of Raibhēya's father. But the expression may also suggest that the temple in question was built by the *guru* Chandrarāśi.

According to verse 37, the epigraph was caused to be made by the ruler (i.e. Raibhēya alias Kalichōra II) out of devotion to and for the worship of the god Siddhēśvara while he was listening to an auspicious tale narrated by a *śrīśākhin* in [the temple of the god] Rēbhēśvara, which was the *guru-maṭha*, when the sun was in the meridian (i.e. at midday), the month was Kārttika, the tithi Pūrṇimā and the *nakṣatra* Kṛttikā. It is not impossible that the *śrīśākhin* referred to is no other than the Vaiśya Siddhugi and the auspicious tale is the news of the ratification of Raibhēya's grant by Sōmēśvara.



The above analysis would suggest that the grant of a *nishka* and a *dramma* out of the revenue income of each one of the one thousand villages in the Yerga district was made by Raibhēya alias Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race', who was ruling over the said territory, and that the gift was ratified by his overlord, the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara. It also suggests that the Yerga *vīṣṇya* consisted of one thousand villages (that is to say that it was called Yerga-1000) and that the gift consisted of one thousand *nīśkas* and one thousand *drasmas*. Of these two coins, *nishka* was a gold coin sometimes also called *gadyāga*, *surāha*, *hara* or *pagūda*, while *dramma* was a silver coin often called *gadyāga* (silver), etc., and was sometimes regarded as equal to one-sixteenth of a gold *nishka*.

Verse 39, which is composed in adoration of the god Śiva, states that Nārāyaṇa, Bāṇa, Rāvaṇa and the old sages like Dadhicha are respected in the world because they were devoted to the *Śiva-śāstra* (mandates of Śiva) while Nigalaṅkamalla was a great devotee of Chandīvara (i.e. Śiva) in the Kali age. This verse suggests that Raibhēya alias Kalichōra II was also known by the name Nigalaṅkamalla. In the next stanza (verse 39), the name is given again as Raibhēya instead of Nigalaṅkamalla and it is said that, having his hand, the wish-fulfilling jewel (*chintāmaṇi*) nurtures the desire of removing the worries of the poet. Verse 40 says that the ten heads of Rāvaṇa are praiseworthy because they offered themselves to Śiva; praiseworthy is also Hari because he adopted the form of Gaṇi (as Mohini); but king Nigalaṅkamalla is undoubtedly a third Śiva besides the two (i.e. Rāvaṇa and Hari). The next stanza (verse 41) is one of the usual imprecatory verses. Verse 42 states that the dead kings live either through poetical works or through stories and, as such works are composed by poets, the poet is the friend of the king. Verse 43, which is the last stanza in the epigraph, expresses some pious wishes as in the case with the concluding stanza (*Bharatavākya*) in classical Sanskrit dramas. The following passage in prose states that the epigraph was written by a scribe named Lakṣmaṇa.

The *Bharatavākya*-like stanza (verse 43) may be translated into English as follows: "Let the Brāhmaṇas mark the earth with sacrificial posts on auspicious occasions; let the kings, steadfast in their own religious principles, protect all the world; let the cattle live happily; let the people be happy, [and] let there be no rise of the wicked; let the poets be honoured in the world [and also] the well-reputed courtesans who have acquired eminence in dancing." The reference to the dancing girls in the concluding part of the stanza is interesting as it seems to allude to the *Dāsadvāṣṭi*, a number of whom may have been dedicated to the temple in question. It is well known that the dancing girls (*Dāsadvāṣṭi*) represented a permanent feature of the big Brāhmanical temples of the early medieval period. Recently we have noticed that the Buddha shrines in the Buddhist monastic establishments of the same age, at least in Eastern India, were also not free from the *Dāsadvāṣṭi*.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it reveals for the first time the existence of a 'Fire family' ruling in the eleventh century A.D. in the Nanded region apparently forming parts of the dominions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The origin of the family as given in the record was the fire-pit of the sage Agastya on Mount Kailāsa in the Himalayas. Munimānasiddhi, who was the progenitor of this family, sprang from the fire-pit as a result of an offering of oblation by the angry sage whose cow providing milk for his daily sacrifice had been stolen by certain robbers; he killed the robbers and brought back the cow to the sage. This story closely resembles that of the fire-pit origin of the Paramāra, which first occurs in their inscriptions about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.<sup>2</sup> In the Paramāra epigraphs as also in the *Navasāhaṣṭakacharita*

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Ray, *DHSI*, Vol. II, p. 241. Cf. Alungar, *Ancient India*, etc., Vol. II, 1941, pp. 801 ff.



by Padmagupta, it is stated that, from the fire-pit of Vasishtha on Mount Arbuda (Ābu), there sprang up a hero as the result of an offering of the angry sage whose 'wish-granting cow' was carried away by king Viśvāmitra. The fire-born hero, who was the progenitor of the Paramāra family, wrested the cow from Viśvāmitra and brought it back to Vasishtha who was highly pleased and, having given him the name Paramāra (literally 'the slayer of enemies'), made him the paramount ruler of the earth. The basis of 'the Fire family' story in our record appears to have been the same as that of the origin of the Paramāras, though here the sage is Agastya in the place of Vasishtha and the place is not Mount Abu but the Kailāsa. The author of the present *prashasti* thought it fit to connect the name of Agastya, famous in legends as one who first went to the South beyond the Vindhya and settled there for the rest of his life, with the origin of a South Indian ruling family. But it is difficult to understand why Agastya's fire-pit has not been located in South India.

The 'Fire race' of our record is not known from published epigraphs. But two inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of the same family were copied by us in 1959 from a pillar in the village of Karaḍkhēl about 6 miles from Hottal, the findspot of the present record. Both these inscriptions are in Kannada and belong to the time of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.). The first of them gives the genealogy of the Chālukya kings upto Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) and of the chiefs of the 'Fire race', who were apparently feudatories of the former, and mentions Karka of the said family as the builder of the temple of Sōmāśvata at Karaḍlikal (modern Karaḍkhēl). The second record, dated December 1, 1079 A.D., mentions the same Karka as a *Maḍa-maṇḍalīśvara* granting lands for the worship of several gods, viz. Svayambhū Sōmanāthadēva, Dōrēśvaradēva, Kalichōrēśvaradēva and Prasannabhairavadēva, for the repairs of the temples of the said gods and for feeding Brāhmaṇa students. Karka himself is stated in the record to have built many temples. It is interesting to note that the gods Dōrēśvaradēva and Kalichōrēśvaradēva bear the names of the chiefs Dōra and Kalichōra of the 'Fire family', who were apparently the ancestors of Karka. In the genealogy given in our epigraph, Dōra appears as Dhōrarāja and Kalichōra (I) probably as his son; but Karka has not been mentioned at all. Thus the relations between Karka of the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions and the members of the 'Fire race', responsible for setting up the Hottal *prashasti*, cannot be determined. But the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions show that the chiefs of the 'Fire family' were the subordinates of the Later Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇa and that they were ruling over the territory including the area around modern Karaḍkhēl and Hottal, probably called 'the Yerga district' or 'Yerga-1000' in our epigraph. The entire territory of the 'Fire race' chiefs, stated to have consisted of twenty thousand villages, probably contained several *rishayats* like Yerga.

As indicated above, the identification of the Later Chālukya king mentioned in our record is not easy. We have seen that the first ruler of the 'Fire race', viz. Dhōra, was a contemporary of Talha II (973-97 A.D.) as well as of Paramāra Muḥja (973-99 A.D.), while the same king as well as Kalichōra I apparently flourished before 1079 A.D. as is evidenced by the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions of the time of Vikramāditya VI. If Dhōra was succeeded by his son Uttama and Uttama by his son Kalichōra I, this last king may have ruled about the middle of the eleventh century. If therefore Arga, son of Kalichōra I, was the same as Kalichōra II alias Raṭbhāya Nigalaḥkamalla, who was responsible for setting up the Hottal inscription, he may be regarded as a contemporary of Sōmāśvara I (1043-55 A.D.) or Sōmāśvara II (1055-76 A.D.). If, however, Kalichōra II was the son and successor of Arga, he may at best be regarded as a contemporary of Sōmāśvara III (1126-36

<sup>1</sup> See *A. B. Ep.*, 1958-59, Nos. B 184, 187.



A.D.). It is difficult to think of Sōmēśvara IV (1184-1200 A.D.) in this connection since he flourished long after 1079 A.D., the date of one of the Karañkōḥl inscriptions. It is also not easy to say whether Arga of our inscription is the same as Karka of the Karañkōḥl inscriptions.

A question that may be asked in this connection is that, if the god Sthāpa (i.e. Śiva) called Siddhēśvara, was installed by Siddhugi at Kalyāṇa, why was the pillar bearing the *prastāvi* recording a gift in honour of that god set up in the village of Hoṭṭal. The answer seems to be that, since the gift made by Kalichōra II alias Raibhōya alias Nūpalaśkamalla, the ruler of the territory around the Yerga district, was a part of the revenue of the said district, the record could have been set up at the head quarters of that district, although another copy of the same inscription appears to have been set up in the temple itself at Kalyāṇa. If such was the case, Hoṭṭal or a city of which it formed a part or suburb was probably the head quarters of the Yerga *vishaya* and the capital of the rulers of the 'Five family'. We have seen that the *Vaiṣya* Siddhugi, the hero of our *prastāvi* who installed the god Siddhēśvara named after himself in a temple at Kalyāṇa, was a friend of Kalichōra II of the said family. Siddhugi may have been an inhabitant of the Hoṭṭal area.

It is tempting to identify the hero of our *prastāvi* with Siddhugi, also called Bauvarasa, Siddayya, occurring in another epigraph<sup>1</sup> dated the 9th December 1084 A. D., hailing from Lakkuṇḍi in the Galing Taluk of the Dharwar District and belonging to the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara IV. If this identification is accepted, the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara mentioned in our inscription has no doubt to be identified with Sōmēśvara IV. But, as already indicated above, this is highly improbable.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Kalyāṇa is the same as modern Kalyan in the Bidar District of Mysore, Yerga seems to be the district around the village of Yergi, 3 miles from Hoṭṭal.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

[Metres: Verses 1-9, 1, 10, 12-13, 15-18, 21, 24, 26-27, 30-31, 35-40, 43 *Sārdhalekikṛīḍita*; verses 3, 7-8, 19, 25 *Śaṅkharā*; verses 5, 22, 28, 32 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 6, 14 *Mandākrāntā*; verse 9 *Śaṅkharā*; verses 11, 23, 42 *Indravajrā*; verses 20, 29 *Uṇṇajāti*; verses 33-34, 41 *Anuśṭubh*.]

#### First Side

- 1 || Ōm namaḥ śivāya || Tē vaḥ pāmā Pinākinah katipayā kṛmīlhasya bhālastha-
- 2 || jaumānaḥ kīraṇ-āvali-stava(ha)kīṭ-ākāśāḥ kṛiśānāḥ kṛpāḥ | yā-
- 3 chām-śkatamasya tējaś jagaj-jālam jīgābhā rīpōḥ<sup>3</sup> samdhānāpi patāḥ-
- 4 ga-pātam-apatat-Puṣhpāyudhaḥ ś-āyudhaḥ || 1 || Kallāś-śti samasta-
- 5 parvata-patir-yaḥ asthārayaḥ śrēyaśām yāś dōvāḥ samupāntā Saṁgīrīr-ya-
- 6 n-ālpā dhārāḥ kṛitāḥ | yamaś evaśi vadantī siddha-munayaḥ siddha-mū-
- 7 dhānati yataḥ śmā yasya na vidyātē kṛitadhīyām yatra stavō vāsta-
- 8 vaḥ || 2 || Ścīṁgair-āḷṅgīt-ā[rāḥ] pravīṭata-kṛtak-ākṛānta-nā[n]ā-dig-amṭaḥ sō-śti

<sup>1</sup> R.E. No. 46 of 1926-27. We are indebted to Mr. S. H. Ritz for the reference.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions. We are indebted for some suggestions to Mr. S. Sankaranarayana and Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyan.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *yāśāś rīpōḥ* is intended.



- 9 svēchohā-nivāsa=tridasa-utpādisā[ā\*] Minakētā-cha bhāmā [i\*] prāptuṣ ratu-  
ākarakvaṁ
- 10 panara(=i)va vilasat-ratna-sarvasva-sārē sphārē yasy=ūpakarbhē luthatī jalā-
- 11 nīdhir=[vra]m[arā]\*-vyājam=ētya || 3 || Vi(Bi)bhrūgasya tapō-vibhūtim-asamā-
- 12 m=āstā hy=Agasty-ākhyayā vikhyātasya mahāmūnāḥ samavatāṣ savyasya
- 13 ta(tr-ā)jaramaḥ | yamin-yāmika-nādavan-muni-vaṣu-svādhyāya-pāṭha-dhvanī
- 14 pūṣṭhāḥ kalī-kūla-tuskara-timskārāya sannahyati || 4 || [Ta]jani-
- 15 n=mutuḥ prahuta-pāvaka-dhūma-rāji-sphāribhavad-vitapi-pālāva-mēchak-anḡhaḥ(gbō) |  
pūpy-ōṭa-
- 16 j-ā[grā]-ghaṣamāna-curiga(gō) kadōchit=tēpē tapāmsi sa sam-zika-dhanō munīndrah || 5 ||
- 17 Uamārgōṇa prasabham=avanīvalabbhāḥ paryajantō na prōkhamtō trutad=api yataḥ sva-  
chchha-
- 18 hāra-prakāraḥ(ram) [i\*] yat=tasy=āpi prachurn-tapasām=ugrugayasya pūpyām pāp-āchā-  
[rās]=tvari-
- 19 tam=ahatan=bhōmadā[m\*] Kāmādheanū(num) || 6 || Aṁtaḥ samchirātya kīncit=tad-anu-  
sa virataḥ ā-
- 20 pa-dānān=munīndrah sādribhūtan dadhānāḥ sphurad-adhara-ruchā krōdha-vahnōr=iv=
- ārchchih |
- 21 pratyarthya-utpāta-kātu-pravibhava-vilasat-dhāmra-dhām-ānura(ba)ddha-sphūrjaj-jvālā-  
kalā-
- 22 pē bṛatbhujī hutavān=ahutīm hūm-vinnīrāmi(trām) || 7 || Bhāsvat-rōjah-katāprair=iva
- 23 sha(pa)righatitas=tāra-hār-ānukāri-pratyagra-vra(bra)hmasūtras=Tridasaagirir=iva Svargana-
- 24 dyā sanāthah | vi(hi)bhrūgaḥ svarṇa-mū(tū)ḡ-yugalam=atha pūṁṇō kō-pi chaṁḡ-āgni-
- 25 kumjāt-kōdamḡ-ākāḥ-ā-ānā-rava-janita-jagad-bhūtir=āvirva(rva)bhūva || 8 || Patri-
- 26 bhīḥ na bhuvana-traya-vīras=tā[n\*] utpā[ā\*]cha sakalā[n=vinibhūtya] [i\*] hōma-gām=
- apaniā-
- 27 ya tatō-smai māna-siddhim=iva mūrtti(ma)— — 9 || Dūr-ātsārita-kūbja-
- 28 ka-vyatikarām-ākāḡgaviraḥ kramād=gō — — v pa-blay=atva sakalā-
- 29 m-ākramya lōka-trayih(gm) | sāmrajjyam vijaya — — bhuvanaḥ khyātah kri-
- 30 sūnōḥ outah Sakraey=āpi mahāyatām prakatayann=utpātya dēva-dvishah || 10 ||
- 31 [Satyam] tatō=bbūd-iha tasya nāma vīrasya lōkō Munimānasiddhīḥ | tasmā[t\*]=tṛitlyō-
- bha-
- 32 vad=āha vathō vāri-pratāp-ānala-kāla-mēghah || 11 || Vahnōr=vvamāsam=alamchakāra ā-
- 33 taḡḡ krūc-āsi-dhār-āhati-kṛḡḡ-dārīta-vāri-kumjara-tatīḥ Śrī-Dhōrarā-
- 34 jō utpāḥ | yasy=ādy=āpi Himādri-Sarākaragin-Kaṣṭrāthva(ba)rāsi-chchhalād=āstō di-
- 35 g-valayāhu pūḡjitam=iva svētāśu-gaurah yataḥ || 12 || Yēn=chchhbidya samasa-
- 36 pāṛthiva-kulam prāḡ-ādīkām tad-yataḥ(āḡ) jagrah=ābha[ya-chakravartti-koja]kō Śrī-
- 37 Murnja-Tailōvarō | yad-vā — — — — — rakshita — — — — — shtyā[aya]-

\* Possibly sandhi is intended.

\* The intended reading was probably kalāpāḥ.

\* The intended reading may have been sūrīmanāsa āra.

\* Read gāt=āḡ.



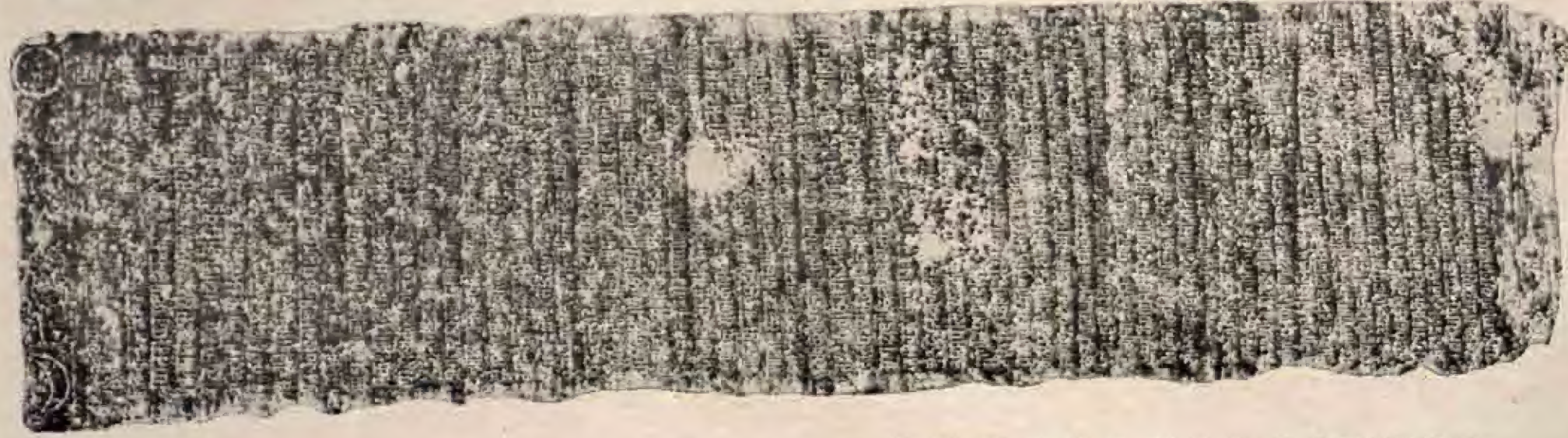
- 38 n Gōpālāḥ kaśakastha— — — — nach-*chhāsanaṁ*(*nam*) || 13 || *Kaśōṣi-chakr-ākra-*
- 39 *māpa-nipup-ōddamā-ḍōr-dāma-* — — [115] *-bhagva-pratibhāṣa-nripa-prōyaṁ-keli-*
- 40 *hāsa* | *kāśrāṣ*(*bhō*)(*hār*=*iva sunanāṣām-nāraya*) *pārijāṭ* | *lāsa-tamā-*
- 41 *ś-Yama* *iva para*(*ra*)-*kāmābhīṭām=Uttam-ākhyā* || 14 || *Tasmāch-cūhri-Kalichōra-*  
*bhūpatir-abbūd-u*(*chelan*)(*da-*
- 42 *kamdhara-kridā-pāṭa-ētra-simdhara-ghata* *kāmāpāla-māluhkaśa* | *pīṭ-āṇka-ja-*
- 43 *lāsa*(*ka*)(*ya*) *pratikāṣaṁ yat-sanya-jāṭa-śikharā-mūṣhā*(*b*\*) *kakubhō marut-ethala-*  
*bhuvān sa-vra*(*bra*)-
- 44 *huvachārīṣṭā* || 15 || *Mūrti* *vira-rasa* *samācīta* *iva kāmāpāla-dār-ānala* *sa-*
- 45 *jāṭa* *pīṭha-dīrgha-vā*(*bālu-parigra-vyūṣhō-rgadāvas-tata*) | *chakrā* *ātra-kava*(*ba*)-  
*dha-tāmdara-viḍhā*=*n-*
- 46 *ddamdam-ābhāryakām* *jyā-nāda-prakāṭikrit-ōgra-pataha-dhyān*(*nāṭ*)-*yadīya* *dhanub*  
|| 16 || *Yat-kha-*
- 47 *igah*(*igah*) *samar-āṁgaṇō rīpa-īra* *īrīṇ* *samāśāyana-aṣṭi-granthi-vibhōḍaka* *kha-*  
*gad-iti*
- 48 *dhyānna nūna* *dvishā*(*m*\*) | *bhūr-lōka* *tyajata prayāta* *cha diva* *svat-lōka-rāmā-jana*  
*saṁlīḥ-*
- 49 *gaṁ bhajata prayachchhata* *yaṭō vyābhāṣat-ēti* *arutau* || 17 || *Chakshur-mugha-mar-*  
*cha*(*chi*) *vēsha-vikalā*
- 50 *kāyō manō vyākula* *bhāyanti smṛtaya* *skhalanti* *cha gīṭō nāyanti sarvā* *dīṭa* |  
*yaṁnir-yi-*
- 51 *krama-bhūji rājanī mīlat-saṁgrāma-bhūman* *bhīṣaṁ kva aṣṭīryaṁ kva bhujau kva vīrya-*  
*garimā* *kv-ā-*
- 52 *amā puna* *kāmābhīṭāṁ(tām)* || 18 || *Garjja* *jīmūta-mūrti-prabala-rīpa-ra*(*ba*) *l-ājan* *hi*  
*bhūpā ya-*
- 53 *na māyā-nirmāṇa-karma-patīkṛitī-vikrit-āṇka-nēpathya-bhāmji* | *vairi-prāpa-pra-*
- 54 *yāpa-prarāpa-nipugayā* *chadga-yachyā* *sthit-ēpi* *prūta-prōṭ-āṣṭra-taṁtri-niraya-rīchari-*
- 55 *tāny-āṣu rakṣānti yēna* || 19 || *Saigdhām svakīya* *priya-bhāṣaṇa* *cha manō-bhīrāmā*
- 56 *magi-kuchālā* *cha* ||\*|| *yēn-altad-āṣu dvishad-aṁganānām-ugōcharaṁ* *āṣṭra-yugasya*  
*chakrē*
- 57 || 20 || *Bhagnā Bhārata-bhāratā* *vigalītō Rāmāyaṇ-ōpakramah* *strogā* *jīroga-purā-*
- 58 *ṇa-padīḥatir-īṭō n-ākhyāyikānām gatī* | *praty-āṁ* *pratīmadāṣaṁ prati-puraṁ praty-*  
*āpugam*
- 59 *praty-agaṁ tasya* *kehatīya-puṁgavasya* *yakṣā* *trilōkyam-ōpūritam(tam)* || 21 || *Anyam*  
*samūna-guṇam-a-*
- 60 *eya nripasya* *kachit*(*chid*)-*draṣṭum* *vīkṛishṭa-hṛday-ōva* *kutūhalāṇa* ||\*|| *kīrtti* *parā*  
*prathama-kṛāka-rē-*
- 61 *ga-subhṛā lōka-traya* *bhramati* *saṁtatam-nāram-aiva* || 22 || *Yany-ābhavadi-vyākaraṇam*  
*pramāṇam*
- 62 *tājyē* *prajā-ratjana-tatparasya* | *chōra-dhyān-ōrūpa-kūṇasya* *anayatra* *chitrō* *yadi*  
*vā* *prachī-*

\* The intended reading may be *śāṅkha*.



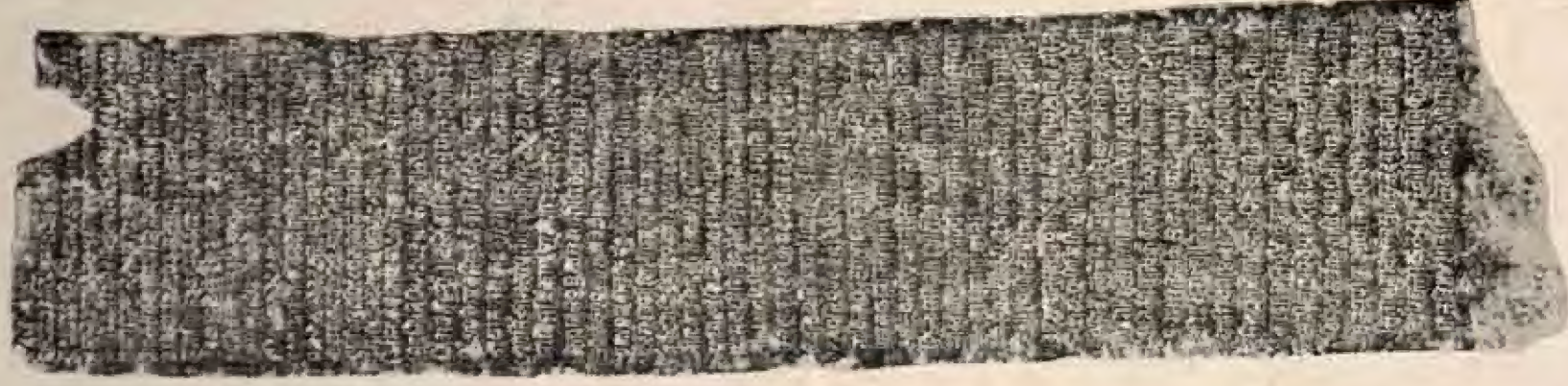
# TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NANDED DISTRICT

## 1. Hotiā Inscriptiōn of Chalukya Sōmēśvara



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64



66 68 70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98 100 102 104 106 108 110 112 114 116 118 120 122 124

66 68 70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98 100 102 104 106 108 110 112 114 116 118 120 122 124



2. Fragmentary Inscription from Ardhpur



2  
4  
6  
8  
10

2  
4  
6  
8  
10







- 90 van-mahadyanta naddatā klama-karasa cakrasa cha bhūmibhūṣaṁ(jam) | *tri-Siddhivara-*  
 100 darvatāya viśayaṁ *tri-Yoga-dhātupāth* praty-klam prati-mam-  
 101 jalani prati-purani dravumam cha nishkani dadau : 30 | *Ekā Kṛitkayā ya-*  
 102 *śi kim-aparani māna yadā Kārtikāḥ Bhānu-madhya-dināni gata*  
 103 *para-moṭhā Kābhāṣyāḥ nishkātā* [ ] *arśaktā[ab]* *arśaktā-urādītāni kul-ka-*  
 104 *kathāni bhūpāni samāgīyavā* *tri-Siddhivara-pūjānyā* *vihāra bhaktiyā*  
 105 *ālā-sāmanā(nam)* : 37 | *Yan-Nāṣyaṇa-Vā(Bā)ṇa-Bhava-mukhā* *ji-*  
 106 *ṛṇā Dadhān-ādayaḥ arāyanta Śiva-sāma-nika-niratā māvā-*  
 107 *ś-cha dhanyāś-cha* *śi* | *śāhāni* *yaṇi Nigalanikamalla charamaḥ* *kālā Ka-*  
 108 *ṇu samprata(ṭi)* *tri-Cham-jivara-pāda-paśāṇa-vaḥ* *dhāṇikā-āpāda(nu)*  
 109 *lāḥ* : 55 | *Kim-vāṣyaṇa* *śi Madhā-pāda-patana-paśāṇikā* *pāḍ-*  
 110 *chayā Raibhāyā* *nipā-sāṇa-matāka-maṇi-prakāshana-bhūmā-*  
 111 *lāḥ* | *yat-pāṇi* *maṇi-mudrikā-nibha-vaśāḥ* *śāḍya chintā-*  
 112 *maṇi-dāṇa-ārāṇi-prasāna-nika-kṛi-kalanā-kantāhalani pa-*  
 113 *śyātā* : 39 | *Stutyāḥ* *śva* *śāṇāni* *rākṣasa-paśāḥ* *chūmāḥ* *śi* *chūm-*  
 114 *dh-ṭi māni* *pratyakam kara-kantāḥ* *āṇa-vaṇa-bhūmāḥ* *śi* *śāṇāḥ*  
 115 *pāṇi* | *stutyāḥ* *kuḥ* *śi* *Hara-paṇāḍa-paśāḥ* *Gaṇa(ṭi)* *śāṇāḥ*  
 116 *Hinā* *stutyāḥ* *tri-Nigalanikam* *śi* *śāṇāḥ* *śi* *śāṇāḥ* *śi*  
 117 *yaḥ* *śāṇāḥ* : 40 | *Yady-apāṇāni* *dhātā bhūmā* *bhūpālāḥ* *Sagar-āl-*  
 118 *āḥ* [ ] *śāṇā* *śāṇā* *yaḥ* *bhūmā(nu)* *śāṇā* *śāṇā* *yaḥ* *phala(nam)* : 41 |  
 119 *Kāry-āṇāṇāḥ* *śāṇā* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ*  
 120 *maṇāḥ* | *pāṇā* *pāṇāḥ* *śāṇā* *pāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ*  
 121 *vi-śva* *mitra(nam)* : 12 | *Viprāḥ* *parvatā* *parvatā* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ*  
 122 *śāṇāḥ* *yaḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ*  
 123 *śāṇāḥ* | *gōṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ*  
 124 *vaḥ* *pāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ*  
 125 *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* : 43 | *Likṣitāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* *śāṇāḥ* | *śi* *śāṇāḥ* |

## 2. Fragmentary Inscription from Ardhāpur

The inscription,\* published in the following pages, is engraved on a broken stone slab originally lying in the house of the Police Patel, Shri Ramachandra Rao, at Ardhāpur, headquarters of a circle of that name in the Nanded District, lying ten miles away from Nanded.† Shri Rao informed us that the inscribed slab had been discovered from a nearby field while the cultivators were ploughing it. As the slab was broken into two halves, a frantic search for the other half was

\* *Śāṇāḥ* has not been observed here. Better read *śāṇāḥ*.

† This is No. B 197 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1929, 29.

‡ Shri V. A. Keshole, Honorary Secretary of the Gōḍāḥ Historical and Literary Research Society at Nanded, has recently removed the inscribed slab to the Society's Museum.



made by the farmers, but is vain. There is an old Śiva temple and an old tank attached to it near the field where the slab was found. The figures of the sun, a Śiva-linga, a devotee and a cow with a calf are engraved above the writing of the record under study. These seem to indicate that the fragmentary inscription was meant to record some donation in favour of a temple of Śiva, probably the one at Ardhāpur, referred to above.

The surface of the broken slab bearing the inscription measures approximately one foot three inches by one foot nine and half inches. The record is incomplete; the lower part of the inscribed slab having broken away and lost. There are altogether ten lines of writing though a portion of the ninth line and more than half of line 10 have broken away. Each line contains about twenty-five akṣaras. A verse in the *Paśupatiśāstra* metre, which begins about the end of line 8, suggests that it concluded about the end of line 11, no trace of which now remains. It is not possible to determine the number of lines lost after the extant part of the epigraph. The engraving is careless and the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. It is thus difficult to read the inscription.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern Nāgarī alphabet of the twelfth or thirteenth century A. D. Its language is Sanskrit and the inscription is written entirely in verse. Of palaeographic interest is the letter *l*, in which the left limb is often not joined with the right vertical so that the akṣara looks as if it is endowed with an *ś-mātrā* (cf. *ālī* in line 5; *śrēṇā* in line 7; the last letter in *Valīśā* in line 8, etc.), though sometimes it has the usual Southern Nāgarī form (cf. *śakā* in line 2 and the first akṣara in *lālī* in line 3, etc.). It is interesting to note that the second akṣara in *lālī* in line 3 has been written in the former form so as to look like having two *ś-mātrās*. Initial *ṣ* has the usual form written with two dots having a curved stroke below (cf. line 6). *ḥ* has been represented by *r* in some cases. As regards orthography, it may be pointed out that consonants after *r* have been occasionally doubled. The words *bhāṣit* and *grahit* have been written respectively as *bhāḥḥat* (line 3) and *grāḥit* (line 8).

Since the lower part of the inscription is lost, its object cannot be definitely determined. It stops in the middle of the description of a local branch of the Ratta or Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and was probably meant for recording the donations of one of the Ratta chiefs in favour of the Śiva temple at Ardhāpur.

Verses 1-2 of the inscription are in adoration of the god Śiva, though the following stanza (verse 3) extols the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Whether this means that the Ratta family mentioned in the record adored both Śiva and Viṣṇu, like the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas,<sup>1</sup> cannot be determined, because the adoration to Śiva would also be suitable for an inscription which probably recorded a grant in favour of a Śiva temple. It is thus possible to think that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, to which the donor of the grant recorded in the inscription seems to have belonged, was specially devoted to the Boar form of Viṣṇu. As, however, will be seen below, one of these Ratta chiefs was devoted to Nāgānand, if the latter was a deity, he was Śiva.

Verses 4 extols the standard of the golden bull (*śuvarṇa-vaśabha-dhaja*) which was apparently one of the royal insignia of the family. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas had the *pāṇi-dhaja*, *śā-kīṇa* and *Garuḍa-lāṅghana*,<sup>2</sup> while the Rattas of Saundattī are known to have the *śuvarṇa-garuḍa-dhaja*.<sup>3</sup> Among the important ruling families of Kannada origin, the Kalachuris of Lalyāna, who eclipsed Later Chālukya power in the third quarter of the twelfth century, had the *śuvarṇa-vaśabha-dhaja*<sup>4</sup> as the Rattas of our inscription. It is of course difficult to say whether the Rattas of the Ardhāpur region borrowed the

<sup>1</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. 1, Part II, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 403.







## No. 22—INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAIHAR

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND V. S. SURIAHMANYAM, GOYABAMUND

(Received on 24.1.1961)

The two inscriptions published here were copied by us in October 1959 at Maihar, headquarters of the former State which now forms a Tahsil of the Satna District of Madhya Pradesh.<sup>1</sup> The records are marked as **A** and **B** for the sake of convenience. **A** is engraved on the pedestal of the goddess Sārādādevī whose temple stands on a hill, while **B** is incised on a slab of stone lying in the same temple. The four lines of writing in **A** cover an area about 15 inches in length and 3½ inches in height, while **B** contains 39 lines engraved on a well-dressed slab of stone having a raised border (about 2 inches wide) on all the four sides. The excavated bed within the borders, which is 34½ inches high and 31 inches broad, was originally meant for engraving the epigraph. Since the space was later found inadequate to incise the whole record, the first and last lines were engraved respectively on the upper and lower borders. The preservation of the writing in both the records is unsatisfactory. Many parts of the inscriptions here and there are rubbed off, though the number of passages, in which the letters are completely lost, are not too many.

Inscription **B**, which is a big *prastāvi*, was noticed by J. D. Beglar, who visited Maihar (spelt by him as Mahiyār) in 1871-73, in Cunningham's *A. S. I. Reports*, Vol. VII, p. 51, in the following words: "... to the right of the steps leading upto the chief statue [in the shrine of Dēvī Sārādā] is a large slab, now cracked, which contains an inscription perfectly illegible from the effects of weather ....". This description of the record with reference to the state of its preservation is not quite correct.

The characters of both the records belong to the Early Nāgarī alphabet of the tenth century A.D. They, with the top of letters like *p*, *s* and *y* generally closed, very closely resemble the alphabet of such epigraphs as the Pratāpgarh inscription<sup>2</sup> of the Pratihāra king Mahāndrapāla II, dated in V. S. 1003 (946 A. D.), though there is a notable difference between the alphabets of the Pratāpgarh and Maihar records in the form of the medial *ṣ* sign. While the former indicates the medial *ṣ* by bending the left end of the top *vaṭṭā* of the consonants downwards, the sign in the latter is much longer as in records like the Dharampuri plates<sup>3</sup> of the Paramāra king Vākpati Muṣṭja, dated in V. S. 1031 (974 A. D.). But such letters as *j* in the Dharampuri plates exhibit a decidedly later form than in the Maihar inscriptions. On palaeographical grounds, the epigraphs under study may be assigned to a date about the middle of the tenth century A.D.

The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit and they are written in verse. In **A**, we have only one stanza while Inscription **B** contains a versified eulogy with a *maṅgala* in prose at the beginning, the expression *apī cha* occurring twice in between the stanzas and two passages in prose referring to the writer and engraver at the end. In orthography and style also, our inscriptions resemble the Pratāpgarh inscription and other contemporary epigraphs. There is no date quoted anywhere in either of the inscriptions.

Inscription **A** contains a single stanza in *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* following a few damaged *akṣaras* at the beginning. It is of course tempting to regard these letters as forming a *maṅgala*. But

<sup>1</sup> Dr. B. Ch. Chakravarti copied the inscriptions in 1940 and prepared their transcripts. We are indebted to him for the reading of some words.

<sup>2</sup> *Aborn*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176, Plate facing p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> *Jed. As.*, Vol. VI, pp. 48 ff., Plate facing p. 51.



the stanza mentions a great scholar who was the very Vyāsa of the Kali age in poetic skill and became an expert in sciences like *vāda*, *nyāya*, *māhātmya*, *nīti* and *mīmāṃsā* even when he was a boy and this seems to refer to the young Brāhmaṇa scholar Dāmōdara whose career is described in B at some length. The inscriptions on the pedestals of images generally speak of the installation or dedication of the deities in question. It is therefore strange that the present record merely refers to the person in whose memory the goddess Sārādā (Sarasvatī) was apparently installed in a temple, the construction of which by Dāmōdara's father Dēvadhara is mentioned in Inscription B. It is thus possible that the few damaged *śloka*s at the beginning of A represent the concluding part of another stanza. If such was the case, it has to be surmised that the beginning of this inscription, carved on the image elsewhere, escaped our notice while copying the record. As a matter of fact, the image of the goddess Sārādā is under worship and the priests allowed us to copy the epigraph on the front side of the pedestal of her image after considerable persuasion. Since, moreover, the stanza in *Śāradāvalīkrīḍita* referred to above does not appear to be the concluding part of a record, it is possible to think that Inscription A, though it is followed by marks of punctuation indicating the end of a work or a section, was continued and concluded on the left side.

Inscription B begins with the *vākyāni*: *Ā namaḥ Sarasvatyai* which is followed by a fairly big *prāśasti* in fifty-one stanzas composed in various metres. Verses 1-2 of the *prāśasti* describe the goddess [Sarasvatī] as identical with Brāhmī, Kamalā and Gaurī and as installed 'on this peak [of the hill]' and again refer to her abode on the hill. The reference is no doubt to the hill at Maihar, on which the inscribed slab has been found. The following stanza records the author's obeisance to the goddess Sarasvatī.

Verse 4 introduces a Brāhmaṇa named Śūgabhadrā whose son, the learned Yūpati, born in the Vatsa *gōtra*, is mentioned in verse 5. The name of the *viśaya* or district where the Brāhmaṇa family flourished is not clear, though it may be Gōvana. The following stanzas mention the descendants of the said Brāhmaṇa: (1) Bhṛigudēva, son of Yūpati (verse 6); (2) Gaṅgādharā born in Yūpati's family (verse 7); (3) Śivādēva-bhaṭṭa whose relationship with Gaṅgādharā is not stated though he may have been a younger brother of the latter (verse 8); (4) Trivikrama, son of Śivādēva-bhaṭṭa (verse 9); and (5) Dēvaprasāda, son of Trivikrama (verses 11-12).

The description of the family in verses 13-19 is difficult to follow. Verse 13 either mentions the younger brother or the two sons of Dēvaprasāda, though no personal name is clear from the extant part of the damaged stanza. It is also difficult to understand whether the description in the following stanzas relates to the younger brother or the younger of the two sons of Dēvaprasāda or some other members of the family were introduced in the section. Verse 20 mentions Dāmōdara, whose description continues in verses 21-23, though it is not clear whether he was the same as the younger brother or son of Dēvaprasāda or was a descendant of either of the latter. But the latter part of the record shows that this Dāmōdara was the son of Dēvadhara whose name therefore must have occurred in the damaged section referred to above probably as the younger brother or as the younger son of Dēvaprasāda.

Verses 24-35 narrate a story relating to the antecedents of Dāmōdara. It is said that he was really the son of the goddess Sarasvatī and was living in Brahma-lōka along with the preceptor of the gods (Bṛhaspati) and that once there was a Śāstric dispute between the two, in which Bṛhaspati was defeated by the young boy (verses 24-26). Being angry at his defeat, the preceptor of the gods cursed the boy to be born on the earth (verse 27). The boy's mother Sarasvatī then appealed Bṛhaspati (verse 28) who consoled the daughter of Brahman (Sarasvatī) by predicting that her young son would be born in a family of pious Brāhmaṇas and would become a great



scholar (verses 29-34). The last stanza of this section (verse 35) puts the following words in Brihaspati's mouth: "Verily, this child will again come back to you as a result of being drowned in [the waters of] the sea after having seen **Purushōttama in the Ōdra country.**" The reference here is to the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Puri in Orissa.

Verses 35-40 describe Dāmōdara's career on the earth, the first two stanzas (verses 35-36) stating that, at the time Brihaspati was consoling Sarasvatī in heaven, Dāmōdara was born as the son of Dēvadharā on the earth. It is further stated that, as predicted by the preceptor of the gods, he stayed in his (i.e. his father's) house till he became sixteen years old. The following two stanzas (verses 37-38) state how then Dāmōdara left his parents, friends and relations and, resolving to set out on pilgrimage, reached in due course the sea-shore where he saw the god Purushōttama. Verse 40 states that Dāmōdara went back to the world of Brahman where he told the people the story about himself. As indicated by the prediction in verse 35, he must have lost his life while bathing in the waters of the Bay of Bengal near the temple of Purushōttama-Jagannātha in Orissa. The next stanza (verse 41) says how his father became greatly mortified at the news of his son's death.

Verses 42-43 introduce a banker named Madhusūdana who was a devotee of the god Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa) and a friend of Dāmōdara's father Dēvadharā. He is described as responsible for the building of many temples and other charitable institutions and as a poet and an incarnation of Vajradatta whose identity is uncertain, although he may have been the well-known author of the *Lōkīśvarastava*.<sup>1</sup> Verses 45-46 state how Dēvadharā built a temple for the goddess Sarasvatī in his son's memory while the previous stanza (verse 44) seems to suggest that he received help in that connection from his friend Madhusūdana. The temple referred to is no doubt the one in which the goddess Śīradā of Maihar was originally installed on the hill. Verse 47 says how Dēvadharā left his home and went to the world of Viṣṇu (i.e. died). It seems that he went to a holy spot with a view to giving up his life.

Verse 48 introduces a Śaiva ascetic named Sāmbhaśambhu whom the following stanza (verse 49) describes as a terror to the Chārvāka school of philosophers and as an adept in the Buddhist and Jain doctrines as well as in the *āgamas* of the Śaivas. From verse 50, we learn that this Sāmbhaśambhu was the author of the *prastāvi* under study. Verse 51, with which the eulogy ends, contains the prayer that the goddess (i.e. the image of Sarasvatī or Śīradā now worshipped on the hill at Maihar) may last for ever. The concluding section in line 39 states that the eulogy was written (i.e. written on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving) by Bhāva and that its engraver was Nāgaśīva.

The inscription analysed above does not contain information of any importance to the student of the political history of ancient India. Still it is not devoid of interest to the student of Indian literature and cultural history. In the first place, it contains an as yet unknown work of a little known poet named Sāmbhaśambhu, though the composition cannot be regarded as of a high order. Secondly, if Vajradatta mentioned in verse 42 is really identical with the author of the *Lōkīśvarastava*, it offers one of the rare instances of the mention of an earlier poet in an epigraphic record. Thirdly, the inscription seems to indicate the popularity of the works of Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa. The story of Sarasvatī's son having been cursed by Brihaspati in Brahma-lōka and born on the earth reminds us of a similar story told in the first chapter of Bāṇa's *Harṣacharita* how Sarasvatī herself was cursed by Durvāsas in Brahma-lōka and was compelled to live on the earth (the bank of the river Śoṇa) where she was married to a mortal and gave birth to a great scholar.

<sup>1</sup> Vajradatta, author of the *Lōkīśvarastava*, flourished at the court of Dvāpala in the ninth century A.D. (S. N. Dasgupta, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 378).



Amongst informations in the text which would interest the student of Indian mythology and religious history, attention may be drawn to the representation of the goddess Sarasvatī as identical with Brāhmi, Kāmālā and Gaṇrī and also as the daughter of the god Brahman. We know that our goddess of learning is variously represented in Puranic literature as the daughter or wife of Brahman (though Brahman's more well-known wife is Gāyatrī or Sāvitṛī) and sometimes also as identical with Durgā, the wife of Śiva, as the wife of Viṣṇu or Manu, and as the daughter of Dakṣa.<sup>1</sup>

The reference to Dāmōdara's pilgrimage to Puri is very interesting. As we have seen above,<sup>2</sup> there is evidence to show that the god Purnachōttama-Jagannātha of Puri in Orissa was a celebrated deity in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. when Kṛṣṇamiśra wrote his *Prabodha-chandrodaya* at the court of the Chandōla king Kṛtivarman (c. 1070-1100 A.D.). It is now clear from the present record that the god was enjoying the same celebrity as early as the middle of the tenth century and probably even some time earlier.

Among the geographical names in the inscription, *Ōjra* has to be identified with the Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa.<sup>3</sup>

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

## A

- 1 तो . . .<sup>5</sup> । वेदे वसन्तपुराननवरणदृङ्ग्यावप्रव(व)न्धे परः
- 2 साह्यत्वातिष्ठ नैपुणं परमणा[न्तीती] च वाचस्पतिः । मो-
- 3 मासामु चित्रक्षणः परमाहो वा(वा)ल्पेपि सर्व्वज्ञता येनावा-
- 4 पि किमुच्यते कालियुगव्यासः कवित्वं [प्रति]॥०॥

## B

[Metres : verses 1, 13, 22, 31, 50 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 2-8, 10, 11, 16-19, 21, 23-27, 29, 30, 32, 33-41, 43-47 *Anuṣṭuph*; verses 9, 15, 14, 20, 48 *Paśantatilakā*; verse 28, 33 *Varṇānṭha*; verses 12, 34, 42, 49, 51 *Brughharā*.]

- 1 ॐ नमः सरस्वत्यै । या ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मी कमलोद्भवस्य कमल [विष्णोश्च वक्षस्वले]  
देहादं गिरिशस्य विश्वमहिता गौरी जगद्विश्रुता । प्रत्यगास्थिता[सांद्रवि-  
म्ब(म्ब) ७ ७ - पिष्टातकस्यासकं ?]
- 2 संवास्मिन्निगारे गिरेर्भगवती नित्यं स्थिता चारुणि ॥१॥<sup>6</sup> पञ्चताविनिवासेन  
..... परदेवी च वरदानैकततरा ॥२॥<sup>7</sup> सर्व्वविद्यात्मके  
देवि न-

<sup>1</sup> See Monier-Williams' *Sansk. Eng. Dict.*, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XXXIII, p. 184 and note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *Direct. Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 134 ff.

<sup>4</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>5</sup> The asterisk here appears to represent the concluding part of a stanza.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.



- 3 दिष्टे दूरवर्त्तनि । व(व)ह्यवववावु(व)जोद्भूतो(ते) सरस्वति नमोस्तु ते ॥[३॥\*]  
धर्माचारविदग्धेषु मर्त्येषु धृतिमयसु । - वने विषये पुण्ये शोणभद्रे(द्रो)-  
तिविश्रुतः ॥[४॥\*] तत्सुनुर्व्वपतिर्नाम वे-
- 4 दवेदांगपारगः । वत्सगोत्रे पवित्रेभूत्साक्षादिव पितामहः ॥[५॥\*] तद्वंशभूषणं भद्रो  
भृगुदेवो द्विजोत्तमः । व(व)भूव यशसा पूरैः परिपूरितदिङ्माश्रुः ॥[६॥\*]  
ततस्तदन्व-
- 5 ये धीरो विध्वस्ताशेषब(ब)धनः । गंगाधर इति ख्यातः समभूत्समदर्शनः  
॥[७॥\*] शरीरिणैव पुण्येन भूत्तेन श्रुतिराशिना । शिवदेवभट्टेवातः सान्वयाः  
पूर्व्वभाविनः ॥[८॥\*] त-
- 6 स्माच्च शुभ्रचरितश्चतुरश्रमूर्त्तिर्मान्यस्त्रिविक्रम इति प्रथितोऽरुकोत्तिः । संपादिताभि-  
हृदयाभिमतानुरूपः प्रादुर्ध्वं(ध्वं)भूव भुवि कल्पतरोरनूतः ॥[९॥\*] षट्कर्मा-
- 7 मिरतस्वास्य सर्व्वकामाभिगामिनः । कुलशीलगुणोपेते स्वकलत्रे सुतोभवत् ॥[१०॥\*]  
समुद्र इव गोभीये गुणैः माणिक्यरोहणः । देवप्रसादनामा[भू] - -
- 8 बाधंसमर्धनात् ॥[११॥\*] अपि च । रूपे कंदर्पकलौ वचसि सुरागुरु]र्व्वद-  
विद्यामु वेधा व्याप्तः प्रज्ञाविकाशे गुरुजनविनये नूतनो राम[भद्रः] । सत्ये]
- 9 धर्म्मस्य सुनुनिजकुलकुमुदानंददाने च चंद्रश्चारित्र्ये चित्रगुप्तः किमपरमसमः  
सज्जनत्वं दायाजुतः ॥[१२॥\*] सर्व्वद्विजेषु महितस्तत - - - - -
- 10 वेशमनि - - प्रतपोरभारः । तस्यानुजः सुजनलोचनपूष्णचंद्रः साक्षादुपेन्द्र इव  
लागलितो व(व)भूव ॥[१३॥\*] कात्या विडम्ब(स्व)पति कांचनमेघ दीर्घ  
दामोर्द्ध्वसत्कुवलय - - - - -
- 11 - । गत्या वृषं वृषरतिर्नलकूव(व)रस्य रूपं जिगाय शुभलक्षणतश्चममूर्त्तिः  
॥[१४॥\*] अपि च । वेदाभ्यासपवित्रवक्त्रकमलः शास्त्रेषु पारंगतः काव्या-  
[भ्यानका]नाटकादिषु
- 12 परं प्रावीण्यमाप्तः स्वयम् । कर्ता चाद्भुतवस्तुरभ्यवचसां [यावा]मृतस्वदिनां  
सूक्तीनां कुशलः कलासु सकलस्मृत्यर्थः? - - स्मिरः ॥[१५॥\*]  
व(व)हृभिः - - - - -



- 13 [इ]रीकृत्य कृत्यवित् । देवानाराधयामास वितुष्णः सप्ततंतुभिः ॥[१६॥\*]  
संसारासारतां ज्ञात्वा विदुषां ग धुरि स्थितः । सर्व्वत्रात्रोत्तनात्कूपसरामि  
... [II] [१७॥\*] ...
- 14 तु मरुदेम ध्वजव्याजेन निम्मलम् । प्रसमार मशस्तस्य प्राप वक्व(क्व)-  
द्रमलम् ॥[१८॥\*] तस्मात्स्या व्यातिमापन्ना जगत्यापन्नपालनात् । ...  
इति ...
- 15 ... [II] [१९॥\*] -- ७ - ७ ७ [निहृत्य रजस्तामांसि शापाक्षराइलितदुदेम-  
दर्पसर्पः । दामोदरो विजितदुर्जयकोपमोह संसार - ७ ७ ७ - ७ ७ - ७ -  
॥[२०॥\*] पूर्व्वज-
- 16 न्मान्तरोपात्तसंस्कारस्य प्रभावतः । स वा(वा)ल एव गृण्वात्मा सर्व्वशास्त्राण्यवु-  
(वु)ध्यत ॥[२१॥\*] अपि च । प्रद्युम्नः किमयं पुनः क्षितितलं प्राप्तः  
[स्वयं] कौतुकात्स्मत्वा शेषव-
- 17 मेष वारिविमुताकान्तो जयन्तः किमु । किम्वा तारकमारको दधदसावेकं मुखं  
लोलया भातीत्थं [चतुरदच कीर्तिविभवः] -- ७ -- ७ - ॥[२२॥\*] एकसस्थः  
स्थिरप्रजः सु-
- 18 कविर्वादिनां वरः । पित्तोभैक्तोनूरक्तवच श्रुतो धर्मपरदच सः ॥[२३॥\*]  
सोयं सरस्वतीगुनुर्व्व(र्व्व)ह्यलोके वसन्तुरा । देवानां गुरुणा सार्द्धं जन्मयामास  
सन्मतिः ॥[२४॥\*] व(व)ह्य-
- 19 पपेदि सर्व्वेषां व(व)ह्यर्षीणां च पदयताम् । विवादः सुमहानासीत्तयोर्व्विवाच-  
लिप्तयोः ॥[२५॥\*] सर्व्वज्ञत्वात्सुवक्तृत्वात्सरस्वत्वाः प्रभावतः । सप्तमेहनि  
वा(वा)लेन विजितो
- 20 देवतागुरुः ॥[२६॥\*] पराजयविलक्षेण कोपेनाहुतभेतसा । शप्तः स वा(वा)लो  
गुरुणा मच्छ त्वं मर्त्यमण्डलम् ॥[२७॥\*] निशम्य तत्तस्य वचः सरस्वती  
सुतस्य वापात्परितप्तमानसा । प्र-
- 21 नामपूर्व्वः कर्णैरयोदितः प्रसादयामास गुरुं दिवौकसाम् ॥[२८॥\*] स तस्या  
उपरोधेन दयार्द्रोक्तमानसः । व(वृ)हस्पतिरुवाचेदं मा भेषीद्व(र्व्व)ह्यणः सुते  
॥[२९॥\*] तवायं वा(वा)-



INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAIHAR

A



(from Photograph)





(from Photograph)



- 22 लकः पुत्ति मा विपीद जितात्मनाम् । उत्पल्यते कुले पुण्ये विप्राणामृत्या-  
जिनाम् ॥[३०॥\*] मातुर्व्वेदमनि देवमदिरशिरोविन्यस्त[हस्ता]ननभ्राजत्कांचननिमि-  
तोऽकलशचवस्ता-
- 23 त्वकारोत्करे । पीरुत्रीसविलेपनोश्चतवृ(वृ)हदसोजविभोभितप्रादुर्भूततरंगसंगसुरभिक्कीडोल्ल-  
सदीपिके ॥[३१॥\*] मुरुषः मुभगः श्रीमान्मव्वंशास्त्रविशारदः । भविष्यति सदा-
- 24 चारः कात्यायन इवापरः ॥[३२॥\*] ततश्च शुभ्रैश्वरिर्मनोरमैर्मानसि गृह्णन्पुरवा-  
सितां भुवि । स एष मित्त्रैः सह रम्यते सदा गरुत्मकेतुनिवसन्निव व्रजे  
॥[३३॥\*] पुत्रस्ते वेद-
- 25 विद्यानिगमनविसरद्वत्तकान्तिः कदाचिच्छास्त्रव्याख्यानतुल्यैः (व्यैः) सुनिश्चितमतिमिव्वेष्ट्य-  
मानः कदाचित् । शिष्टानां सम्मताभिः कितितलतिलकः कौड[मा]नः कदाचि-  
द्विद्वत्प्रश्नप्रव(व)-
- 26 न्यान्मुकविविरक्तितानालपतेयं कदाचित् ॥[३४॥\*] समुद्रमञ्जनामृतमोदेषु पुरुषोत्तमम् ।  
दृष्ट्वा तवांतिके भूयः पुरायच्छत्ययं शिशुः ॥[३५॥\*] एवं सरस्वती यावदा-  
स्वामयति [सीप्यतिः ।]
- 27 तावत्तसूनुकल्पनः श्रीदेववरवेदमनि ॥[३६॥\*] यथैव गुरुणाख्यातं तथा स्थित्वा  
स्वके गृहे । दामोदराभिधानोसी द्विरष्टवर्षाकृतिः<sup>१</sup> ॥[३७॥\*] [परित्यज्य  
निजान्व(न्व)म् ?]-
- 28 न्मुहुदः पितरौ तथा । यात्रायां स मति चक्रे शापस्यान्तवशादय ॥[३८॥\*]  
ततश्च गणितैरेव दिवसैर्देवदुर्लभः । प्राप्तवान्वलवेस्तीरं दृष्टश्च पुरुषोत्तमः  
॥[३९॥\*] तेनैव
- 29 गच्छता भूयः परमं प्र(व)ह्मणः पदम् । आख्यातमिदमाख्यानं लोकानां तन्नि-  
वासिनाम् ॥[४०॥\*] दामोदरस्य वृत्तान्तममुमाकण्ठं वीरधीः । कथं कथमपि  
प्राणान्पितास्य समघा-
- 30 रयत् ॥[४१॥\*] तन्मित्रं चित्त्रवेष्टाञ्जितवित्तयथाः सम्मतः सख्यनानां  
पुण्यात्मारामवाटीमुरतदनसरकीर्तनो(ने)तिप्रगल्भः । पीराणां ध्रेष्टिभावादुपजनित-



- 31 मनःप्रोतिरग्राम्यकेलिः कर्ता काव्यप्रव(ब)न्धे पुनरिव गुणवान्वज्जदत्तोन्नतोष्णः  
॥[४२॥\*] मधुसूदनभक्तोसौ मधुसूदनसंज्ञितः । पुरमुद्यो(द्वो)तयामास प्रदीप
- 32 इव मंदिरम् ॥[४३॥\*] दामोदरपितानेन मुहुदा सममताम्यत् । समदुःखसुखेनायं  
शोकशकुन्तव्यधः ॥[४४॥\*] मुपुवस्नेहव(ब)न्धेन तदाह्वानं निशाम्य च । धीदेव-
- 33 घरनामाम् सरस्वत्या अकारयत् ॥[४५॥\*] प्रासादं शिखरे रम्यं यशो  
मूर्त्तमिव स्थितम् । भाति तस्यैव विप्रस्य विपुषः कृत्यवस्तुषु ॥[४६॥\*]  
सोपि देवधरो धीरो निः[?]सुत्स्य विधिव-
- 34 दृगुद्गात् । मुमुक्षुः क्षीणकर्मत्वाद्विष्णोः पदमगात्परम् ॥[४७॥\*] तस्मिन्पुरे पुरभि-  
दचरणारविन्दमाराध्य लब्ध(ब्ध)शुभवो(वो)षनिरस्तव(ब)धः । का सन्निय(ब)न्ध  
७ ७ - ७ ७ मुत्तरेणुः[?]
- 35 पादाव्(बु)जः ७ ७ ७ - भुवि साव(ब)शंभुः ॥[४८॥\*] जगि च । भावाभावानुभाषी  
विभुवनभवनाभोगगर्भैकचंद्रश्चावाकांतकदक्षः कृतसुगतमतिर्ज्वेनविज्ञानकेतुः । संसारं-
- 36 भोक्षिमज्जज्जनजनिनितिजज्ञानहस्तावर्धव(ब) शैवानाभागमानामवगतमहिमा सर्व-  
शास्त्रेष्वभिज्ञः ॥[४९॥\*] तेनेयं समकारि कल्मषमुषा शस्ता प्रशस्तिर्लस-  
काव्यावज्जि-
- 37 तन्नेतयास्य विदुषा स्तोविक्रमस्य स्वयम् । तत्सूनोरिव पवित्रचेष्टितशतैः  
शशवत्सतां सम्मतैः सन्तः सज्जनकीर्त्तनेषु महती यस्मान्मुदं वि(वि)भ्रति  
॥[५०॥\*] ॥ ⊕ । ⊕ ।
- 38 देहादं चंद्रमौलिः कलयति गिरिजा पाववंभो ७ ----- स्वलस्थां क्षियमधिबहति  
प्रेमव(ब)न्धादुपेन्द्रः । ----- ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ -----
- 39 [त्रो?] च यावतावद्देवीयमास्ता निरिशिखरमिदं पावयन्तो पृथिव्याम् ॥⊕[५१॥\*]  
लिखिता भावेन । उल्कीर्णा च नागदेवेनयं प्रशस्तिरिति ॥○॥



# No. 23—INSCRIPTION FROM WARI, SAKA 1467

(2 Plates)

DERALA MITRA, CALCUTTA

(Received on 29.11.1960)

During my visit to Malda in May 1959, an inscribed stone slab (now in the Malda Museum) was shown to me by Shri Shibendra Sekhar Roy, Pleader and Secretary of the Malda Museum, who stated that it had been found in 1958 by Shri Raghunandan Saha, Block Development Officer, during the Test Relief operation near a mound by the side of a large tank called Ratangajā, at Wari, 10 miles north of the Harishchandrapur Police Station in the Malda District.

The inscription, engraved on the finished side of an otherwise irregular slab of basalt with letters in relief as generally found in Arabic and Persian inscriptions, contains six lines of writing. The length and breadth of the finished oblong face of the slab are respectively 1 foot 4½ inches and 5¼ inches. There is a socket on the back side, apparently for fixing it on the wall of the *sanctuary* referred to in the inscription. The writing has a raised border on all the sides. The letters are uniform in size and carefully made.

The characters of the record are Bengali and resemble those in the epigrapha and manuscripts of the 15th or 16th century found in Bengal and Assam. In regard to paleography, the following points call for attention. The upper part of medial *t* generally shows, instead of the curve above the top *midra*, an oblique stroke coming downward to the left from the right end of the top *midra* and attached to the top of the concerned letter, as in *likhamānā*, *manā*, *Manubhā* and *midra* and attached to the top of the concerned letter, as in *likhamānā*, *manā*, *Manubhā* and *midra* (line 1). This type of *t* is found in a few dedicatory inscriptions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in some of the temples of Vishnupur in the Bankura District. Medial *n* at the foot of consonants like *n*, *p* and *s* (e.g. *Manubhā* in line 1, *patrā* and *manā* in line 3) is indicated by an angular attachment (resembling the tail of a fish), but has the modern Bengali form below such letters as *m*, *r*, *sh* and *d* (e.g. *manā* in line 1, *vishvā* and *Vishva* in line 2 and *dupakā* in line 5). Medial *ū* in *mānā* (line 5) is denoted by an angular curve resembling the modern Bengali form of medial *ri*. *Anamā* is indicated by a dot near the top end of the right side of the letter and also by a dot put above a slanting *danda* tipped by a dot placed at the right of the letter as in *vānā* (line 5). *Vishva* resembles the Bengali figure for 4 as in the copper-plate inscription of the time of King Vijayamallikya of Tripura.<sup>1</sup> The *acograhā* sign has the same form as *h* without the top *midra*. The sign of final *m* in *Vishvām* (line 4) resembles somewhat the mark of interrogation placed obliquely. The tongue of *ja* in *Vijñānam* (line 3) does not come down as in the modern one but is finished with an upward curve as in the manuscript of the *Śikṣasāhita*.<sup>2</sup> The letter *j* is yet to achieve its final Bengali form, while *z* (e.g. in *vishvā* and *Vishva* in line 2) shows an oblique *t*-like double curve attached to the left top of a vertical line. The letter *c* has the shape of *s* (which of course is undifferentiated from *h*) with a dot inside the triangle as in the earlier of the two Barakar inscriptions<sup>3</sup> and in a stone inscription

<sup>1</sup> JAS, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1921, pp. 73-83.

<sup>2</sup> R. D. Banerji, *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, University of Calcutta, 1919, Plate VIII.

<sup>3</sup> JASB, Letters, Vol. II, 1935, pp. 31 L, Plate 4.



of V.S. 1553 (1496 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> The letter *l* exhibits a single oblique curve attached to the right vertical line. The upper portion of *ā* looks like that of *d*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, except for the names of the two compounds, it is in verse. The following orthographical points may be noted: (1) reduplication of *m* in *Manubhar-mundapash* but not in *sārair-muktayai* (both in line 1); (2) the use of *acagraha* in *bhakty-ādhāra* (lines 1 and 2) but not in *Mahēndrē-tra* (line 2) and (3) the absence of the mark of the final consonant with *t* in *sikhāta* (line 2) but its presence with *m* in *Vidvānītham* (line 4).

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 1467, given in the chronogram *muni(7)-vatsa(6)-Muni(14)*. The year corresponds to 1545-46 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple by a person named Mahēndra with the image of Viṣṇu in the centre surrounded by Śūrya, Gaṇeśa, Pārvatī and Viṣvāmītra respectively in the south-east, north-west, north-west and north-east directions. Like a modern tolerant Smārta, Mahēndra rose above sectarianism and engaged himself in *pañcā-śpandanā*.

The contents of this inscription made me curious about the structure itself. With a faint hope of getting some traces I visited the site from Madia on the 24th April 1940 and found the remains, scanty though they are, faithfully answering to the description.

The main edifice consists of a square structure with a low platform-like stone-paved *opāṇa* around it. The brick walls of its outer periphery, about 4 feet thick, are veneered both internally and externally with smooth slabs of bluish basalt (*śula-sāra* and *sūl-śpala* of the inscription). Internally the structure is compartmented by a network of brick walls, about 3 feet 8 inches wide, into nine chambers (see Plate). The largest is the central chamber about 11 feet square, and it is surrounded by eight others—four squarish small rooms at the corners and four oblong bigger ones, one on the four sides of the central chamber. The latter, no doubt served as porches to the central and the corner rooms, utilised as sanctuaries. The central chamber has three doors, one on the front and the others on the sides, leading to the porches, while each of the corner rooms has two doors communicating with the flanking porches, the latter having in addition doors leading outside, so that they have each four doors, except the western one behind the central chamber which has three. The floors of all the rooms were originally paved with bluish basalt slabs, traces of which still linger at places. The frames of the doors were also of stone, the sills and jambs of which are extant in many cases.

The central object of worship, i.e. Viṣṇu of the inscription, is now missing.<sup>2</sup> It no doubt stood against the doorless western wall of the central chamber. The dislodged pedestal of the image now lies in the adjacent north porch. *Pañcha-nakha* on plan and of bluish basalt, it is 5 feet 11 inches long and 2 feet 6 inches wide (at the maximum point), with a socket, 1 foot  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch by 7 inches in the centre of its rear end.

The corner rooms doubtless housed the remaining deities mentioned in the inscription. There is, however, at present no trace of them except that the north-eastern room still has *in situ* a *līṅga* of bluish basalt with a large *arghya-paṭṭa*. The inscription itself had been found loose, according

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 114 f.; Plate I. This type of *r* also occurs on the dedicatory inscriptions on the Mallikārjuna, Śyāmarāya, Jōḍ-bāgā, Kūlābhāni, Lāṭī, Rādhāvinōd, Murālimōhan and Madan-Gōpāl temples (all of the seventeenth century) of Vāṇapūr.

<sup>2</sup> My enquiries revealed that a large image of Viṣṇu, which may be regarded as the central deity of the shrine, had been removed by a local person who is said to have thrown it in the neighbouring tank following a mishap in his family.



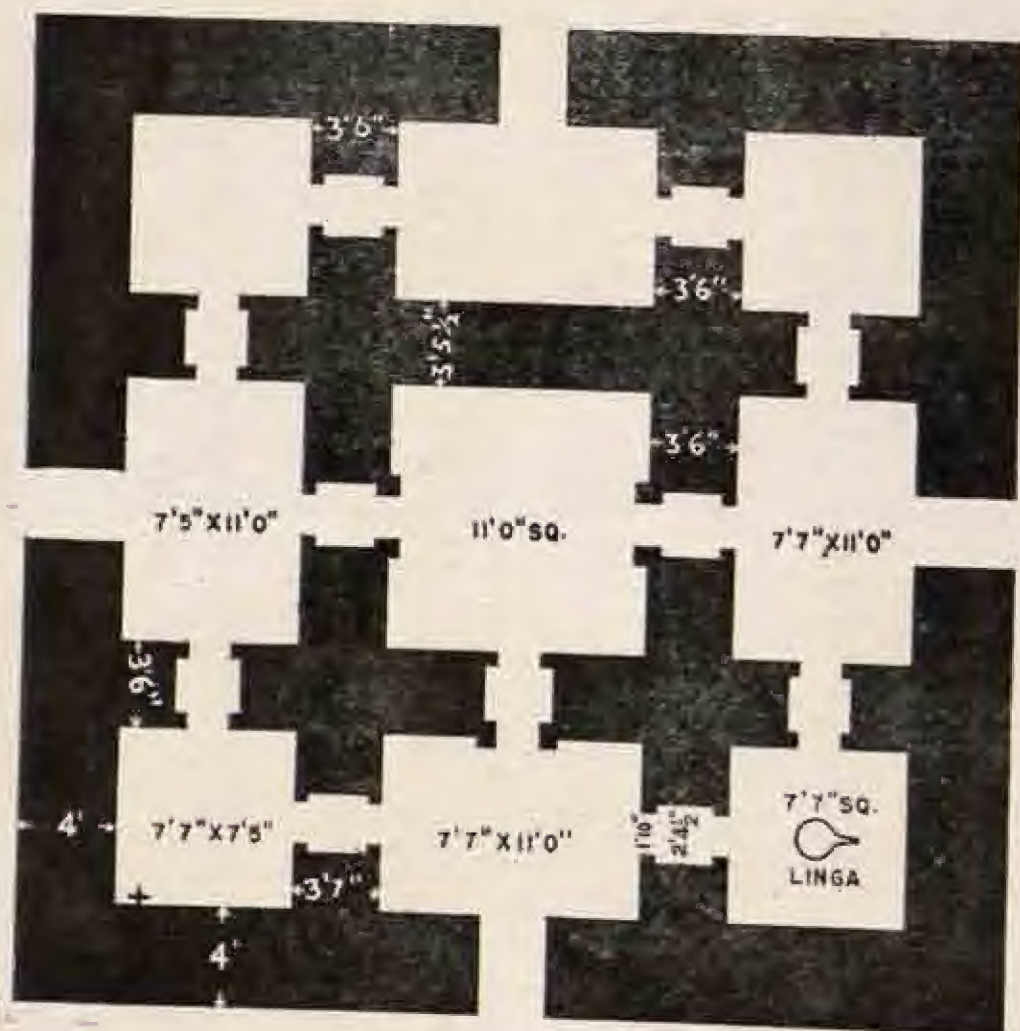
INSCRIPTION FROM WARI, SAKA 1467—PLATE I

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Size : One-half



# SKETCH PLAN OF THE PAÑCHĀYATANA TEMPLE AT WARI



EAST

+ FINDSPOT OF THE INSCRIPTION

TANK



to Shri R. N. Saha,<sup>1</sup> at whose initiative the site was cleared off its debris and who was kind enough to take me to the site, on the top of the extant wall in the south-eastern corner room, i.e. the chamber of Sūrya.

The facing brickwork of the partition-walls is fine and its mortar is lime, while lime and *surā* are used in the core. The filling in between the facing stones of the outer periphery is of brick courses alternating with layers of concrete consisting of lime and brick grits. The mortar is extremely strong even now.

The structure (*manḍapa* or *maṭha* of the inscription) was therefore a *pañcā-āyatsna* temple dedicated to the principal deities of the five recognized Brahmanical cults, namely, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Śaiva, Saura and Gāṇapatya, a remarkable combination under one roof. Although the spirit of rapprochement between the different rival Brahmanical creeds was at work from a fairly early period and syncretistic images, miniature temples with figures of different cult-deities on their faces and the *pañcā-āyatsna* temples consisting of a central one dedicated to the chief object of worship with four subsidiary temples at the corners of the quadrangle grew up in response to it, it seems to have gathered momentum after the conquest of Muslim rulers. The instinct of self-preservation appears to have prompted the votaries of the different Brahmanical deities to combine before a common foe who had no respect for their faiths.

Twelve feet away from the back (i.e. western) wall of the structure are the ruins of a row of nine brick cells connected with each other by side doors. It is not known whether similar cells, laid after a quadrangular monastic plan, existed on the three other sides as well. But this is not unlikely as the north-west end of the western wall shows a turn towards the north. To the east of the structure is the Rataṅgīdā tank which, according to local belief, is the repository of *ratna* (vatsa, precious things).

In the office of the Block Development Officer exists a fragmentary stone sculpture which, I was told by Shri R. N. Saha, was found in the debris of the structure. It represents an eight- or ten-armed goddess seated in *lotā-dhara* on a double-petalled lotus. All the forearms with the attributes, except a water-pot (preserved on the lap), are now missing. Though it is tempting to identify the figure with that of Śailaputrī of the inscription, the image, as evident from the characters of the inscription on its pedestal, seems to be earlier than the temple-complex.<sup>2</sup>

Not far from the complex is another large tank, on the banks of which are remains of some more brick structures.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres : Verse 1 *Śrīgḍharā* ; verse 2 *Vasantatilaka*.]

- 1 Śak-ābdē likhyamāṇē muni-rasa-Manubhir-amṣaḍepaṭh taila-sārair-muktyai  
nirmāya bha-
- 2 kty-ā'dhṛta-vīra(ba)ḍha-gaṇaṭh śrī-Mahānārā-ṭṭh śākshātā(kshāt) | madhyē Viṣṇuṃ  
Kṛiānār-iddi-
- 3 ā-Dīvasakarath nairīṭē Vighnārājath vāyavyē Śailaputrīm Hars-harītī sarāir-vvandi-
- 4 tath Viṣvanātham || [1<sup>4</sup>] śrī-Gōvindamīrasya ||<sup>4</sup> Nū-ōpalāna ghaṭitō maṭha śha ya-

<sup>1</sup> Shri Saha also mentioned a carved gate which he has kept beneath a huge stack of bricks.

<sup>2</sup> [See below, pp. 182-84.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> From the original.

<sup>4</sup> Between the two *duṇḍas*, there is a floral motif within an oblong border.



- 5 sya saṅgharṣapād-upachītā kila gīṭa-mūrtiḥ | tīśvatī vata vṛthāiva kalaśka-vāhina  
6 vimvā(mbā) vidhūr-vimala-bhāṣa vibhāṣi rēkhā || [2<sup>a</sup>] śrī-Śatāvadhānasya ||<sup>1</sup> ||

## TRANSLATION

In the Śaka year which is being written by muni (7), rasa (6) and Mana (14), the illustrious Mahendra, out of devotion (and) for salvation, built, with the best stones, (this) *maṇḍapa*, which holds several deities, (with) Viṣṇu in the centre, the maker of the day (Sūrya) in the direction of Kṛānu (agni), Viṣṇurāja (Gaṇḍa) in that of Nirṛti, the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī) in that of Vāyu, and Vīśvanātha, worshipped by gods, in that of Hara (Iśana). (This is the composition) of the illustrious Gōvīndamūṣa. Made of blue stones is this *maṭha*, the blue form of which is produced by burning. Alas ! The (black) stain in the brightly-shining orb of the moon, which spreads the ill fame (of the moon), (now) shines in vain (i.e. the lustre of the black stain pales into insignificance before the shiny black stone of the *maṭha*).<sup>2</sup> (This is the composition) of the illustrious Śatāvadhāna.

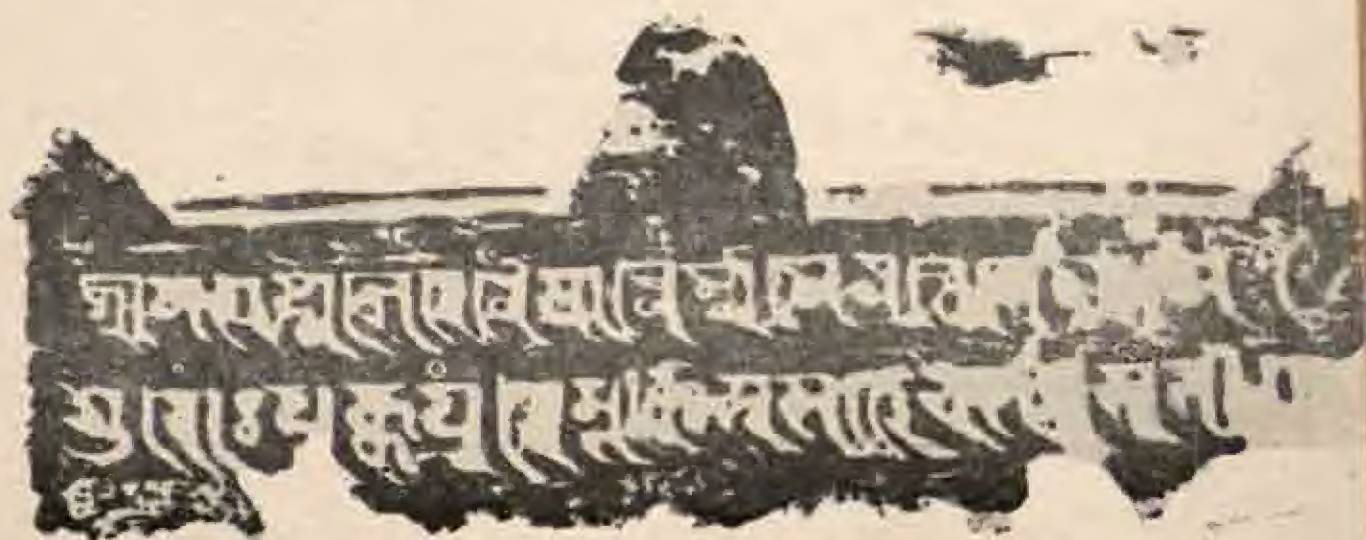
<sup>1</sup> There is a floral motif here within an oblong border.

<sup>2</sup> (See below, p. 183—E<sup>3</sup>.)





(from Photograph)



Size: Actual







## No. 24—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION FROM WARI

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND.

(Received on 18.1.1961)

The Wari inscription of Śaka 1457 (1545-46 A.D.) has been edited in the foregoing pages (pp. 179-82) by Mrs. D. Mitra. The second of the two stanzas contained in the inscription runs as follows :

*Nil-apalēna ghaṭitā matha īśha yasya  
mukhācāśhapād-upachitā kīla nīla-mūrtiḥ |  
ātananti ceta vr̥th-āiva kalāṅka-vāṇak-  
rumbhē vidhūr-crimala-bhāṣi rikhāti rēḷāḥ ||*

We are inclined to translate it into English in the following words : " This temple is built of blue stone, owing verily to the rubbing against which, the blue-coloured line developed in the spotlessly shining orb of the moon appears—oh wonder! spreading the story of a stain [in it] wrongly indeed." The reference here is really to the great height of the temple and we have the same idea also elsewhere in the works of Sanskrit literature. One such stanza occurs in Ananta-bhaṭṭa's *Bhāratachampū* to which my attention was drawn by Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan. The verse reads :

*Yasyānandagra-nṛpa-mandira-chandra-ālā-  
vātāyanē gati-vatūḍ-carpuski prasaṅgām |  
dip-āgra-dhūma-maṣikām śīṭirām-ku-bāmbhē  
mōhāt-kurāṅga itī mugdha-janē indanti<sup>1</sup>*

Mrs. Mitra has referred to a damaged stone sculpture representing 'an eight- or ten-armed goddess' now lying in the office of the Block Development Officer at Wari about ten miles from the Harishchandrapur Police Station in the Malda District. She observes, " Though it is tempting to identify the figure with that of Śailaputrī (i.e. Pārvatī) of the inscription [of 1545 A.D.], the image, as evident from the characters of the inscription on its pedestal, seems to be earlier than the temple-complex." She is right. On an examination of an impression of the image inscription in question, I find that its characters are about six or seven centuries earlier than the epigraph of 1545 A.D. Moreover, the contents of the epigraph, as read by us, show that the image on which it is engraved is that of the goddess Sarasvatī.

The Wari Sarasvatī image inscription is written in two lines which cover an area about 6-7 inches in length and 1-1 inches in height. Its characters belong to the transitional stage when Gaṇḍī was developing out of Siddhamātrikā. It may be noticed that the top of the letters *p*, *m*, etc., is open in some cases (e.g. *p* in *paṅkha* and *m* in *mūrtiḥ* in line 2) but closed in others (e.g. *p* in *śrīmat-Padma*<sup>2</sup> and *m* in *nirmamāṇsa* in line 1 and *p* in *purī* and *s* in *sa-sūtrī* in line 2). We know that the top of such letters is only rarely open in the Pāla and Chamra inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. The inscription may thus be assigned on palaeographical

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. C. Das, *Banshay*, p. I, verse 3.



grounds to a date before the close of the tenth century. The record, which is written in the Sanskrit language, contains a single stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, the two halves of which are engraved in the two lines of writing. There are **orthographical errors**; cf. *giriṃ-niśā* for *giriṃ-niśā* in line 1 and *pakṣa* for *pakṣa* in line 2. Of lexical interest is the expression *pakṣa-pura* in line 2, which appears to be the Sanskrit rendering of Bengali *pākā-bāḍī*, 'a brick-built house'.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of an image of the goddess Sarasvatī by a person named Padmagiri. The image is stated to have been made [for installation] in the brick-built house of Padmagiri's preceptor whose name is not mentioned in the epigraph. The *pakṣa-pura* or brick-built house seems actually to have been a temple built by the person in question.<sup>1</sup> The special mention of the shrine as brick-built is due to the fact that, as is the case even now, many deities were worshipped in thatched houses in the area in question. Padmagiri's name ending with the word *giri* is interesting. Whether this indicates that he was an ascetic of a particular order cannot be definitely determined since personal names like Nandagiri and Mahāndragiri occur in very early inscriptions<sup>2</sup> while we have no such early reference to ascetics bearing names ending in *giri*. But Padmagiri's epithet *nirmamaḥ*, 'one who has renounced all worldly ties', seems to support such a conjecture.

If Padmagiri was a Brahmanical ascetic, the goddess was the Brahmanical Sarasvatī and not the Buddhist or Jain deity of that name. But it may be noted in this connection that the early medieval images of the goddess Sarasvatī found in Bengal, whether Brahmanical or otherwise, are generally represented with two or four arms, and not with eight arms.<sup>3</sup> Since the image in question is known to be that of Sarasvatī from the inscription it bears, we get here a unique instance of the eight-armed Sarasvatī, even though such a conception of the deity is sometimes met with in Puranic literature. The *Durgāpūjā*,<sup>4</sup> e.g. speaks of an aspect of Sarasvatī with eight arms holding respectively arrow, pebble or club, trident or lance, discus, conch, bell, plough and bow. But what Mrs. Mitra describes as a water-pot on the lap of the deity seems to be the lower end of the lute which is one of the common attributes of several forms of the deity. If the image had really ten arms as alternatively suggested by Mrs. Mitra, the additional two arms may have held the lute.

#### TEXT

- 1 Śrīmat-Padmagirīnā(g-si)hā nirmamāḥna vi[nirmamāḥ] |
- 2 gurōḥ pakṣa(kva)-purō mūr[ītiḥ] sa-sārē cha [Sara]s[ī] |

#### TRANSLATION

This image—the Sarasvatī—was constructed by the illustrious Padmagiri, who is free from connection with the outer world, (for installation) in the strong brick-built house (i.e. a temple) of (i.e. raised by) (his) preceptor.

<sup>1</sup> The word *śāṣṭhā*, which is a synonym of *gura*, is sometimes used in the sense of 'a temple' (Lüders' List, No. 952).

<sup>2</sup> The name Nandagiri occurs in two inscriptions from Barman, cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 58 and King Mahāndragiri of Pāṭliputra is known from the Aśokaśāli pillar inscription (cf. loc. cit., p. 236, text line 28, and p. 257, note).

<sup>3</sup> Bhattacharya, *Ind. Ant. Res.*, *Sculp. Deccan Mus.*, pp. 181-90. For the Buddhist Sarasvatī with two or six arms, see Bhattacharya, *Ind. Ant. Res.*, 1938, pp. 249-52; cf. Garter, *G. N. Res.*, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Venkatasūtra ed. 1916, p. 281, verses 14-15:

Gaurī-śāṣṭhā-mamāśāṣṭhā gā nāṭya-sikha-gaṇa-śāṣṭhā |  
śāṣṭhā-Sarasvatī prāṇa-Sarasvatī-sarāṣṭhā |  
Gāṇa-śāṣṭhā-śāṣṭhā śāṣṭhā-mamāśāṣṭhā śāṣṭhā-śāṣṭhā |  
śāṣṭhā-śāṣṭhā śāṣṭhā-śāṣṭhā śāṣṭhā-śāṣṭhā śāṣṭhā-śāṣṭhā |

<sup>5</sup> From an impression.



## No. 25—THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 28.8.1960)

### 1. Bhōjpur Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhōja I

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a colossal image of a Jain Tirthaṅkara in the old Jain temple at Bhōjpur in the Geharganj Tahsil of the Raizem District, Madhya Pradesh. The village lies about 16 miles from Bhopal. There are only two lines of writing in the epigraph, the first of which is bigger than the second and contains letters of a slightly bigger size. The aksharas in line 1, which is about 21 inches long, are about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in height, while those of line 2 (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches shorter than line 1) are a little less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  an inch high.

The inscription is fragmentary, the extant part containing about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the original writing. About  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the inscription is broken away from the beginning. Several aksharas have also been broken away from a few other places in line 1.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī of about the eleventh century A.D. They resemble the alphabet of the records of the time of Paramāra Bhōja I (c. 1000-55 A.D.), to whose age the inscription under study also refers itself. T and s have been written alike. The ornamentation of the anusvāra in *Chandrārḍha* in line 1 is interesting. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in two stanzas. The extant part of the record does not bear any date. But it can be referred to a date about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

There is a verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre in line 1. Its first half refers to Chandrārḍhamauli (i.e. the god Śiva) and the second half to [Rājādhi]rāja-Paramāra Bhōjadēva. The deity and the reigning monarch may have been introduced by a word like *jayati*; but no verb can be traced in the extant part of the stanza. The palaeography and findspot of the inscription suggest that this Bhōjadēva is no other than Paramāra Bhōja I.

Line 2 contains another stanza in the *Upajāti* metre in the first half of which we can read the passages *Sāgaranandī-nāmā*, while the second half has *sa Nēmicandrā vidudhī pratishṭhām . . .* *Sā(Sānti)-jīnasya mū(sū)riḥ*. It is thus clear that the object of the inscription is to record the installation of an image of Sānti-jina, i.e. the Jain Tirthaṅkara Sāntinātha, on the pedestal of which it is engraved. The person responsible for its installation was apparently a Jain householder named Sāgaranandin, while the ceremony of installing the image was performed by a Jain monk named Nēmicandra-sūri. Although it is a Jain epigraph, the invocation of Chandrārḍhamauli or Śiva in verse 1 seems to suggest that the author of the two stanzas, in which the record was composed, was a Śaiva. The said god may have also been mentioned in connection with king Bhōja who is known to have been a devotee of Śiva.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it associates Paramāra Bhōja I with Bhōjpur or Bhōjapura, 'the city of Bhōja'. It appears that Bhōjpur was named after the said Paramāra king. Recently the Government of Madhya Pradesh published a small book in Hindi on the antiquities of Bhōjpur. Its learned author, Muni Kāptisāgarī, had to satisfy himself with some speculation on the origin of the name of the village. This is because he does not appear to have succeeded in deciphering the inscription under study.



TEXT<sup>1</sup>[Metres : Verse 1 *Paśantatīlaka* ; verse 2 *Upajāti*.]

- 1 ————— [kā]rē Chamdrārddhamasulir-saamab sama ———— [!]<sup>2</sup> —————  
 m-adbhuta-k[rtti]<sup>3</sup> —————<sup>4</sup> rāṣaparamāśvara-Bhōjadēvaḥ || [!]<sup>5</sup>
- 2 ————— ra[h] Sā[ga]ranadhī-nāmā | sa Nē[m]icham[d]r[ō] v[ī]-  
 dadhē pratishṭhāḥ sadurllabhaḥ Sā[śāh]ti-jinasya mū[ṣā][cib] || [?]<sup>6</sup>

## 2. Bhōjpur Inscription of the time of Naravarman, Vikrama 1157

This small inscription is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Pāśvanātha installed in the Jain temple at the village of Bhōjpur lying, as we have seen, in the Goharganj Tahsil of the Raigan District of Madhya Pradesh, which has yielded the inscription of the time of Paramāra Bhōja I, edited above. There are only four lines of writing in the present record, the space covered being about three inches in height. The length of the inscribed area is about ten inches at the top and about seven and a half inches at the bottom. Individual akṣaras are about half an inch in height.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī of the eleventh or twelfth century. Its language is Sanskrit, but the orthography is full of errors. The record is written in prose and verse, there being only one stanza in the *śaṣṭipāda* metre. The inscription refers itself to the reign of Naravarman, no doubt the Paramāra king of that name, whose known dates range between Vikrama 1151 (1094 A.D.) and 1190 (1133 A.D.). It is dated in Vikrama 1157 (1100-01 A.D.).

The inscription begins with the date, Saurvat 1157, without further details. Line 1 refers to the *śaśatīpā* (i.e. the sovereignty or dominions) of Naravarman. Next is mentioned the *Vēmaś-śreṇya* (i.e. the Vēmaś family) to which the person responsible for the epigraph belonged. This is followed by a stanza in *śaṣṭipāda*, which records the object of the inscription. It is stated that two Jina (i.e. Tīrthaṅkara) images were installed by a person named Chillaṇa who was the son of Śrēṣṭhīśa Hāma and the grandson of Nēmiḥandra. Chillaṇa, who belonged to the merchantile community, was probably a resident of Bhōjpur.

There is no geographical name in the inscription.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Sam[v]at<sup>2</sup> 1157 |<sup>3</sup> {ā}r[-Naravarmma-avā(śā)mrā]jyē Vēma-  
 2 k-śavaya(yā) | Nēmiḥa[ṇ]dha(śra)-sa(su)taḥ srē(śrē)chṭhī Rām-ākhyā nā-  
 3 ṣī-antīyah<sup>4</sup> [!]<sup>5</sup> tat-putra-Chillaṇ-ākhyāna Ji(na)-  
 4 yugmaśi pratishṭhitam(tam) ||

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> It is expected that the Siddham symbol was engraved at the beginning.

<sup>3</sup> The letters *ha* here may have been *śā*.

<sup>4</sup> The first three syllables at the beginning of this foot appear to have been *rājādī*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *śreṣṭhī*.

<sup>6</sup> This mark of punctuation is indicated by a *virāga*-like sign.

<sup>7</sup> The intended reading may be *śreṣṭhī*.



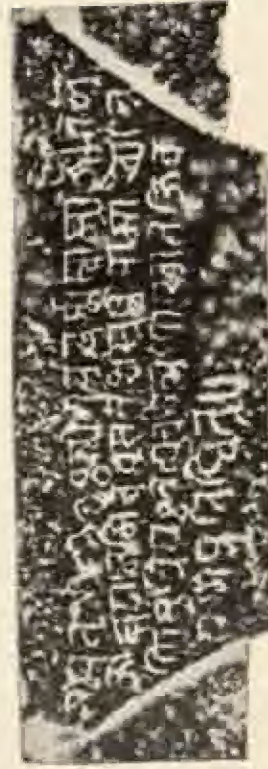
### THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

1. Bhōjpur Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhōja I



2

2. Bhōjpur Inscription of the time of Naravarman, Vikrama 1157



2

4

2

4



3. Bhilsā Inscription of the time of Jayasīrha, Vikrama 1320



Size : One-third



## 3. Bhilsā Inscription of the time of Jayasimha, Vikrama 1320

This small inscription engraved on a stone slab, bearing the representation of the donkey-and-woman motif, was copied by me in October 1958 in the Archaeological Museum at Bhilsā on the Central Railway. The name of this well-known place is now sought to be changed to Vidiā, although Vidiā is really modern Besnagar opposite Bhilsā, on the other side of the Betwa. Such wanton change of geographical names has been the fashion of the day, though in the present case the correction seems to be unwarranted since, not only was the heart of the ancient city of Vidiā situated outside modern Bhilsā, the early name of Bhilsā was Bhāllasvāmin or Bhāllasvāmin which was really the name of the Sun-god worshipped at the place. This name, as we have seen elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> can be traced as early as the ninth century A.D. Of course, the name Vidiā, capital of the ancient Ākara or Daśārpa country, is much earlier.

The inscription contains ten lines of writing which covers an area about 19 inches in length and about 11 inches in height. But only the first two lines of the record have the full length, lines 3-10 being much shorter since they are engraved towards the right of the space (about 11 inches by 11 inches) occupied by the donkey-and-woman motif referred to above. Individual aksharas are roughly about an inch in height. The engraving is careless and the preservation of the writing not quite satisfactory.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī of about the thirteenth century. The top of the double *danda* is joined in one case. The language is corrupt Sanskrit and its orthography full of errors. *ka* and *ya* have been represented by *ka* and *y* respectively. The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Jayasimha apparently of the Paramāra dynasty. It bears the date: Vikrama 1320, Vaiśākha-sudi 3, Thursday. The date corresponds regularly to the 12th April 1263 A.D. The year was Kārttikādi current.

The inscription begins with a *śiddham* symbol which looks like the numeral 6 and is not usually found in inscriptions. Line 1 quotes the date referred to while line 2 speaks of the reign of Jayasimha as well as of Bhāllasvāmidēvapura (i.e. modern Bhilsā) where a pious act was performed by a lady. The object of the inscription is to record this pious deed. Lines 2-7 contain a sentence stating that *Dēvī Sānumati* dedicated an object at Bhāllasvāmidēvapura for the *vīras of Puhā* (i.e. *Pandita Thakkura*) Madannasimhadēva while lines 7-10 contain the *gaddhā* curse. The said Madannasimha seems to be called *Pubbhānī-nāgaba* probably meaning 'the ruling chief of a territory called Pubhām'. *Dēvī* (i.e. queen) Sānumati was probably one of his wives. The queen appears to be described as *Kupṭakātha* meaning, 'resident of a locality called Kupṭakā'. The name of the object granted by Sānumati seems to read *dēvīmā* which appears to be the name of a locality. The donee is not mentioned probably because it was a deity in whose temple the inscribed slab was set up. It is difficult to say whether this deity was the god Bhāllasvāmin himself, though that is quite probable.

The importance of the inscription lies in its reference to Bhāllasvāmidēvapura in the dominions of king Jayasimha in 1263 A.D. since this king is undoubtedly the Paramāra monarch Jayasimha-Jayavarman for whose reign we have records of Vikrama 1312 (1256 A.D.), 1314 (1258 A.D.), 1317 (1261 A.D.) and 1331 (1274 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> According to Muslim historians, Sulṭān Iltutmish (1212-36 A.D.) of Delhi captured the fort of Bhilsā in A.H. 632 (1233-34 A.D.) and demolished the temple of Bhāllasvāmin while Jayasimha-Jayavarman's Māndhātā plates of Vikrama 1331 (1274 A.D.) state that his father Dēvapāla (known dates between Vikrama 1275 and 1289, i.e. 1218-32

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 140, 146.



A.D.) killed an *adhipa* of the Mlechchhas (i.e. a chief of the Muhammadans) near the city of Bhāllasvāmin.<sup>1</sup> This *Mlechchhā-adhipa* was probably the Muslim governor in whose charge Bhilsā was placed by Sultan Iltutmish and the reconquest of Bhilsā by the Paramāra king Dēvapāla, whose rule seems to have ended in 1236 A.D., seems to have taken place shortly after its capture by the Muhammadans. The reconquest of Bhilsā by the Hindus is further suggested by the fact that the Khaljī Sultāns of Delhi had again to conquer the city about half a century later.<sup>2</sup> The present inscription shows that Bhilsā continued to be under the Paramāra kings for several decades after its re-conquest by Dēvapāla before his death about 1236 A.D. at least down to 1263 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription, besides Bhāllasvāmidēvapura, are Pabhāni, Kuptakā and Dvōrmēla. I am not sure about their location.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> || sarīvat 1320 varshē Vaiśāṣha(kha)-sudi [3]<sup>5</sup> Gur[au] ady-ē[ha]
- 2 [ārī-Bhaī]lasvāmidēva-purē āī(-Jayasīmhada[va\*]-rājyē Pabhā-
- 3 [nī]-nāl(nā)yaka-paṇi(-ha-Madannāī(āirī)-
- 4 ha[dē\*]va-ārēya(yō)-nimittā[m] Ku-
- 5 ptaṣā[stha]-dēvī Sānu-
- 6 māī<sup>6</sup> Dvōrmēla[m] pre-
- 7 dattam(tam) || yō na da<sup>7</sup>
- 8 āī tasya mī-
- 9 ī<sup>8</sup> garīdabhō ja-
- 10 bhāī<sup>9</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> See, etc. Reference is sometimes made to Balhan's invasion of Malwa about 1236 A.D. (*The Struggle for Empire*, p. 192). But this was an attack on the Jajapoles of Narmar (*Cont. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 64).

<sup>3</sup> From impression.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> The reading of the numeral may be 3 also.

<sup>6</sup> Read *śrēṣṭhā Sānuvatyā*.

<sup>7</sup> This seems to be the name of a locality.

<sup>8</sup> There is an unnecessary *daṇḍā* after this *śloka*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *śāntam*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *gāhāt*.



## No. 26—MORE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 27.1.1961)

### 1. Three Barhut Inscriptions in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī

Eight Barhut inscriptions have recently been published by us in the pages of this journal, one<sup>1</sup> secured for the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan attached to the Hindu University, Vārāṇasī, and seven<sup>2</sup> for the Allahabad Municipal Museum. When we visited the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan at Vārāṇasī in the month of December 1960, we were glad to find there three more inscribed stone slabs from Barhut in addition to the one previously noticed by us.

The texts of the three inscriptions published in the following lines are already known to us from the works of Cunningham,<sup>3</sup> Liders<sup>4</sup> and Barua and Sinha<sup>5</sup>. Hoernle and Hultzsch did not deal with these epigraphs in their articles on the Barhut inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> As in the case with other inscriptions from Barhut, the characters of the epigraphs under study are Early Brāhmī of about the second century B. C. and their language is Prakrit.

#### No. 1

This inscription is one line (8·7 inches long), having individual letters a little less than an inch in height, reads:

*Paḍḍelakasa Puṣaka kuta s[ā]khi dāna[m]* <sup>(\*)</sup>

"[This] rail-bar is the gift of Puṣaka (Pushyaka), the Paḍelaka (inhabitant of Paḍela)."

#### No. 2

The inscription is written in a single line 9·7 inches in length. Individual letters have the same height as in No. 1. It reads:

[A]sitamasāya Valimitasa dāna[m] [I\*]

"[This is] the gift of Valimita (Valinūtra) [hailing] from Asitamasā."

The personal name Valimita was read by Cunningham and others as Valamita. The geographical name Asitamasā seems to suggest that it was a locality situated near the confluence of two rivers called Asi and Tamasā, the latter being the modern Tons running about two miles from Barhut.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 57 ff. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Stūps of Bharhut*, p. 142, Nos. 61-63 and Plate LVI.

<sup>4</sup> *Liders' List*, Nos. 876-78.

<sup>5</sup> *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 32, Nos. 60-62.

<sup>6</sup> *Jed. As. Vol. X*, pp. 118 ff., 225 ff.; Vol. XXI, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>7</sup> The *śikṣa* may be read as *śi* also.

<sup>8</sup> Macran over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

<sup>9</sup> The mark of punctuation is indicated by a *svastika* sign.



## No. 3

The length of the single line in which this inscription has been written is 7·8 inches and individual letters in it are of the same height as in Nos. 1-2. The line reads :

[Parakā]śh[ā]y[ā] Śrīmāyā dānam [ā\*]

"[This is] the gift of Śrīmā (Śrimatī), the Parakāśikā (inhabitant of Parakāṣa)."

The reading of the first *akṣara* is doubtful and it is uncertain whether there is another *akṣara* before what has been read as *pa*. *Parakāśikāya* may also mean '[hailing] from Parakāśikā.'

## 2. Durā Inscription of the time of Kanishka, Year 16

This small inscription is incised on a pillar which was discovered in the village of Durā in the Kiraoli Tahsil of the Agra District, U. P., by an Exploration Assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India, attached to the Northern Circle, Agra. The inscribed pillar is now lying at the office of the Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology at Agra. The inscription was copied by me about the end of August 1960.

There are only seven lines of writing in the inscription, the inscribed space covering about 8½ inches in breadth and 7½ inches in height and individual *akṣaras* being a little above ¼ inch high. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, many letters being damaged especially in the lower half of the record.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the middle stage. The initial vowel *e* and the numerical symbols for 10 and 6 occur in line 2. The language is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit as in many other inscriptions of the age of the Kushānas. The record is dated in the year 16 of the reign of *Mahārāja Kanishka* [I], the name of the king being spelt as *Kāṇishka* as in some other epigraphs.<sup>1</sup> The date of our inscription is thus the year 16 of the Kanishka era, which is now generally identified with the Śaka-kāla of 78 A.D., and corresponds to 94-95 A.D. There are no other details of the date quoted in the record.

Lines 1-3 quote the year 16 of [the reign of] *Mahārāja Kanishka*. But the passage *ayya pūvya-* (*clayām pūrvāyām*) follows *Maharajasya Kanishkasya savachhara 16* (*Mahārājasya Kānishkasya savachhara shodāśe*), without actually mentioning the *tihi* to which it refers. Lines 3-5 speak of a lady named Vardhantikā belonging to a family of village-headmen of the Āti clan and the Bishṭishya (*Ārshṭishya*) gotra (*grāmikaṇām Ātina Bishṭishya-ayotrāna Vasudatta-putrīyā Vardhantikāya*, i.e. *grāmikāyām Ātina- Arshṭishya-ayotrānā Vasudatta-putrīyā Vardhantikāyā*). Lines 6-7 state that the said lady dedicated a house in favour of a community the name of which cannot be read ( . . . *tikāhi griho datto*, i.e. . . . *tikāhāṇaḥ grāham dattam*). The record appears to conclude with a prayer to the effect that the meritorious deed might be for the welfare of the people (*lokānām āyasa-stu*).

## TEXT\*

- 1 [Maha]rajaaya Kānishkasya [sari]-
- 2 [va]chhara 10 6 sta[ya pū]-
- 3 [vaya grā]mikaṇām Āti[nah Bi]-
- 4 shṭishya-[sa]gotrāna

<sup>1</sup> See *Select Inscriptions*, p. 124.

\* From impressions.



1. Three Barhut Inscriptions in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasi

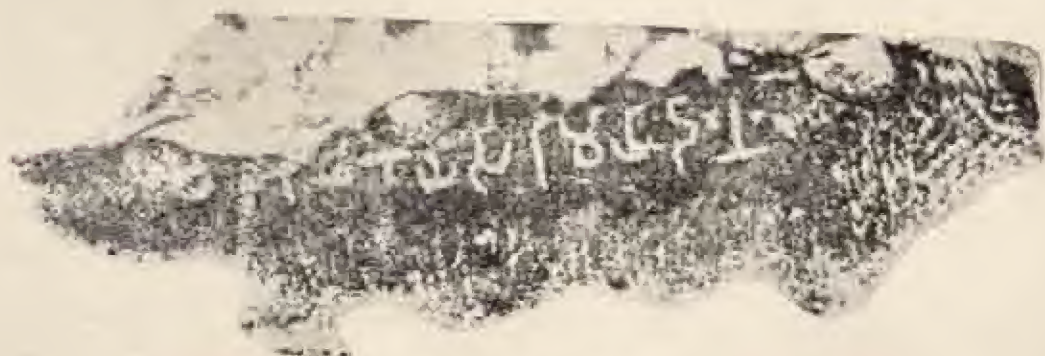
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2



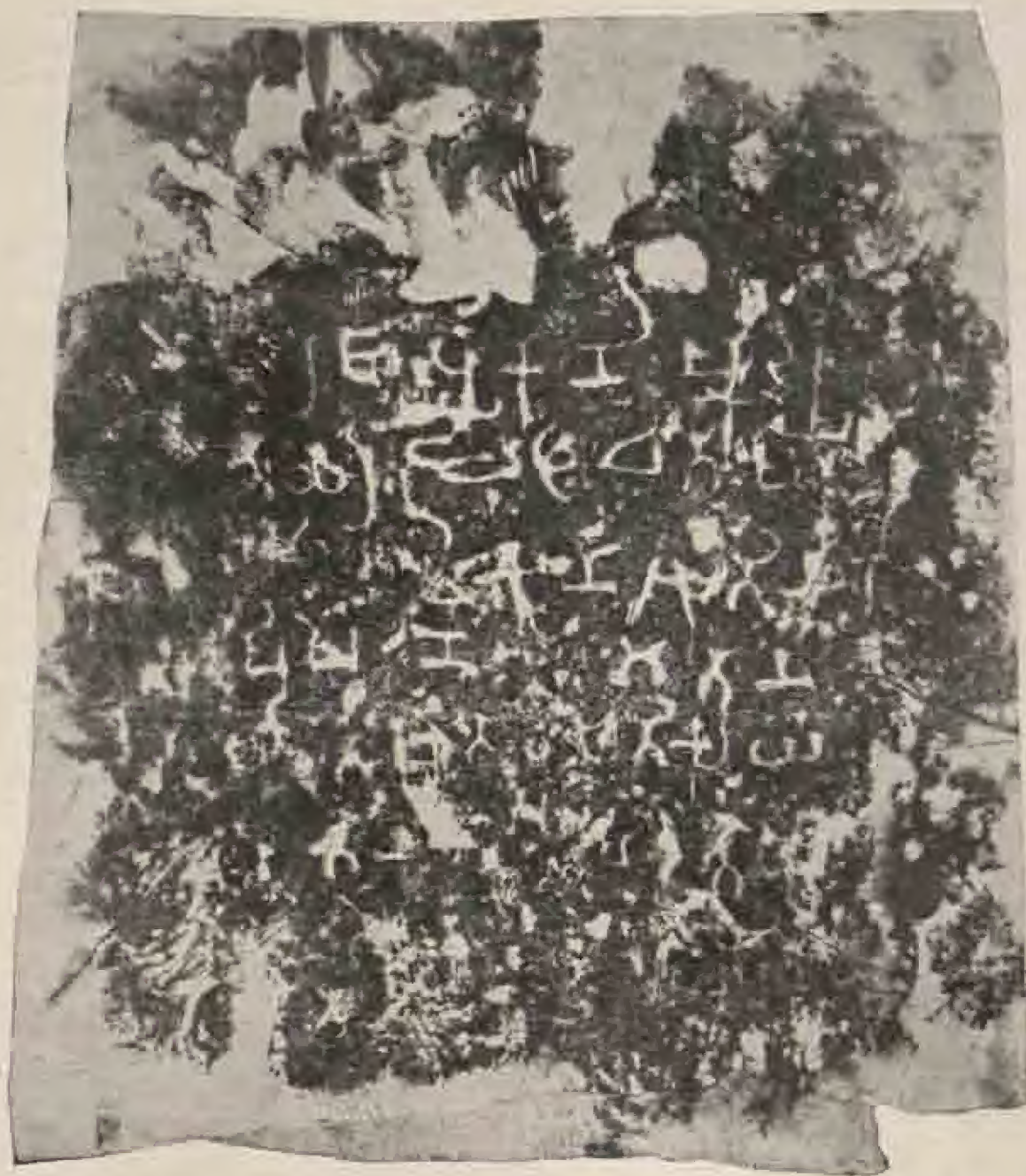
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Scale : One-half



2. Dura Inscription of the time of Kanishka, Year 16



Scale : One-half



- 5 [Vaanda]ta-[puttryā Vadhā]tikaya  
 6 . . . tika[hi grī]ho datto [lo]-  
 7 . . . [cavyasa-stu -]

## TRANSLATION

In the year 16 [of the reign] of Mahārāja Kānīshka—on this date, a house is dedicated in favour of the . . . tikas by Vardhanikā who is the daughter of Vasudatta and belongs to (the family of) village-headmen of the Āti (clan) and the Ārshīśhepa gotra. May (this) be for the welfare of the people.

### 3. Gondal Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudrasena [III], [Śaka] 272

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab which was discovered sometime ago at Gondal, 20 miles from Rajkot, in Kathiawar, and is now preserved in the Rajkot Museum. I copied it in January 1960. The slab measures 22 inches in length, 10 inches in breadth and 6 inches in depth while the writing covers a space about seventeen inches in length and five and half inches in height on the face which is six inches wide. There are only three lines of writing, individual akṣharas being approximately half an inch in height. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters have broken away from the end of all the lines. The akṣharas thus lost appear to be about four in number. The slab was apparently fixed into a structure with the inscribed face exposed to view.

The characters belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the middle stage as found in other inscriptions of the Śakas of Western India. The use of initial 4 and the numerical symbols for 200, 70 and 2 is noticed in line 2. The language of the inscription is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. Its orthography exhibits more influence of Sanskrit than of Prakrit. The date of the inscription is the year 272, Phālguna sudi 2. This year should of course be referred to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. The year 272 would thus correspond to 350-51 A.D. This date is referred to [the reign of] a Rājā Mahākṣhatrapa, the akṣharas of whose name are very considerably damaged though the traces of their lower part suggest its restoration as Rudrasena. This king is no doubt Śaka Rudrasena III, the dates of whose coins issued as Mahākṣhatrapa range between Śaka 270 (348-49 A.D.) to Śaka 300 (378-79 A.D.). There is a break in the series of the coins of this ruler, no issues of the period Śaka 274-85 (352-83 A.D.) being known. This break has been attributed to a political disturbance during the period in question and it seems very likely that Rudrasena III was defeated by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) and was compelled to accept the latter's vassalage for about thirteen years. It is only during Samudragupta's old age that he appears to have succeeded in reasserting his independence.<sup>1</sup> The present inscription is the only epigraphic record of the time of Śaka Rudrasena III so far known.

The inscription begins with a damaged *Siddham* symbol followed by a reference to its date falling in the reign of Rājā Mahākṣhatrapa [Rudrasena]. The year referred to is quoted in a passage (lines 1-2) reading *dei-sarutara . . . tatame* in words and 200 70 [2] (i.e. 272) in numerical symbols. The year given in words was probably written as *dei-sarutar-ādihike dei-tatame* standing for Sanskrit *dei-saptaty-ādihike dei-tatame*. If such was the case, as it seems to be, Sanskrit *saptaty* has been written in our record as *sarutara* which is somewhat different from Pali *sattati* and Prakrit *sattasī* (found as *sstari* in inscriptions).<sup>2</sup> The form *sarutara* seems to be derived through the intermediate forms *saputari* and *sacutari*.

<sup>1</sup> These two akṣharas are damaged beyond recognition.

<sup>2</sup> The damaged word seems to be *lokāśak*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 159 (text line 6) ; p. 222 (No. 2, text line 6).



After the year of the date discussed above, line 2 reads : [Ā]bhira-[kaśi]bala-Sinhasena-pūtra-Sya . . . in which *kaśi* stands for Sanskrit *kaśhīrka* meaning, 'a cultivator'. The mention of the Ābhira farmer Sinhasena reminds us of the Ābhira general Bāpska's son general Rudrabhūti known from the Guṇḍa inscription<sup>1</sup> (181 A.D.) of the reign of Śaka Rudrasimha I. Unfortunately, only the first *akshara* (Sya) of the name of Sinhasena's son, the recording of one of whose pious deeds appears to have been the object of the inscription, is preserved and the latter part of it is lost at the end of the line. If the said *akshara* (Sya) is taken to be the sixth case-ending attached to the previous word (*pātra*), the name of the person has to be regarded as totally lost.

Line 3 of our record reads : *sarva-sattva-hita-s[a]kṣh-ārtha[m] ve[dī] [prati]śhthāvita Phalgū[na]-śubhe dvi[ti]* standing for Sanskrit *sarva-sattva-hita-sakṣh-ārtham vediti pratiśhthāpitā Phalguna-juddhe dviṭīye* (divine). The *vedi* or a raised platform was sometimes made in honour of a deity as a place of worship.<sup>2</sup> It thus appears that the son of Sinhasena raised the *vedi* in question in honour of some deity for the welfare and happiness of all creatures. Since expressions like *sarva-sattva-hita-sakṣh-ārtham* are generally found in Buddhist epigraphs, it is not impossible that the person responsible for our record was a Buddhist. It should, however, be pointed out that, in case the reading *pūtrasya* [*amulasya*] is preferred at the end of line 2, the object of installation would be the *vedi* of the person in question. This may mean that a platform was raised in his memory after his death or that his friends helped him in raising it (i.e. he raised it with the help of others).

There is no geographical name in the record.

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

- 1 [Siddham] [ \* ] r[ā]j[ā] mah[ā]kṣhmatrapa[s]ya [Rudrasa]nasya va[rā]hye<sup>4</sup> dvi-sava-tara . . .<sup>5</sup>
- 2 śatama 200 70 [2] [Ā]bhira-[kaśi]bala-Sinhasena-pūtra<sup>6</sup>-Sya . . . . .<sup>7</sup>
- 3 sarva-sattva<sup>8</sup>-hita-s[a]kṣh-ārtha[m] ve[dī] [prati]śhthāvita Phalgū[na]-śubhe<sup>9</sup> dvi[ti]  
 . . . . .<sup>10</sup> [ \* ].

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> See *JRS*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 43-44, 47.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Correctly, *varā*.

<sup>5</sup> The last *akshara* were probably 'dāśaśi'.

<sup>6</sup> Correctly *pātra*.

<sup>7</sup> This was probably a name like *Syandaka*, so that the expression here was something like *Syandakana*. The intended reading may also be *pūtrasya* [*amulasya*].

<sup>8</sup> Correctly, *sattva*.

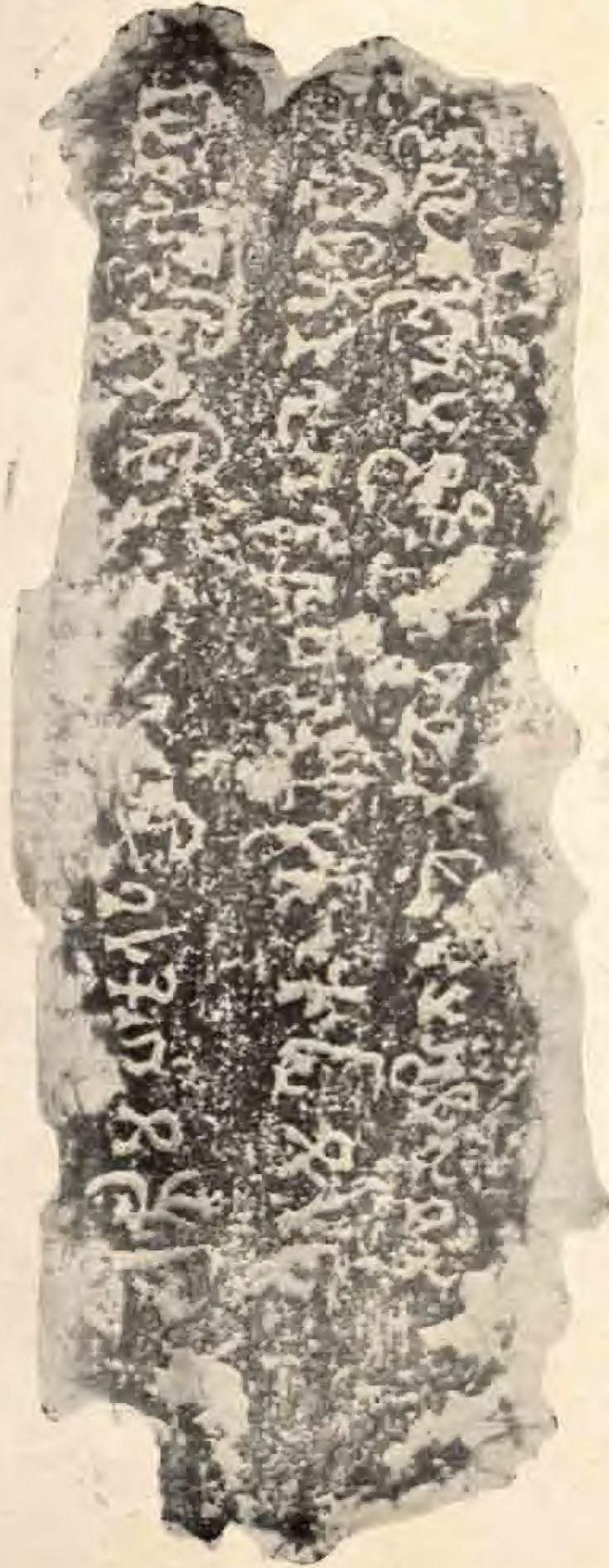
<sup>9</sup> Correctly, *Phalguna-juddhe*.

<sup>10</sup> The intended word is no doubt *dviṭīye* which may have been followed by the word *dīnasa*.



MORE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE II

3. Gondal Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudrasena [III], [Saka] 272



Scale : One-half







# No. 27—MEHUNABARE PLATES OF SENDRAKA VAIRADEVA, SAKA 624

[1 Plate]

G. S. GAI, OOTAACHUND

[Received on 26.7.1960]

A set of impressions of the copper-plate inscription edited below was secured for the office of the Government Epigraphist for India by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra during the year 1957-58 from the Bhārat Itihās Samśodhak Maṇḍal, Poona.<sup>1</sup> The plates are reported to have been discovered at **Mehunabare**, a village in the Chalisgaon Taluk of the East Khandesh District, Bombay State. The set consists of two plates, each measuring about 12" by 6.5" with a hole at the top middle portion of each plate through which passed a ring. The whereabouts of the ring and the seal, if any, as well as the weight of the set are not known to me. Both the plates are engraved on the inner sides only. Each plate contains 12 lines of writing so that there are 24 lines in all. The last but one line of the second plate occupies only half the space to the right side while the last line consists of only six letters which have been engraved towards the end of the line. The writing is well preserved.

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and generally resemble those in the other Sendraka grants found in Khandesh and Gujarat.<sup>2</sup> Of the initial vowels, *a* is found in lines 18 and 23; *i* in line 22; *e* in line 6 and *u* in line 23. While medial *i* is shown by a complete circle above the letter, medial *e* is indicated by a loop inside the circular stroke with the right limb left open. Medial *u* has generally a sort of a hook-like stroke. In the case of *ā* both this hook-like stroke and the straight one attached to the middle of the prong and turned upwards have been used; cf. lines 2, 5 and 17. Subscript *r* has sometimes a flourish carrying it left and right over the letter and even circling it, cf. lines 7, 8, 9, etc. Sometimes subscripts *r* and *ṛ* cannot be distinguished; cf. *ṛ* in line 2 and *prākṛgāṇ* in line 9. Class nasal has been generally employed. Punctuation is indicated by two dots, generally followed by a single or double *daṇḍ* (cf. lines 1, 12, 17, 18 and 21). But where a *virama* is required the two dots serve that purpose and in such cases only the *daṇḍ* should be regarded as a punctuation mark (cf. lines 2, 6 and 10).

The **language** is Sanskrit and except two verses in lines 2-4 and two more benedictory and laudatory verses in lines 20-22, the remaining text of the record is composed in prose. The interesting form *śaṅka*, which is according to Pāṇini's rule *śaṅ ā śhaṅ* (VIII. 3. 29), occurs in line 23. Sanskrit rules have not been observed in some cases and there are some errors in the composition which have been corrected in the text below. In respect of **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonant following as well as preceding *r* is sometimes doubled.

The charter is **dated** (lines 15 and 23-24) **Saka 624** (expressed in words), **Śrāvava** ha. II, **saṅkrānti** and **vyatipāta**. In the absence of the mention of the week-day, the date is not verifiable. However, according to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the said *tithi* corresponded to Tuesday, 25th July 702 A.D. But the *saṅkrānti* occurred on the previous day, i.e. Monday, the 24th July 702 A.D., which seems to be the intended date of the record.

The inscription opens with the word *Siddham* expressed by a symbol and followed by the word *saṁstī*. Then follows the preamble *Māva-saṁstī-mahādharma*, etc. which introduces the **Sendraka** dynasty and is also found in the other Sendraka records referred to above. Verses 1 in lines 2-4

<sup>1</sup> This is A. R. Ep., 1957-58, No. A 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff. and Plates; ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 118 ff. and Plates; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff. and Plates.



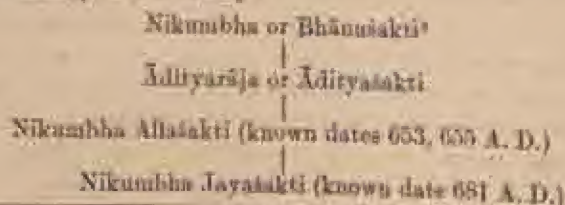
introduces *Rājan Dēvaśakti* of this dynasty. His valour and other qualities are compared to those of Indra and Viṣṇu. His son *Rājan Daṇḍirāja*, whose strength is compared to that of Hari, Hara and Arjuna, is mentioned in verse 2 in lines 1-6. The following prose passage in lines 6-10 refers to Daṇḍirāja's son *Vairadēva*, the donor of the present grant, who is called the 'great-jewel of the *Nikumbha* [family]'.

The charter was issued from *Bahalāpuri* (line 9) and records the gift, made by *Vairadēva*, of the village *Dēvigrāma* which is stated to have been situated at a distance of two *gavyūta* to the west of *Bahalāpuri* (lines 16-17). The donee was *Nāgaśarma*, son of *chakravarṇa* *Nandivāmin* and grandson of *chakravarṇa* *Bhaṭṭa-Bhāvasvāmin* who belonged to the *Kāśyapa-gotra* and was a resident of *Kāñchipuri*. The gift was for the performance of *balli*, *dharm*, *varṇadāna* and *agnihōtra* for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his (i.e. *Vairadēva*'s) parents and himself in this as well as in the other world (lines 11-15). Lines 17-18 refer to the privileges attached to the gift village. In lines 18-20, a request is made to the future kings of the family of the donor and others to endorse and protect the said gift and lines 20-22 quote some of the benedictory and imprecatory verses.

The charter was written by *Mahādāyaka* *grahādhipāka* *Sānaka* (lines 22-23) and the record ends with the mention of the date in lines 23-24, which has been discussed above.

The present record is important in that it introduces a hitherto unknown ruler of the *Sēndraka-Nikumbha* family in the person of *Vairadēva* who held sway in the *Khundesh District* about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. As we have seen, he was the son of *Daṇḍirāja* and grandson of *Dēvaśakti*. All the three rulers have been eulogised in general terms only and no historical information is given with regard to any of them. Except the epithet *rājan* in the case of *Dēvaśakti* and *Daṇḍirāja*, no other titles, imperial or feudatory, are associated with them. Since *Vairadēva* flourished in 702 A.D., his grandfather *Dēvaśakti* may be referred to the third quarter of the seventh century A.D. This period falls in the reign of *Vikramāditya I* (656-81 A.D.) of the Western *Chālukya* dynasty of *Bādāmi*. From the *Karnul plates*<sup>1</sup> dated in the tenth regnal year of *Vikramāditya I* corresponding to 674 A.D., we learn that the king made a gift at the request of a certain *Dēvaśaktirāja* of the *Sēndraka* family. It is not unlikely that this *Dēvaśakti* is identical with his namesake mentioned in the record under study. And since *Vikramāditya*'s grandson *Vijayāditya* (696-733 A.D.) was the imperial ruler in 702 A.D., the date of the present charter, *Vairadēva* appears to have been his feudatory, though this fact is not mentioned in the inscription.

From the existence of four copper-plate grants<sup>2</sup> we know that a family of *Sēndraka-Nikumbha* chiefs was ruling in Southern Gujarat and *Khundesh* in the seventh century A.D. The records supply the following genealogy of the family:



<sup>1</sup> *JARRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 228 and 229.

<sup>2</sup> These are: (1) *Rājpurī* plates, *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 365 ff.; (2 and 3) *Nigadi* and *Kāṭire* plates, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff.; and (4) *Minikkhādē* plates, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 116 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The family name *Nikumbha*, besides *Sēndraka*, was apparently due to its being another name of *Bhānuśakti* who, in all probability, was the founder of the *Sēndraka* branch in Gujarat and *Khundesh*. That it was a family name and not a *śiṅkhā* as assumed by Prof. Mirashi (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 117) is made clear from the fact that *Vairadēva*, the donor of the charter under study, is called *Nikumbha-śiṅkhāvarat*, 'a great-jewel of the *Nikumbha* or *Nikumbha* family'.



No records of the first two rulers have been discovered as far. While the Bāgunīrā, Nāgād and Kāvāre plates were issued by Allasakti, the Mumkabhājā plates were issued by the last ruler Jayasakti. It has been suggested that Bhānūsakti, who may be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A. D., was placed in charge of Gujarat and Khandesh by Pulakṣin II (610-42 A. D.) when the latter conquered this area from the Kalachuria.<sup>2</sup> It has also been suggested that from about 670 A. D. onwards, the Sēndraka rule was probably confined to Khandesh District only on account of the establishment of the Navesāri branch of the Chālukyas in Gujarat area.<sup>3</sup> This seems to have taken place during the time of Nīlrambika Allasakti who was the contemporary of Chālukya Vikramāditya I during whose reign the Navesāri branch of the Chālukyas was founded. Allasakti may be referred to the period circa 650-675 A. D. and his son Jayasakti, who issued the only known Mumkabhājā plates in 681 A. D., may be placed in circa 675-700 A. D. No descendants of Jayasakti are known to us so far.

Now the discovery of the present charter dated in 702 A. D. issued by Vairādēva who also belonged to the Sēndraka-Nikumbha family shows that he was the immediate successor of Jayasakti as a ruler in the Khandesh District. The relation of this family to that of Bhānūsakti, though both belonged to the Sēndraka-Nikumbha lineage, is not known to us. It is, therefore, difficult to understand the circumstances under which Vairādēva succeeded Jayasakti. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Dēvasakti, who has been sought to be identified with his namesake mentioned in the Karnul plates of Vikramāditya I, was ruling in the Karnul area about 664 A. D. Probably his son Dapdīrāja also continued to rule the territory of his father while his son Vairādēva was transferred to the Khandesh District. This might have been due to the fact that Jayasakti died without leaving any heir to succeed him. As for the relationship between the two families, it may be suggested that since Allasakti and Dēvasakti were contemporaries, both being feudatory chiefs of Vikramāditya I, they might have been brothers or cousins. And this relationship might have given Vairādēva a right to succeed Jayasakti who seems to belong to the elder branch of the family.

As indicated above, the present charter was issued from Bahālīpuri which is no doubt near to Bāhal which is situated on the bank of the Girna river at a distance of 6 miles to the north-east of Mehunabare, the headquarters of the plates. It is stated that the chief Vairādēva was residing at Bahālīpuri at the time of the gift. Recent excavations conducted at Bāhal show that it was a flourishing town in ancient times, its antiquities going back to the Chalcolithic period.<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested, on the evidence of these excavations, that Bāhal was affected by seven floods about 100 A. D. and that the site was re-occupied, after a long gap of 1200 years, during the Yādava and Muslim times (1300-1700 A. D.).<sup>5</sup> But the discovery of the present plates shows that Bāhal was a flourishing town in the beginning of the eighth century A. D. and was probably the capital of the

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. This view of Prof. Mirashi is based on the dates of the Navesāri plates (*GH*, Vol IV, pp. 123 ff., No. 27)-of Śrīyādēva Śilāditya dated in the Kalachuri year 421 (670-71 A. D. according to Mirashi) and the Manor plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.) of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarama dated Saka 613 or 691-92 A. D. corresponding to the twenty-first regnal year of the king. Both Mr. Krishna Deva, who has edited the Manor plates, and Prof. Mirashi take this regnal year as referring to Maṅgalarama's father Dharmārāja Jayasimha which has led them to assume that the latter founded the Navesāri branch in 609-70 or 670-71 A. D. But, as pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar (above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 118-19), the twenty-first regnal year should be referred to Vinayāditya Maṅgalarama's reign and not to that of his father. The recently discovered Madgaonra grant (loc. cit.) of Śrīyādēva Śilāditya, dated probably in the Kalachuri year 420 (689-90 A. D. according to Sircar) shows that the Navesāri branch was holding sway in Gujarat as early as that year.

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1950-57, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 18.







*[The manuscript page contains dense handwritten text in Tamil script, which appears to be a continuation from the previous folio.]*



Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pali or Sanskrit, inscribed on a dark, irregularly shaped stone or metal plate. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The script is highly stylized and compact. The plate shows signs of wear, including a large circular hole on the left side and some surface erosion.

Scale : Three-fourths



15. śmika-punya-yaśō-bhīrri(vi)ddhaya pravaritamāna-śrāvapa-bahulō(1-ai)kādaśyā(m)  
sahrkrāntau sa-vyati-
16. pātāyām Bahalāpurīyā(h\*) pāśchimaśyām' diā dvi-ga-yūta-mātrakē bhū-bhāga-sa(sa)-  
nirvāśō Dēvigrāmō
17. sāma grāmā(h\*) sa-śm-ōpētāb [\* +ōdraṅga(h\*) sa-parikara(h\*) sakala-rāj-ābhāvyak-  
ānvitō [\* chāṣa-bhaṭṭa(a)-pra(prā)va-
18. āyō [\* bhūmā-ehēhludra-nyāyēn-ā chand-īk-ārpava-kshiti-ēbhi-sama-kōhikō yathā-  
viddhi(dhi) pradattāb | atō-
19. smad-vamśyair-anyaiv-vv-āgāmi-nri(nri)pati-bhūmi-bhōgapatibhi(h\*) sāmānyam bhūmi-  
dānam-svaga-ehēhludra-ayam-amaśā(d-dā)yo-nu-
20. mantavyab pratipālayitavyaś-eh-ōkraś-cha bhaga(va\*)tā Vēdavyāśēna Vyāśēna [(\*)  
Bahubhir-vvaśōddhā(dhā) bhuktā rājabhi(h\*) Sagar-ā-
21. dibhi(h\*) yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [(3\*) Shashit-  
(sh(i)-varshi(tsha)-sahasrāṣi svargū mōdati
22. bhūmīdāb [(1) āchēhēhētā ch-ānumantā ehēh(cha) tam(tā)ny-ēva namkē vāśō-  
m [(4\*) likhitam-idam mahāśāndhivigrahādhi-
23. kri(kri)tēna Sāukēna | gatasya Saka-kālasya śaṣṭsu varsha-śatēshv-idam\*
24. sa-chatur-vvi(m\*)śāśu ||

\* Read pāśchīmāyām.

\* This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

\* This punctuation mark is unnecessary. Read "āchēhētā".

\* The words from gatasya to "idam" form half a verse in Asvatthāma's metre.



No. 28—INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ISLAM SHAH, A.H. 960, VIKRAMA 1610

(1 Plate)

D. C. SENGUPTA, OOTCHAMUST

(Received on 29.11.1969)

This small inscription is engraved on a brick fixed into the masonry work of a well at the village of Ghōshikundī near the Kail railway station in the Western part of the Monghyr District, Bihar.<sup>1</sup> There are five lines of writing in the inscription and they cover an area about 11 inches in length and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. Individual *akṣaras* are nearly two inches in height.

The characters belong to the Bengali-Maithili alphabet of the sixteenth century. They may be compared with those of the Patna District inscription of 1496 A. D. and the Barakar inscriptions of 1460 or 1461 A. D.<sup>2</sup> The *akṣara* *ī* has been written in a cursive fashion so as to look like a symbol. The medial vowel *u* in *au* (line 3) is written like a subscript *u* as was usual in the late Gaudya and early Bengali-Maithili alphabets.<sup>3</sup> The language of the record may be regarded as the local dialect. The want of the third case-ending required for the subject of *brīh* (i.e. 'made') in the sentence in lines 4-5 is noteworthy in this connection. As for orthography, *ā* is represented by *ā* as is its pronunciation in Maithili and some other dialects of Bihar. The date of the record as quoted in line 1 is *Sana 960 Sāmata 1610* in which *Sana 960* undoubtedly refers to the Hijri year 960 while *Sāmata* (a modification of *Samsat*) 1610 refers to the year 1610 of the Vikrama era. The year in question corresponds to 1553 A.D. There are no other details of the date in the epigraph.

After the quotation of the date in line 1, *Pāṇḍita īrī-īrī-Ekalēma Sāha* is mentioned in lines 2-3 and *Mahā īrī-Rupapa-khōjā* in lines 3-4. *Pāṇḍita* (i. e. *Pāṇḍitā* or *Bāṇḍitā*, 'an emperor'), *Ekalēma Sāha* is no doubt the celebrated Afghan emperor *Islām Shāh* (1545-56 A.D.), son of *Shāh Shāh* of the *Sār* dynasty. The designation *Mahā īrī* seems to be the same as *Mahā* derived from the official designation *Mahātāka*, *Mahātara* or *Mahātama* found in earlier inscriptions. The words are often interpreted as 'the village headman' though in some cases they may also mean a member or the head of the village council. The inscription under study means to say that a deed was performed when the emperor of the country was *Islām Shāh* and the head of the village or the village council was *Khawaja Rupap*. But the names of the persons have been used in the passage without any verb. Although such statements are generally quite clear in the corresponding passages in early Sanskrit inscriptions, the medieval epigraphs in that language often mention the king and his subordinates in the same way as the Ghōshikundī record under study.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that, while the honorific word *īrī* occurs twice as the prefix to the name of *Islām Shāh*, a single *īrī* has been prefixed to the name of *Khawaja Rupap*. As will be seen below, another personal name is mentioned in the record with a single *īrī*.

<sup>1</sup> Some impressions of the inscription were supplied to me by Mr. A. N. Lahiri of my office, Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1969-69, No. C 412.

<sup>2</sup> *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 114-16, and Plate; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 21 ff. and Plate; cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 241. It is now known that the Patna District inscription was discovered at Bihārcharil and is housed at present in the Patna Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 52, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g. above, Vol. XV, p. 130, text lines 1 ff. etc.; also Vol. XXXI, p. 331, No. 5, text lines 2-5; etc.

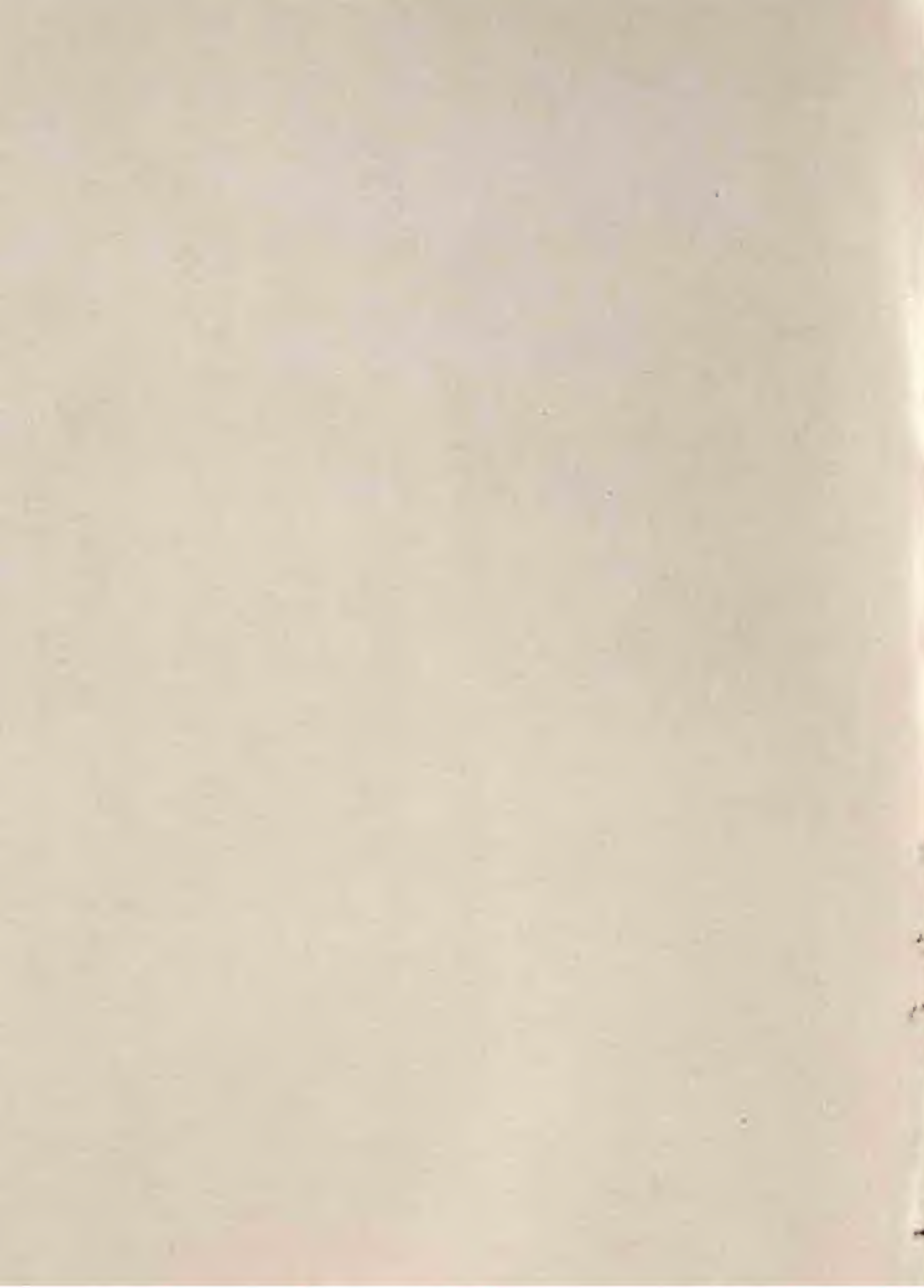


INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ISLAM SHAH, A.H. 960, VIKRAMA 1610



Scale : One-half







The following sentence in lines 4-5 reads *īri Nasurudhī vādhā kupī kṛitā* apparently meaning that a person named Nasurudhī (i.e. Nāṣirud-dīn) made a *kupī* (i.e. well) which was *vādhā* (i.e. endowed with masonry work). The *kupī* or well referred to in the record must be the well in which the inscription has been found.

Another inscription of the time of Isām Shāh from Rajasthan was published by us in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXX, pp. 190 ff. It is dated in Vikrama 1604, Śaka 1469, Mārgaśīra-badi 2, Thursday. The date was regarded by us as irregular, though the record was assigned to October-November 1547 A.D. This was because *Pūrvaṃśāta* Mārgaśīra-badi 2 in the said year corresponds to the 30th October, which was a Sunday. But in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, No. B 413, the month has been regarded as *Āśvina* and the year as current, so that the date is given as regularly corresponding to Thursday, the 6th December 1546 A.D. It is, however, doubtful whether we should expect the *Āśvina* calculation of the month in the inscription which comes from Rajasthan.

There is no geographical name in the Ghōṣakaṇḍī inscription, although the name of the village where the well was excavated was expected to be mentioned.

#### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Sana 960 Śamata 1610
- 2 Pātīśha īri-īri-ḥan-
- 3 lāṇa-sāha Māhitā<sup>2</sup> īri-
- 4 Rupapa-shō(khō)ḥ | īri-[Na]m-
- 5 milhi va(ch\*)dhā [kupī] kṛitā | \*

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> What has been read as *pā* may be *ha* also. But that does not offer any sense.



## No. 29—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION OF NRIPAMITRA

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 2.10.61)

The Mathurā fragmentary inscription of king Nripamitra, edited by me above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 11-13, is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image in characters of about the fifth century A.D. It contains the concluding part of a *prastāvi* in verse, which is followed by the sentence *kr̥it̥=Dinnar̥ga*, "[This is] the work of Dinna." The endorsement does not make it clear whether Dinna was the author of the *prastāvi* or the sculptor of the image. There is, however, evidence to show that Dinna was a famous sculptor of the Mathurā school, who flourished about the fifth century A.D.

Two inscriptions from Kasi in North-Eastern U.P., assigned to the fifth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, were noticed by J. Ph. Vogel in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1906-07, the first at pp. 49 and 52 and the second at pp. 49-50. The second inscription had been previously edited by J. F. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 272-73. But Fleet's transcript was not accurate.

The first record is engraved on the base of an image of the standing Buddha and reads: *Dya-dharm̐-gaṇi Śr̥ṣṭya-bhikṣaḥ Bhadr̥pa-Suviraṇya* [1\*] *kr̥it̥(r)=Dinnar̥ga* [1\*], "This is the religious gift of the Bodhiṣṭha monk, the Venerable Suvira. [This image] is the work of Dinna."

The second epigraph, engraved on the column image of the reclining Buddha of the Parinirvāṇa shrine at Kasi, reads: *Dya-dharm̐-gaṇi Mahāchāra-sāminī Haribalaṇya* [1\*] *pr̥stāvi kr̥t̥=gaṇi Dinnar̥ga Mathur̥ga* [1\*], "This is the religious gift of Haribala, the master of the Great Monastery. And this image is made by Dinna of Mathurā."

Dinna mentioned in the above records from Mathurā and Kasi appears to be one and the same person. He was thus not a poet at king Nripamitra's court at Mathurā but was a master sculptor of the Mathurā school, who flourished during the age of the Imperial Guptas, whether the Kasi images were made by Dinna at Kasi or were made at Mathurā and transported to Kasi.



The material for this Part was sent to the Press by  
Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. GAL,  
*Government Epigraphist for India.*



## No. 30—SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS

(4 Plates)

D. C. SINGH, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.2.1961)

It appears that, in the year 1948, the authorities of the Provincial Museum (now the Uttar Pradesh State Museum), Lucknow, purchased eight copper-plate charters of the Gāhāḍavāla kings from some dealers of Banāras (Vārāṇasī).<sup>1</sup> Mr. M. M. Nagar, who was in charge of the Museum till recently, did not allow anyone to examine the inscriptions since he himself wanted to publish them. But, whatever may be the reason, he failed to edit the inscriptions. Sometime ago, we published in the pages of this Journal<sup>2</sup> an article by Mr. V. N. Srivastava on a copper-plate grant of the Gāhāḍavāla king Vijayaachandra, which is one of the said inscriptions purchased for the Lucknow Museum in 1948.

In December 1960, I visited Lucknow and the present authorities of the Museum were kind enough to allow me to examine the unpublished Gāhāḍavāla copper-plate grants and to take their impressions. The remaining seven of the eight copper-plates (Nos. 2-8), purchased from the Banāras dealers in 1948, are published in the following pages together with one other charter of the family (No. 1). My thanks in this connection are due to Mr. M. Zaher, Joint Secretary of the Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research Department, Government of U.P., and Mr. R. B. Mathur who is now in charge of the State Museum, Lucknow.

It is well known that the copper-plate grants of the Gāhāḍavāla kings begin with some stanzas describing the rulers of the family from Yaśōvīraha, its founder, to the donor of a particular charter and that the said introductory section in verse is followed by the introduction of the donor, in a passage in prose, as *vijayin* (not as *kulālin* as found in the charters of most other ruling families) and as the successor of his ancestors beginning from Chandra who was the first imperial ruler of the family. But, as is known to have been the custom with many other ruling families,<sup>3</sup> a Gāhāḍavāla king merely copied the stanzas found in the charters of his predecessor and added a few verses describing himself, apparently composed by his own court poet. The earliest grants of the family belong to Chandra (c. 1090-1100 A.D.) who sometimes also called himself Chandrāditya. He was succeeded on the Gāhāḍavāla throne respectively by his son Maṇapāla (c. 1100-14 A.D.), grandson Gōvīndachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.), great-grandson Vijayaachandra (c. 1155-70 A.D.), grandson's grandson Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.) and grandson's great-grandson Hariachandra (c. 1193-97 A.D.). Thus the introductory stanzas found in the grants of Chandra are copied in the charters of Maṇapāla with the addition of a few new verses describing the latter king, and so on.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 223, where the number of the copper-plates purchased has been mentioned as six.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 223-26.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 238; Vol. XXIX, pp. 2-3.



The following verses are found in the records of **Chandra** who is the first monarch of the family to have issued copper-plate charters :

Akṣaṭh-Śikṣaṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭha-pīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ |  
 saṁśrāṁbhaḥ surat-ārambhē sa Śrīyaḥ śrōyaśē-stu vaḥ || 1  
 Āśā-Aśtadyuti-varṇa-jāta-  
 kaṁpāpā-mūlāsu divam gatāsu |  
 sācchād-Vivasvān-iva bhūri-dhāmnā  
 nāmnā Yaśōvigraha ity-udārah || 2  
 Tat-sūtō-bhūn-Mahichandraś-chandra-dhāma-mibhaṁ nijam |  
 yēn-āpāram-ākūpāra-pārō vyāpāritam yaśaḥ || 3  
 Tasy-ābhūt-tanayō nay-aika-tasikaḥ krānta-dvīśha-maṇḍalō  
 vīdhvast-ōddhata-vīra<sup>1</sup>-yōdha-timirah tri-Chandradēvō nripah |  
 yēn-ōdāratara-pratāpa-samit-śēśha-praj-ōpadravaṁ  
 śrīmad-Gādhīpur-ādhitājyamaśsamah dōr-vikramēḥ-ārjitam || 4  
 Tīrthānī Kāśī-Kuśik-Ōttarakōśa-Ēndra-  
 aṭhāṇiyakāni paripālayat-ābhūgamyā<sup>2</sup> |  
 bhām-ātma-tulyam-andāśaṁ dadatā dvijēbhyaḥ  
 yēn-śākitā vasumatī śataśaś-tulābhīḥ || 5<sup>3</sup>

It was apparently the court poet of Gāhaḍavāla Chandra, who composed these verses which were copied in the later records of the family. But there is an interesting point to which attention may be drawn in this connection. The five stanzas quoted above are found in the two Chandravati plates<sup>4</sup> of Chandra, dated respectively Vikrama 1148 and 1154, and were copied by his successors, though the two other Chandravati plates<sup>5</sup> issued by the same monarch (therein also called Chandraditya) respectively in Vikrama 1150 and 1156 contain only four of these five stanzas (verses 1, 3, 4 and 5) while the grant of Vikrama 1150 adds six new verses five of which are also found in the record of Vikrama 1156 in addition to the said four stanzas.\*

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes found as *dāra*.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes found as *abūgampa*.

<sup>3</sup> The metres of these stanzas are : verses 1 and 3 *Anuśṭubh* ; verse 2 *Indravajrā* ; verse 4 *Śāradāśāstīrīṭī* ; verse 5 *Varaṇatīrīṭī*.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. IX, p. 304 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> The stanzas were not read at all in the text published above, Vol. XIV, pp. 193-96, 197-200, while an inaccurate transcript of the verses appeared in *IHQ*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36-37.

\* The grant of Vikrama 1150 has the following verses :

Akṣaṭh-Śikṣaṭha-Vaikuṇṭha, etc. || 1  
 Āśā-mūḥa-narāyāṭha-kīṭha-kōṭi-  
 saṁghaṭha-ghaṭṭita-lasaṁ-maṇi-pāṭa-pīṭhaḥ |  
 47-*Dēvapāla-nripaṭi*-tri-jagat-pragṭa-  
 kṁd-indu-dhāma-bhāma-kairava-kānta-kīrtiḥ || 3



There is no doubt that the grants of Vikrama 1148 and 1154 used an earlier draft which was utilised in the revised draft found in the grants issued in Vikrama 1150 and 1156, even though it was this earlier draft that was popular with the successors of Chandra. King Chandra himself also did not use the revised draft in his record of Vikrama 1154, though the said draft had been prepared several years earlier and used in his grant of Vikrama 1150. This shows beyond doubt that the mere use of the earlier draft of the introductory parts of the charters of a king after the introduction of a revised draft of the said part should not be regarded as proving the spuriousness of those documents as has often been wrongly contended by some scholars.<sup>1</sup>

Kāḷina nāḷam-atha tasya gātārvavāye  
 dōḥ-dāḍa-vikrama-kath-āṣṭita-Kanyakubjaḥ |  
 kaṭāṭṭe-yam-atta hahu-patrasath-āṅgama-  
 mān-āṁvati-vijayātē bhūvi bhūpa-ramāḥ || 3  
 Tasmān-vamāḥ samutpannō Yāsōvigrāha-samjōkaḥ |  
 vigrāhya mādīnā yēna dāḍa-prasayinī kritā || 4  
 Tat-autō-bhūm-Mahāchandra, etc. || 5  
 Tasy-āḥhāt-tanayō, etc. || 6  
 Tīrthīnī Kālī-Kuṭī-Ōṭṭarakhāḥ-Endraasthāntyakānī, etc. || 7  
 Haimānī yēna māṣṭhīh khachitāry-ānarghāṭ-  
 dattānt Vahgaharyō cha vībhūṭhāpānī |  
**Kāyām** vyabhūṭhayaḍ-āṅka-svama-ratnair-  
 yat-cha-Ādikāra-vībhūṭh pratimān nivrāya || 8  
 Kāḍān-ākarsha harsād-apahara kīṭhayō-mambaraṁ bhīndhī sēdhīna  
 udgōḍhān-kaṭichitkaya pramaṇa chāṭapayō-mūpūṭ-kaṭa-hadāḥ |  
 nīvin-mumūṣha kāṭchīm-āpanaya na bhīṭd-āṭṭhaṁ-udvōḷa-rāgaṁ  
 chakrē vai sūkathānām sva-patir-iva rātē yaaya lūṭṭam-āṭṭ-āṅghab || 9  
 Dik-chaṭra-chumṭi-ruchira-prasat-karē yat  
 padm-ākarān-sampridō mukulīkarōṭi |  
 samai kalāṅka-mahāya jaḍ-āṭmanē cha  
 vakrāya na sṭrīḥayātē rajanīkarāya || 10  
 Prāchīm-anupracalītīnī kaṭīnī yaaya  
 dhūḥḥīr-ambā ghana-pakam-ākāṭhur-āṭṭhāḥ |  
 kīṭ cha-svva-rōchir-āṭṭīr-āṭṭmahīr-āntar-āṭṭ-  
 yādūnī pāṭka-pōṭṭika-paṭṭīmānī || 11  
 Kāṭṭāṭṭalam vipulam-āḍṭipattim-āḍṭagrām-  
 āṭṭṭōṭṭhīnī-āṭṭṭṭhūn-āṭṭṭhām mah-āṭṭhān |  
 āṭṭṭhāya Śakrapura-stūnī yaṭṭṭṭi vṭṭṭṭham  
 yaaya āṭṭṭṭ-āṭṭṭṭ-āṭṭṭṭ-āṭṭṭṭ-āṭṭṭṭ-āṭṭṭṭ || 12  
 Ravi-āṭṭi-kūḍi gūṭ-āḍṭhā bhī-ravayō rāja-āṭṭṭṭā rājāḥ |  
 jagatī pūnar-ika ēva vṭṭṭṭi yōḍ-āṭṭṭṭ-āṭṭṭṭ-āṭṭṭṭ || 13

Verses 7-10 and 12 of this section are not found in the grant of Vikrama 1154. The metres of these stanzas are : verses 1, 4-6 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2-3, 7-8, 10-12 *Paśantīśakt* ; verse 9 *Sarāśīkṛtīśa* ; verse 11 *Śaṅkhāḍ*. The author of these stanzas may have been Yādīvara. The indirect reference to the poets Gaṇādhyā, Bhūvari and Rājāṭṭhā in these inscriptions (cf. verse 12 quoted above) is of exceptional interest. As will be seen below (p. 207, note 1), the prose section after this versified introduction is also different in these Chandravallī plates.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 330, note 2. See also the case of Gōvīndachandra below, p. 204, note 2.



The charters of **Madanapāla**, son of Chandra, have the following two stanzas in addition to the five verses quoted above:

Tasya-ātmanjō Madanapāla iti kshisindra-  
 chūḍamaṇi-vijayatō nija-gōtre-chandraḥ |  
 yasya-ābhishēka-kalaa-ōllasitaiḥ payōbhūḥ  
 prakshālitaḥ Kali-rajah-patalaḥ dharmtryāḥ || 6  
 Yasya-śīd=riṇya-prayāsa-samayē tuṅg-āchal-āchchait-  
 mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-śama-bhara-bhāṣya-mahī-maṇḍalā |  
 chūḍā-ratna-vibhūti-nāla-gaṇita-śyān-ārig-odbhūtitaiḥ  
 Śēchah pēsha-vaśād=iva kshapam=śau krūḍō nilin-ānanah || 7

The copper-plate grants of **Gōvindachandra** add the following stanzas to the above-quoted seven verses:

Tasmād=ajāyata-nij-āyata-bāhu-valli-  
 bandh-āvaradīha-nava-rājya-gajō narēndrah |  
 sāndr-āṃṇita-draya-muchām prabhavō gavām yō  
 Gōvindachandra iti chandra iv=āmbu-rāṣṭh || 8  
 Na katham=py-alabhanta raga-kakamānis-  
 tirishu dikahu gaṇān=atha Vajrinah |  
 kakubhi batthramur=Abhramuvallabha-  
 pratibhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || 9

The following stanzas are added to the above-quoted nine verses in the charters of **Vijayachandra**:

Ajani Vijayachandrō nāma tasmān-narēndrah  
 Śuraspatir=ivā bhūbhrit-paksha-vichchēdita-dakṣah |

<sup>1</sup> See *JUPHS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 70-71. The metres of these stanzas are: verse 6 *Paśvāntīlā*; verse 7 *Śāriṇvīlā*.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., above, Vol. IV, p. 100, text lines 2-11. The metres of these verses are: verse 2 *Paśvāntīlā*; verse 9 *Dyāvāntīlā*. The Basahi (*Jnt. Int.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.) and Kāmali (above, Vol. II, pp. 223 ff. plates, issued respectively in Vikrama 1161 and 1182 by Gōvindachandra during his father's reign, have some new stanzas not found in the later records of Gōvindachandra or his successors. The Basahi plate has:

Tam-āyau varva-dīvanā Dāmōdaram=pāmahi |  
 trulōkyau yasya vakt-iva krūḍ-ānā-śham vali-tayl || 1  
 Vamā Gāhādavāl-ākhyā bahūva vijayī nripah |  
 Mahala=utah śrinā=Nala-Nāthāgn-munibah || 2  
 Yātē it-Bhōjā-bhōpē vibhūti-vara-vaiśa-nāra-śm-āntīlāra  
 it-Karpō kīrti-śham gataval oha arīpē kahu-śrayō jayamān |  
 dharmam yam dharmā Tridivavibhu-udbhav jati-yōgā-ppatā  
 vātī vīrāsa-pūram samantavaradita sa kāmāpatis-Chandradēvah || 3  
 Divānt-kāntībhūṭah varān-vibhūti-  
 Kanyākubjā-karōd-rājā rājadhēnu-anādīlām || 4  
 Tā=ājani dyāvad-āpati-danti-śūbah  
 kshōḍpatir-Madanapāla iti prakāḍah |  
 yān-āriyānta kakuḥ śauara-pradantīlā  
 samantīlā-prakāḍa-śam-kāndha-bandhāḥ || 5



bhuvana-dalana-kālā-harṇya-Hammīra-nārī-  
 nāyana-jalada-dhūrā-santa-bhūlōka-tīpāḥ || 10  
 Lōka-tray-ākramaṇa-kālā-viśrūṇchalāni  
 prakhyātā-kīrti-kavi-varṇita-vaibhavaṇi |  
 yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhūṇi bhūṇi  
 prōjjimbhayanti Bālī-rāja-bhayan yāśāni || 11<sup>1</sup>  
 Yasmīn=chulatya=udādhi-nāmi-mahā-jayāya  
 mādyat-karindra-guru-bhāra-nipāṇi=eva |  
 yāti Prajāpati-padaṇa āraṇ-ārthini bhū=  
 tvaṇat-turaṅga-nivah-ōṭha-rāja-ehhalāna || 12<sup>2</sup>

Tasmā-nāyana-nārīharṇya-viṇḍa-vandya-  
 pād-āravinda-yugalō jvalita-pratāpaḥ |  
 kshōṇpatindra-tlakō rīpi-raṅga-bhaṇṭi  
 Gōvīndachandra iti viśrūṇa-rājaputrah || 6

The Kamauli plate, which has *Tasmā-nārīharṇṇ* for *Tasmānārī* in verse 3 and *chulatya* for *rājanatā* in verse 6, omits the fourth stanza but adds the following verse at the end so that the number of verses is six in this case also:

Tlakthātō yasya dōḥ-stambhō matta-saury-aka-dantimā |  
 dhanur-gaṇa-kīpa-śrīpī-mada-pōjitra-lakṣyatō || 7

The metres of these verses are: verses 1-3, 4 and 7 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 5 *Śrutiśloka*; verses 6-8 *Pañcāśloka*.

The Bikan plate (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.) of Vikrama 1166, also issued by Gōvīndachandra during his father's reign, has again the following set of verses:

Akṣōṭh-ōṭhaṭha-Vākṣōṭha, etc. || 1

Abhūn-śrīpō Gāhadvāla-vaṇḍo

Mahātalō nāma jīti-ārī-chakraḥ |

śhīṭō dharā-bhāraṇa-māṭhaṇa-ṭha

Śābhā vakṭi yasya bhūṇi nidhāya || 2

Pradhvātō Śāma-Sāry-ōḍhara-viṇḍa-mahā-kṣātra-vaṇḍo-trayō-mūṇa-  
 utmanapūya-vōḍa-dharaṇi jagad-ekhalam manyanmāṇaḥ Svayambhūḥ |

kīrtā dōḥa-grahāya pratyāṇaṭha manah śhūḍha-buddhir-āharitryāṇa

adhartam dharmā-mārgam prathīṇaṭha tatthā kṣātra-ratna-dvayam eha || 3

Vaṇḍō tāra tatthā va dōḥa-mahābhūḍhāṇḍō-chōḍhāṇḍi

prōdhvātō-ōḍhara-vairi-vira-timiraḥ et-Chandradēvō śrīpāḥ |

yōn-ōḍharaṇa-pratāpa-ṭhaṇi-ṭhāṇa-pm-ōḍharaṇa

śrīmad-Gādhīpur-āḍhāṇḍi-vaṇḍo-māṇi dōḥ-viṇḍa-ārjitaḥ || 4

Tirṭhāni Kālī-Kaṭik-ōṭhaṇḍi-ṭhaṇi-ṭhaṇi-ṭhaṇi, etc. || 5

Tasya-śrīpō Māṇapālāni, etc. || 6

Yasya-śrīpō-pratāpa-māṇapālāni, etc. || 7

Jīti-māṇi rājaputrah-iv-āṇi-ṭhaṇi-ṭhaṇi

Gōvīndachandra iti kṣānti-ṭhaṇi-ṭhaṇi-ṭhaṇi |

rāj-āṇaṇa bhayāṇi-māṇapālāni

Rāmāṇa dōḥaṇḍi-ṭhaṇi-ṭhaṇi-ṭhaṇi yāśāni yāśāni || 8

Durvāra-aphāra-Gauda-dvīṇa-vira-ghaṭi-kurṭha-ārjita-ṭhaṇi

Hammīraṇi nyāṇi-vaṇḍi-mukha-māṇa-rāja-kṣāṇḍi yō-ṭhaṇi |

śhānt-mahāṇi-vaṇḍi-ṭhaṇi-ṭhaṇi-ṭhaṇi-ṭhaṇi-ṭhaṇi

kshōṇ-ārjita-dakṣaṇa va śhā-vaṇḍi prathīṇa-kṣā-ṭhaṇi || 9

The metres of the stanzas are: verse 1 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 2 *Upajāti*; verses 3 and 4 *Śrutiśloka*; verses 5 and 6 *Pañcāśloka*. The fourth stanza is a modification of verse 1 quoted above.

<sup>1</sup> This stanza is not found in some of the records of Vijayachandra (cf. *Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 112).

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., above Vol. XXXIV, pp. 224-25. The metres of these stanzas are: verse 10 *Māhāt*; verses 11-12 *Pañcāśloka*.



Jayachchandra's copper-plate grants have the twelve stanzas quoted above and the following two verses in addition thereto :

Tasmād=adbhuta-vikramād=atha Jayachchandr-ābhīdhānaḥ patir=  
bhūpānām=aratīṇa śeṣa bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇaḥ |  
dvaīdhi-bhāvam=apūṣya vīgraha-ruchīm dhikṛṭīya śānt-ālayāḥ  
śervantō yam=udagra-bandhana-bhaya-dhvatā-ārthinaḥ pāṭhivāḥ || 13  
Gachchhām=anūchhām=atashchhāṣ na yadi kavasyēt-kūrma-priakṣ-ābhigāta-  
pratyāvṛttim<sup>1</sup> śram-ārtō namad-akhīla-phapa-śvāsa-vātyā-sahasram |  
udyōgā yasya dhāvad-dharaṇidhara-dhuni-nirjāra-sphāra-dhāra-  
bhāṣyad-dāna-dvip-āli-bahala-bhara-gaḥad-dhairyā-mudraḥ Phapāndraḥ || 14<sup>2</sup>

The following verses are added to the above quoted fourteen stanzas in the Maachhlishahr plate (Vikrama 1253=1197 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> of **Harīschandra**, son of Jayachchandra and the latest known member of the Imperial Gāhaḍavalla house :

Tasmād=āśid=asīma-tvara-turaga-khura-kabōda-vikshipta-dihūli-  
vyāpta-kṣmā-chakravāla-krama-kalita-nabhō-ruddha-sūra-ptakṣāḥ |  
śnā-śaṁbhāra-sampad-daravidalad-ilām dōr-gatāḥ nyasya chaṇḍas-  
chaṇḍ-ārka-bhīṣati-dāyī-aphurad-asama-yasāḥ śri-Harīschandradēvaḥ || 15  
Yīma prapāma-patita-kāṭipāla-mauli-  
raīna-prabhā-ruchira-chāru-pat-āmbujēna |  
oddanḍa-śtrakara-maṇḍala-puṇḍarīka-  
dīpḍīra-piṇḍam-iva subhāra-paśō vitēnē || 16<sup>4</sup>

The above versified section is followed by a stereotyped introduction of the donor in prose. To illustrate this, we may quote the passage in question from the Maachhlishahr plate referred to above :

śō=yam sanasta-rāja-chakra-saṁśvīta-charaṇaḥ sa cha paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-  
dhīrāja-paramēvara-paramamāhēśvara-nīja-bhoj-ōpārjita-śri-Kanyakubī-ādhipatya-śē-  
**Chandradēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēvara-parama-  
māhēśvara-śri-Madana-pālādēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-  
paramēvara-paramamāhēśvar-ārapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-vivīdha-  
vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Gōvinda-chandradēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭā-

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes we have *pratyāvṛtta*.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., *Ind. Art.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 130 ff. The metres of the stanzas are : verse 13 *Śaṅkārācārīcīṭā* ; verse 14 *Śrughāṇā*.

<sup>3</sup> *Akṣora*, Vol. X, p. 97. Verse 15 was not properly deciphered.

<sup>4</sup> The metres of the stanzas are : verse 15 *Śrughāṇā* ; verse 16 *Formantilakā*.



raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray  
 ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrī-Vijayachan-drādēva-pād-ānudhyāta-para-  
 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-  
 rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrī-Jayachchen-drādēva-pād-ānud-  
 hyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-  
 narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Hari-śchन्द्रadrādēvō  
 vijayī.<sup>1</sup>

The list of subordinates and officers addressed by the king in respect of grants, the description of the ceremonial offering of the gift land and the privileges of the donee as found in the Gāhadvāla charters are couched in practically the same language. The imprecatory and benedictory verse quoted about the end of the said records are also almost the same.

#### No. 1—Grant of Gōvindhachandra, Vikrama 1196

This inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-55, No. A 29. It is a single thick plate measuring nineteen inches in length and thirteen inches in height. There is a circular hole (about 2 cm. in diameter) about the centre of the top part, but no seal. The plate is engraved only on one side and there are in all 24 lines of writing. Its ends are raised for the protection of the writing. The weight of the plate is 465.6 gm.

The date of the grant is quoted in lines 15-16, both in words and figures, as Vikrama 1196, Phālguna-vadi 15, Tuesday. This date corresponds to the 31st January 1139 A. D., the said *tithi* having begun on that day and ended on the next.

The Gāhadvāla king Gōvindhachandra is stated to have granted, on the date indicated above, the village called *Vanāvā-grāma* situated in the *pattalā* of *Asamaka*. A *pattalā* was a territorial unit of the type of the Pargana of today. The identification of the localities is uncertain. The gift was made by the king after having taken a bath in the waters of the Ganges at *Vārāṇasī*.

The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Rālhapaśarman who belonged to the Sāṅkṛitya *gotra* and the Sāṅkṛitya, Āngirasa and Gauravīta *prataṛas*. He was the son of Vālhaṇa and grandson of Bhīma. All the three persons are called *Tivādī* which was apparently their family name derived from Sanskrit *Tripāthī* meaning 'familiar with the three *pāṭhas*, (viz. *saṁhitā*, *paṭh* and *krama*). The same family name is even now current among the Brāhmaṇas of U. P. The honorific *śrī* is prefixed to the names of Rālhapaśarman and his father Vālhaṇa. Its absence with the name of Rālhapa's grandfather Bhīma probably suggests that he was dead at the time of the grant.

<sup>1</sup> As indicated above (p. 202, note 6), like the versified introductory part, the prose section introducing the donor is different in the two Chandravati plates of Vikrama 1160 and 1166. The grant of Vikrama 1160 reads: *śōṇyam narapati-mukhānta-makarikā-marakata-prabhā-patala-pallavita-pāda-pithō gajapati-gala-garjita-pralaya-pañchānana-triśākhapati-kapata-pātana-krakacha-pāta-chapala-pañchāla-chūla-chumbana-chapa-cho-mrāhāt gṛipati-pīṇa-pīṇa-chāṇa-mārutab kavallita-bāli-kāla-kopala-pēṭakō nirvāna-pāthika-tōṭhā-darānab namahigata-śakāla-darānāvara-śpēṭhā-jāna-sampad-vijita-muni-mandirgīttr-āśrayab arjunaśm-ikarab sarva-vijyānām-ālayab kallaśm-ādhārāb svām-sampadām paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-niṣa-bhūj-āpṛajita-śrī-Kanyakubj-ādhipatyā-śrīmad-  
 Chandradityadrādēvō vijayī.*

The grant of Vikrama 1166, which omits four verses in the versified introduction as already noted above, has '*śakāla-pithō nirvāna*' and '*tōṭhā-darānab paramabhaṭṭāraka*' and thus omits a number of passages. This record exhibits an attempt to shorten the rather lengthy introduction in both the sections in verse and prose as found in the charter of Vikrama 1160.



The gift was permanent and the donee was entitled to enjoy all taxes including *bhōga* (share of crops), *bhōga* (periodical offerings), *laka* (taxes in general) and the special taxes known as *pramāṣikā* and *terushkadapā*, which have been variously explained. Of these two levies, *pramāṣikā* was probably a tax on foreign merchants and *terushkadapā* either a tax to meet the expenses of defence against the Turkish Musalmans or a levy from Musalman subjects or traders.

The charter was written by *Thakkura Viśvarūpa* who is already known from a large number of *Gōvindhachandra's* records.<sup>1</sup>

## TEXT

- 12 .....<sup>2</sup> *Arinad-Gōvindhachandradēvō vijayī | Asamaka-pattalāyām Vasēvā-grāma-*  
*nivāśinō mikhilā-janapadā-*
- 13 *anugatatān=api cha rūpa-rāpū-yavarāja-mamtri-parōhita-pratibhā-sēnāpatī-bhāṣājagārik-śikha-*  
*patālika-bhishag-naimittik-śatāhpurika-dāta-kari-turaga-patta-*
- 14 *a-śikamathāna-gōkul-śāhikān-parushān-ājūpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādīnati cha [i\*] yathā*  
*vūṭtan=sam bhavatām yath-ōpari-likhita-grāmān sa-jala-sthala sa-lōha-krāp-ā-*
- 15 *kurāḥ sa-matay-ākaraḥ sa-grat-śmāraḥ sa-madhūk-āvra(mra)-vāna-vāṭikā-vitapa-tiga-*  
*yūti-gā(gō)-chara-paryantaḥ a-ōrdhā[v\*]-ādha=chatur-āghāta-vāra(lu)ddhaḥ eva-śmā-*  
*paryantaḥ pāthcha-navaty-adbhik-aikā-*
- 16 *dāśa-śata-bhēm(sam)vatsarō Phālgunō māsi kṛishna-pakṣhō amāvāsyāyām*  
*tithau Bhauma-dinō-āk-ṇi samva(sariva)t 1195 Phālguna-vadi 15 Bhaumō*  
*Arinad-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāyām mātṛvā vāhiva-*
- 17 *n-mamtrī(tra)-dā(dō)va-muni-mahā-śrī-pitṛ-gāhāḥ-tarjpayitvā timira-patāla-pātana-*  
*pāta-mahāsam-| Ujjhāraśchāham-apa(sthā)ya-āushadhipatīśakalāś(ś)kharāḥ mma-*  
*bhyāraśchāya tri-bhuvana-trāsur-Vrāmadēva-*
- 18 *aya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pūyabhō(ś)na ha(vishā) Havihhuh(trhu)jāḥ hat(v)ā mātā-*  
*pitr(ō)-ātmanā-cha purya-yat-bhivibhāy-śmāhric-ggōkarṇa-kusa(ā)-lātā-pūta-kara-*  
*tal-śāka-jūrvā(ni) Śāukṛitya-gō-*
- 19 *trāya Śāukṛitya<sup>3</sup> Āgimā-Gaurichit<sup>4</sup>-trib(tri)-pravarāya Tivāḍi-Bhīma-pantṛāya Tivāḍi-*  
*śrī-Vāllāga-pantṛāya [T](ivāḍi)-śrī-Rāḥapāstamaṇḍ Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṇy-ā-chāindr-ā(r)kka-*  
*(ni) śā(śā)śāukṛitya*
- 20 *pradattō matvā yathā-diyamāna-bhā(ga)-bhōga-kara-pravapikara-sa(tu)ruahka(s)da)ṇḍa-*  
*prabhriti-sa(r\*)ev-ādāyān ā(tā)-vidhāyithāya dāyath-ōti [i\*] bhavanā ob-ātra*  
*śākaḥ | ...*
- 24 ..... *likhitam ch-ōdam thakkura-śrī-Viśvarūp(p)ōp-ōt(i) [i\*]*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 214, 215, 217, 222, 223.

<sup>2</sup> From *lakkal* impression.

<sup>3</sup> Verses 1-9 quoted in our *Introductory Discussion*, followed by a passage in prose also discussed there, are found in Pans 1-12.

<sup>4</sup> *Śāukī* has not been observed here.

<sup>5</sup> The correct form of the name is *Amāṣā*.

<sup>6</sup> There is a floral design between the two donors.

<sup>7</sup> The following imperatory and benedictory verses occur in lines 20-24: *Bhāmā yaś prahgrāhā, etc.* Southern *śāukṛitya*, etc.; *Haridhāśa-śāukṛitya*, etc.; *Śarṇavāṣṭam gāma-śāukṛitya*, etc.; *Nā pūṣam vāṣṭam* *Ryāḥ*, etc.; *Tivāḍi dattā*, etc.



## SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE I

No. 1—Grant of Govindachandra, Vikrama 1196

[illegible]



*[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme fading and blurring. The text appears to be organized into several vertical columns.]*

Scale: Two-fifths



## No. 2—Grant of Vijayachandra, Vikrama 1217

This is a single plate<sup>1</sup> having writing only on one side. It measures 48 cm. in length and 38 cm. in height, though its weight is not recorded. There is a hole, disturbing the continuity of line 1, about the middle of the upper part of the plate near the top margin. But there is no seal, for the affixation of which the hole was no doubt made. There are only 30 lines of writing in the inscription.

The charter bears the date: Vikrama 1217, Chaitra-vadi 11, Wednesday, Mina-sākrānti, both in words and figures (line 18). This date regularly corresponds to the 22nd February 1164 A. D.

The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Gāhādavāla king Vijayachandra on the date mentioned above. The king is stated to have made the grant after having taken his bath in the Ganges at its confluence with the Kālīnadi at his camp-residence lying to the west of Khōḍa (*Khōḍa-pūchima-samārdra*). The Kālī-nadi joins the Ganges not far above Kanauj in the Farrukhabad District, U. P. The camp of the king was thus a place near Kanauj. The general belief that the name Kālī-nadi is modified from old Kālīndī by Persian writers<sup>2</sup> is disproved by the inscription under study.

The gift village was Kaḍḍini-grāma situated in the Umbarehāra pattalā (district). The village is stated to have been granted along with its pāṭakas. The word pāṭaka (modern pāḍā) means a group of houses in a village. The names of the pāṭakas or hamlets are given in the inscription as Kāsavali, Vanaḍi(ī), Ustari and Pauravali. I am not sure about the identification of the localities. The name of Umbarehāra-pattalā reminds us of Umbarīla-pattalā of an inscription of Gōvindahandra.<sup>3</sup>

The donee of the grant was the Brāhmana Thakkura Māhapaśarman who was the son of Thakkura Gaṅgādihara and grandson of Thakkura Lakṣmīdhara and belonged to the Vāta gotra and the five varṇas, viz. Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurya and Jāmadagnya. The nature of the gift was permanent and the donee was entitled to all regular and irregular taxes like bhāga, bhāga, kara, pramaṇikara and yamalikāmbali. Of these, pramaṇikara is the same as or a mistake for pramaṇikara discussed above. Yamalikāmbali seems to be a corruption of yamala-kambali meaning the tax for the possession of a pair of choice bullocks and may be compared with the levy called tara-baliwada mentioned in certain contemporary inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

The charter was written by Thakkura Śripatika (Śripati) who is known from many inscriptions of Gōvindahandra and Jayachandra as well as from a spurious grant<sup>5</sup> of Vijayachandra himself. He is often endowed with the official designation Mahākṣapatalika.

<sup>1</sup> It is No. A 91 of Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1900-01.

<sup>2</sup> The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIV, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. VIII, p. 139, text line 11.

<sup>4</sup> See ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 267, text line 25.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 183 ff. All the six charters of Jayachandra edited below (Nos. 3-8) were written by the same person.







## No. 3—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1232

This is a single plate<sup>1</sup> measuring 62 cm. in length and 39 cm. in height and having writing on one side only. There is a hole (about 2.5 cm. in diameter) about the middle of the upper part of the plate near the top margin. This disturbs the continuity of the writing of lines 1-3. The weight of the plate has not been recorded. There are altogether 33 lines of writing in the inscription. The seal is missing.

The date of the charter is quoted in line 22 in both words and figures. It is Vikrama 1232, *Āsvina-sudi 14, Monday*. The year has to be regarded as current and the date apparently corresponds to Monday the 29th September 1175 A.D., though the *tithi* in question really fell on the following day. As will be seen below, several other charters were issued by the king on the same day in favour of the donees of the grant under study.

It is stated that the Gāhadvāla king Jayachandra granted a village on the above date on the occasion of the *jāt-otsava* of *Mahārājaputra Hariśchandrādēva*. The gift village was *Chandavaka*, though the *pattalā* or *Pargana* in which it was situated is not mentioned. But reference has been made to certain *pāpālas* or hamlets of the village. Their names appear to be *Kāṣavaka*, *Payanīyā*, *Rātu* and *Gudērāra*. These places cannot be located with precision.

The donee of the grant was *Mahāsāundhivīgrahika Bhāṇḍāgārīka* Ravidhara of the *Vatva gōtra*, who was the son of *Mālādharasarma* and the grandson of *Qaḍgādharaśarma*.<sup>2</sup> He was therefore an officer of the king in charge of foreign relations as well as of the royal treasury or store-house. It will be seen below that all the grants of Jayachandra edited here (Nos. 3-8) were made in favour of this person, though the records of the following year (V. S. 1233; cf. Nos. 5-8) call him *Rāṇḍa* instead of *Mahāsāundhivīgrahika Bhāṇḍāgārīka*. The donee was entitled to collect all the regular and irregular taxes including *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara*, *pravāṇikara* and *yamali*. Of these, *yamali* is of course the same as *yamalikāmbali* explained above.

The charter was written by *Mahākṣhapāṇalika Thakkura Śrīpati* who was also the writer of No. 2 edited above, Nos. 4-7 edited below and a number of other Gāhadvāla charters.

The importance of the inscription lies in the mention of the *jāt-otsava* of king Jayachandra's son *Mahārājaputra Hariśchandra*, as the occasion of the grant. The expression *jāt-otsava* no doubt means the festival relating to the prince's birth. This reminds us of two other grants made by Jayachandra on the occasion of the *jāta-karma* (ceremony at birth) and *nāma-karṇa* (naming ceremony) of the same *Hariśchandra*.

It is well known that the Kamauḍi plate<sup>3</sup> of Vikrama 1232, *Bhādra-vadi 8, Sunday* (the 10th August 1175 A.D.) records a grant made by Jayachandra on the occasion of the *jāta-karma* of *Rājaputra Hariśchandrādēva* after the donor had taken a bath in the waters of the Ganges at *Kāṣī* (i.e. *Vārāṇasī*) in favour of *Parākhita* *Praharājāsarma* who was apparently the priest

<sup>1</sup> It is No. A 91 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1903-51.

<sup>2</sup> This *Gaṇḍadhara* seems to be identical with the *Brāhmana* of the same name mentioned in No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 127, text lines 29-34: *Somast 1232 Bhādra-vadi 8 Ravana Kāṣyān rājaputra-ut-Pandit-ādhrādēva-jātakarmast Gaṅgāyān nāṭha.....nambhik parākhita-ut-Praharājāsarmast Brāhmanāyā.....pradāta*. The expression *adhyakṣa* seems to have been omitted from the context through oversight.



officiating in the prince's birth-rite.<sup>1</sup> The Sihvar plate<sup>2</sup> of Vikrama 1232, Bhādra-sudi 13, Sunday the 31st August 1175 A. D.), likewise records a grant on the occasion of the *nāma-karṇa* of *Rājaputra* Hariśchandra made by the king after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Vārāṇasī in avour of *Mahāpandita* Hrishikēśaśarmān. Hrishikēśa was no doubt a scholar patronised by the Gāhaḍavāla king and officiated in the naming ceremony and suggested the name of the prince.

It is generally believed, on the basis of these two records, that Hariśchandra was born on the 10th August 1175 A.D. and that his *nāma-karṇa* or naming ceremony was performed after three weeks on the 31st August. Of course there is a good deal of discrepancy in the views of ancient Indian authorities as regards the time when the *nāma-karṇa* should be performed. Some of them favour the date of the birth of a child for the purpose and some others prefer the 10th or 12th day after the birth or any auspicious day, *tithi* or *nakṣatra* thereafter, i.e. on a later date, while another group of writers prescribe for the *nāma-karṇa* the 16th or 18th day after the birth though there are also views that it should be done after the passing of a hundred nights or a month or a year.<sup>3</sup> Thus the performance of *nāma-karṇa* on the 21st day after the birth of prince Hariśchandra is not unjustifiable. But the mention of the name Hariśchandra in the grant issued on the 10th August on the occasion of the *jāta-karṇa* or birth-ceremony seems to suggest that the *nāma-karṇa*, on the occasion of which a charter was issued on the 31st August, was really performed on the date of the prince's birth on an earlier date. This seems to be supported by the present grant which has the passage: *Saṁvat 1232 Āvina-sudi 14 Śmādy-ṭha mahārājaputra-śrī-Hariśchandra-dēva-jāt-āstau . . . . . amāhāt . . . . . mahāśāndhivigrahika-bhāṇḍāgārika-śrī-Ravidhara . . . . . pradattāḥ*.<sup>4</sup> Since the date falls on the 29th September 1175 A.D., i.e. 50 days after the 10th August and 29 days after the 31st August, it cannot be regarded as a celebration performed a month or several months or a year after the birth of Hariśchandra. Thus the *jāt-āstau* seems to indicate the festival held on the occasion of the prince's birth, though the grant was made several weeks after the date. This makes it doubtful whether the prince's birth took place on the 10th August 1175 A.D. or on an earlier date.

It will be seen that while the grant on the occasion of the *jāta-karṇa* was made in favour of the *Purāhita* (i.e. the priest of the king) and that in connection with the *nāma-karṇa* to a *Mahāpandita* (learned Brāhmana of the royal court), who no doubt officiated in the respective rites, the present grant was made in connection with the birth festival in favour of a royal officer who apparently did not take part in the *jāta-karṇa* and *nāma-karṇa* rites. But, as will be seen below, No. 4 seems to suggest that Ravidhara, the donee of the present charter, presented three bejewelled amulets to the newly born prince.

Ravidhara may have been a favourite of the king since all the six grants of Jaysachandra published here (Nos. 3-8) were issued in his favour on two different dates, Nos. 3-4 on one date and Nos. 5-8 on another. It is, however, interesting to note that the *jāt-āstau* of Hariśchandra is mentioned as the occasion of the grant only in the present record (No. 3) and not even in No. 4 though Nos. 3 and 4 were issued on the same date. Whether this means that the villages granted by means of some of these records were really purchased by Ravidhara from the Gāhaḍavāla monarch cannot be determined without further evidence.

<sup>1</sup> Another grant made by the king in a priest's favour is recorded in a Kanauj plate (above, Vol. IV, pp. 120-21), according to which he gave a village to *Rājaputra Mahāpandita* Prabhakāśaśarmān on the 21st June 1270 A.D. after performing *moṣṭa-sādhā* for his *śāśitā* at his camp at *Vaḍavā-grāma*.

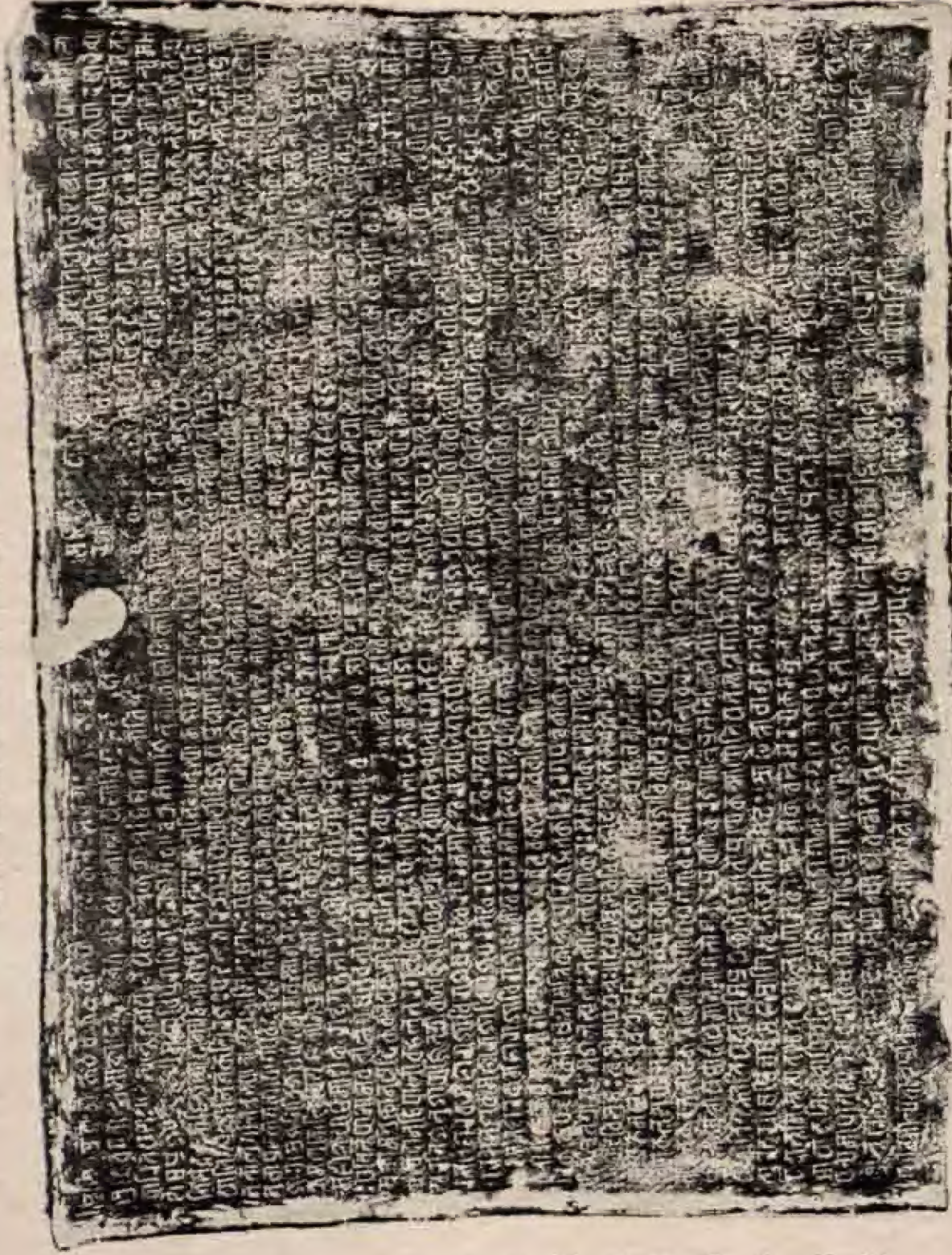
<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 131, text lines 24-28: *Saṁvat 1232 Bhādra-sudi 13 Rājaputra-śrī-ṭha mahārājaputra-śrī-Hariśchandra-dēva-jāt-āstau . . . . . amāhāt . . . . . mahāpandita-śrī-Hrishikēśaśarmān Brāhmanaśa rāja-putra-śrī-Hariśchandra-nāma-karṇa . . . . . pradattāḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kaśm. History of Dharmasthāna*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 234, 235 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The expression *śāśitā-śāśitā* seems to have been omitted through oversight. Cf. No. 4 (text line 23) issued in favour of the same donee on the same date, though it does not mention any occasion like Hariśchandra's *jāt-āstau* as in the present grant.



SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE II  
No. 3—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1232



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

Scale: Two-fifths







## No. 4—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1232

This is a single plate<sup>1</sup> measuring 48 cm. in length and 39 cm. in height. It has writing only on one side. In general appearance, the plate looks like Nos. 1-3 edited above. There is no seal, though there is a hole (2.15 cm. in diameter) about the centre of the upper part near the top margin and it disturbs the continuity of the writing of lines 1-2. The inscription contains 34 lines of writing.

The date of the charter, quoted in both words and figures in lines 22-23, is the same as that of No. 3, viz. Vikrama 1232, Āvina-mūdi 14, Monday, corresponding to the 29th September 1175 A.D.

The grant is stated to have been made by the Gāhājavāla king Jayachandra after having taken a bath at a locality or in a tank called *Edakupḍi*. The gift village, viz. *Avālu-grāma*, was given together with its *pāṭaka* though the *pattalā* in which it was situated is not mentioned. I am not sure about the location of the village or the place whence the charter was issued.

The donee is the same as in No. 3, viz. *Mahāśāhāragrohika Bhāṣyāgārīka Ravidhara* (written wrongly as *Rādhara*) of the Yataś gōtra, who was the son of *Mahāśāhāradharman* and grandson of *Gaṅgādhara* *dharmān*. The nature of the grant was permanent and the donee was entitled to realise such regular and irregular taxes as *bhūga*, *bhoga*, *ṭara*, *prasaṅgikara* and *gumali* (i.e. *gumalikānta*) (explained above).

There is a passage in line 26, which seems to suggest that Ravidhara offered three *mudrā*s decked with diamonds and rubies and that the grant was made in his favour in that connection (i.e. in response to that act). The word *mudrā* is apparently used in the sense of *mudrikā* or *mudrā* meaning 'signet ring', 'a coin', 'a medal', etc. It is not impossible that Ravidhara presented three amulets to the newly born prince Harichandra and received the village from the king in return.

The charter was written by Śrīpati already known from Nos. 2-3 above and a number of other records of Gāhājavāla kings including Nos. 5-7 below.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 18 ..... 'rīma] Jayachandradēvō vijay! ||     || sa cha [sa]-  
 19 [māta-rūḥ]<sup>3</sup> ..... 'sa-pāṭaka-'Avālu-grāma-nivāśinō nikhila-janapadā(dā)ś-upagatān  
       'apī cha rāja-rājānī-yuvārāja-mam(ma)ntri-purā(rō)[hi]ta-pantihāra-sānāpa-  
 20 ti-bhāṣyāgārīka-ākṣapātālīka-bhāṣag-mimittik-āntahpurīka-d[ū]ta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākara-  
       sthāna-g[ū]kūl-ādīkārī-purnahān-ājñāpayati vā(bō)dhayaty-ādīkātī cha vidi-  
 21 tam-satu bhavatām yath-[ū]pari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-ja[la]sthalaḥ sa-[l]ōha-javan-ākaraḥ  
       sa-malay-ākaraḥ sa-gu[r\*]ti-śāva(sha)[raḥ] sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-[ma]dhuk-āura-  
       vana-vāṣikā-vi-

<sup>1</sup> It is No. A 92 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1900-01.

<sup>2</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 1-13 contain verses 1-14 followed by a passage in prose, both discussed in our introductory remarks.

<sup>4</sup> These six redundant akṣaras were wrongly incised. The intended expression here seems to be *sumata-rāja-dhara-samachāra-chakṣaṇa*.

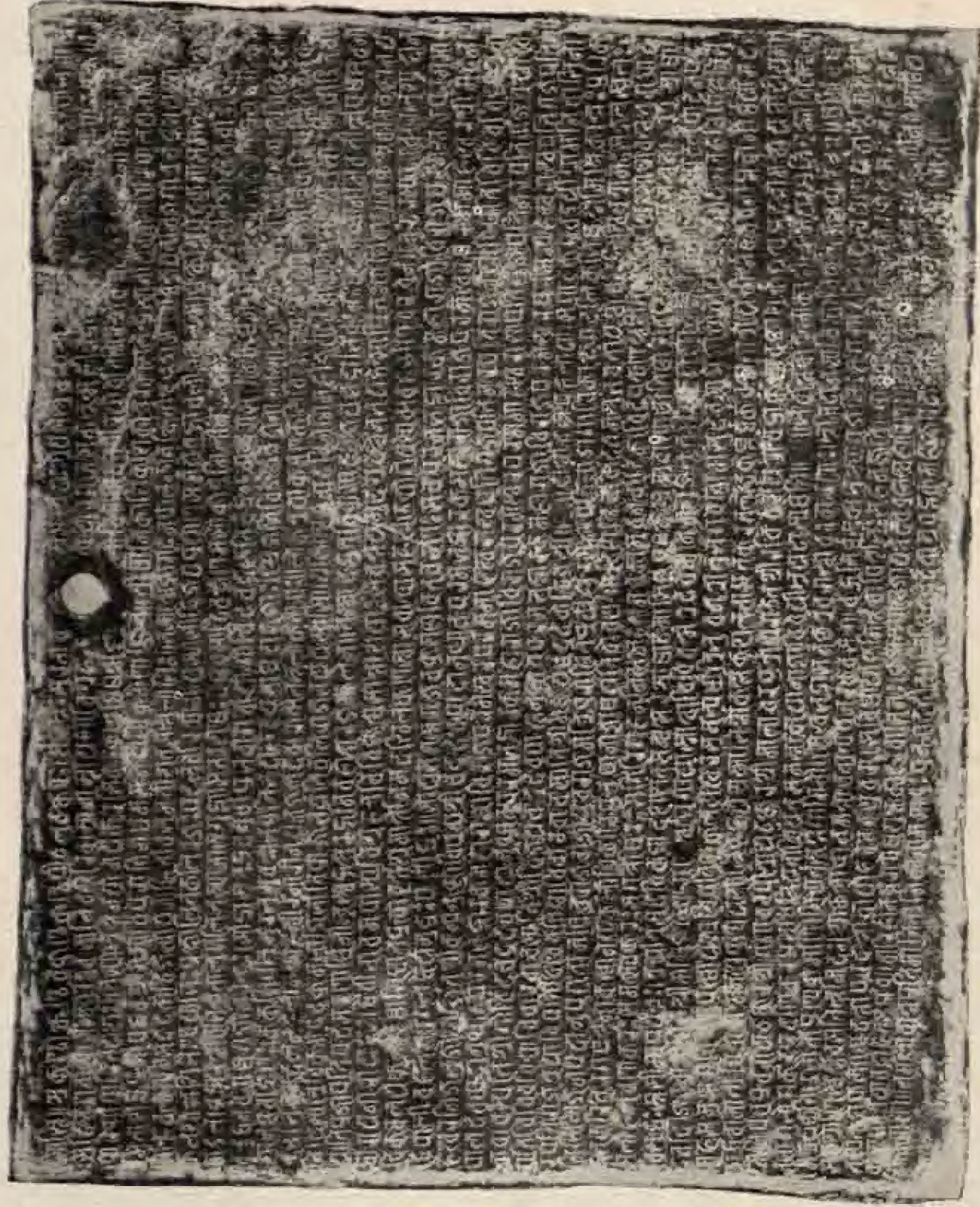
<sup>5</sup> The akṣaras wrongly engraved here are completely rubbed off.

<sup>6</sup> *Sandā* has not been observed here.



# SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE III

No. 5—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1233



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

Scale: Two-fifths

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34







It is interesting to note that the same Ravidhara is called *Mahāsāndhivagrāhika Bhāṣṇāgārīka* in Nos. 3-4, but a *Rāuta* in the present record as well as in Nos. 6-7. *Rāuta* is merely a title of nobility and it is not improbable that Ravidhara retired before the date of the present charter and was no longer an officer of the king.

Like most of the other charters of Jayachandra edited here, the present grant was written by *Mahākṣhapatalīka Thakkura Śrīpati*.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 20 .....<sup>2</sup> śrīmaḥ-Jayachchandra-dēvō vijayi || || Dirghōdaya-pattalāyāṁ [<sup>3</sup> sa-pō]aka-  
Khavaḍḍayi-grāma-nivāsinō
- 21 nikhila-janapadān-apagatān-api cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-mamtri-purōhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-  
bhāṣṇāgārīka-ākṣhapatalīka-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika-
- 22 dūta-kari-taruga-pattan-ākarsathāna-gōkul-ādihikāri-purushān-ājjāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-  
ādīdati [cha] viditān-asu bhavatām yath-ōpati-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sahalaḥ
- 23 sa-tōha-lavan-ākarah sa-matry-ākarah sa-garti-ōaharah sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madh[ū]-  
k-ānra-vana-vālikā-viṭapa-tripa-yūti-gō[cha]ra-paryantah sa-ōrdrv-ādihah-chatur-āghāta-
- 24 visu[ṭa]piddihah sva-simā-paryantah [<sup>4</sup> traya]sa[<sup>5</sup>]trīmaṇ(śa)d-ādihā-dvādaśa-śata-  
samva(samva)tsarē Ābhāḍhē māsi kṛishṇa-pakṣē amāvāsyāyām tithau Ravi-  
dinē saktāḥ-pi samva(samva)t 1233 Ābhā-
- 25 dha-vadi 15 Ravau ady-ōha śrīmad-vijaya-Vārāpasvā(syām) Gaṁgāyā[m] snātva  
vāhivān-maditra-dēva-muni-manujs-bh[ū]ta-p[ā]tr[ī]-gopāthā-tarppayitva timira-patala-  
pātana-patu-
- 26 mahasam-Ushnatūchisham-upasthōy-Aushadhipatisakalās(ō)kharah samahhyarchebhya tri-  
bhuvana-tritur-bhagavatō Vāmāśvaya pōjām vāhāya prachura-pāyastōna havishā  
Havirbhu-
- 27 jam butrā mātē-pitrōr-ātmanā-cha puṇya-yaso(ō)-bhuvriddhayē samāhīr-ggōkarṇa-  
kūśa-latē-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakam Vata-gotrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āposvān-  
Aurva-Yā(Jā)mada-
- 28 any-ōti-pa[m]<sup>6</sup>cha-pravarāya thakkura-śrī-Gaṁgādihara-pautrāya thakkura-śrī-Mādhara-  
putrāya rāuta-śrī-Ravidharāya ā-chandr-ārkhar yāyach<sup>7</sup>-chhōsanikṛitya pradattō matvā  
yathā-diyamō-
- 29 na-bhāga - bhāga-kara - pravaṇikam - prabhṛiti-mīya-āniyata-samast - ādāyān-ājjā-  
vidhāyibhūya dāsyath-ōti || || bhavanti ch-ōtea āḥkāḥ | .....<sup>8</sup>
- 34 ..... lūhitaṁ ch-ōdam tānra-pattakam mahākṣhapatalīka-thakkura-śrī-Śrīpatibhir-iti ||

<sup>1</sup> From linked impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Verses 1-14 discussed in our introductory remarks followed by the usual passage in prose occur in lines 1-20.

<sup>3</sup> The diacritic is redundant.

<sup>4</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> The word *śa* is redundant.

<sup>6</sup> The following imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are found in lines 29-34: *Bhāmān yāḥ pradīrghakṛti, etc.*; *Samphūta bhadr-dimam, etc.*; *Shashīn varaha-sūdanatā, etc.*; *Shakūlān-varaśāśa bhutā, etc.*; *Sam-dānta para-dānta vā, etc.*; *Ōha-śānta-samraṇa-śam cha, etc.*; *Vā-dānta-samraṇa, etc.*; *Yān-śānta, etc.*



## No. 6—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This is a single plate<sup>1</sup> measuring 52 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height and bearing writing on one side only. There is no seal; but a hole (2.28 cm. in diameter) is there about the centre of the upper part near the top margin. The hole disturbs the continuity of the writing in lines 1-2. There are in all 34 lines of writing on the plate.

The date of the charter, quoted in words and figures in lines 22-23, is the same as in No. 5, viz. Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday, corresponding to the 29th May 1177 A.D.

The inscription records the grant of the village called Saratavāḍa-grāma, together with its hamlets such as Tōṇu and Āmī (or Tōṇāmī), situated in the Dīrghōdaya pattalā, already known from No. 5. The location of the village is uncertain.

It is stated that the Gāhadvāla king Jayachandra made the grant after having taken a bath in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, on the date indicated above, in favour of the donee of Nos. 3-5, viz. Rāuta Ravidhara who was the son of Thakkura Mālādharā and grandson of Thakkura Gaṅgādharā and belonged to the Vatsa gōtra and the Bhūrgava, Ohyavana, Āpnavāna, Anrva and Jāmadagnya pratyakṣas. As in No. 5, the donee was entitled to all the regular and irregular taxes including bhūga, bhōga, kara and pravṛṣikara.

As will be seen, Nos. 5 and 7-8 also record grants issued by Jayachandra in favour of the same donee on the same date. We know that often a king recorded the gift of several villages in favour of a particular person in a single charter.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore difficult to explain why the donation of the three villages in favour of Rāuta Ravidhara was not registered in one copper-plate grant. It may, however, be conjectured that the gift of three villages was recorded in this case in three different plates as a mark of favour to the donee who could then send a charter separately to the gift village concerned for taking possession of it for the realisation of taxes, as otherwise he would have to take possession of the villages one after the other.

The grant was written by Mahākṣhapatalika Thakkura Śrīpati as is the case with most of the other inscriptions published in this paper.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

18' ..... śrīmaṇ-Jayachandradēvo

19 vijayaḥ || || Dīrghōdaya-pattalāyām<sup>4</sup> |<sup>5</sup> rāḍ(Tō)ṇu-Āmī<sup>6</sup>-prabhṛiti-pāṭakēḥ(kāḥ) saha<sup>7</sup>  
Saratavāḍa-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān-upagatān-apī cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-  
mantri-puro-

20 hita-pratihāra-sṇāpati-bhāmāgārik-ākṣhapatalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika - dāta-kari-  
toraga-pattān-ākarnasthāna-gōkul-ādihikā(r)ji-purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhajya<sup>8</sup> ty-ādīḥa-

21 ti cha viditam-astu bhavatām yath-ōpari-lkhita-grāmāḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-javaṇ-  
īkaraḥ sa-matay-īkaraḥ sa-garti-ścharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-  
vātikā-

<sup>1</sup> It is No. A 94 of A. R. Ep., 1950-51.

<sup>2</sup> For grants made on different dates in favour of different persons but recorded in a single charter, cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 244-45.

<sup>3</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Verses 1-14 quoted in our introductory discussion, followed by the usual passage in prose, are found in lines 1-18.

<sup>5</sup> The doṣa is unnecessary.

<sup>6</sup> There may also be a single name here, viz. Tōṇāmī.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'pāṭak-yaḥ'.



- 22 viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhā(rddhv-ā)śhas=chatur-āghāṣa-viśuddhaḥ sva-  
simā-paryantaḥ | trayas[ā\*]tri[ch]sa(sa)ś-nadhika-dvādasa(śa)-śata-samva(sarhva)-  
tsarē Ashāḍhē māsi kṛishṇa-pakṣhē ||(a)māvāsyāyām ti-
- 23 shau Ravi-dinē ankatō-pi samvata(sarhvat) 1233 Ashāḍha-vadi 15 Ravau ady-ēha  
śrimad-vijaya-Vārāṇasyām Gaṇḍāyām anātvā vidhivanman(n=ms)utra-dēva-muni-  
manuja-bhūti(ta)-pitri-gaṇāms-tarppayitvā
- 24 timira-pātala-pātana-paṭu-māhasam-Ushparōchisham-upasthāy=Anshadhipatiśakalatāḥka-  
raim samabhyarchhya tri-bhuvana-trātar-bhāgaratō Vāsudēvasya pūjā[m\*] vidhāya  
prachura-pāyasāna ha-
- 25 viśhā Havirbhujam kutvā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha punya-yaśō-bhividdhayaś amābhir-  
ggōkarṇṇa-kūśa-latā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakam Vata-gotrāya Bhārgava-Chyavan-  
Āpnavān-Aurva-Yā(Jā)-
- 26 madagay-ēti-pañcha-pravarāya thakkura-śri-Ga[m]gādhara-pantrāya thakkura-śri-Mālā-  
dhara-putrāya śrūta-śri-Ravidhārāya ś-chandr-ārka[m] yāvach<sup>1</sup>=chhāsanikṛitya pradattō  
matvā yathā-dīya-
- 27 māna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇkara-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān-ājñā-vidhōyi-  
bhūya dāyath-ēti || bhavanti ch-ātra śhōkāḥ || .....<sup>2</sup>
- 34 ..... likhitam ch-ēdam tāmra-pattakam mahākshapatalika-thakkura-śri-Śripati-  
bhir-iti ||

#### No. 7—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This is a single plate<sup>1</sup> measuring 55 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height. The inscription is written on one side of the plate and there are only 34 lines of writing. There is no seal attached to the plate, though there is a hole in the central part of the upper section near the top margin. The hole (2.41 cm. in diameter) disturbs the continuity of the writing in lines 1-3.

The date of the grant, as quoted in lines 22-23 in both words and figures, is the same as in Nos. 5-6. It is Vikrama 1233, Ashāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday, corresponding to the 29th May 1177 A.D. On the said date, the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandra is stated to have made a grant after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Vārāṇasi.

The gift village was Vaḍahōsa-grāma, Vaḍa-Hōsa literally meaning 'the bigger Hōsa' which reminds us of Mañjhi-hōsa or 'the middle Hōsa' of No. 8. The village, which was given along with its pāṭakar, was situated in the Mañjibōha pattalā. I am uncertain about the location of the village; but Mañjibōha-pattalā may be the present Majhwa Taluk of the Mirzapur District, U. P.

The grant was made in favour of the donee of Nos. 5-6, viz. Rājata Ravidhara who was the son of Thakkura Mālādhara and grandson of Thakkura Gaṇḍādhara and belonged to the Vata goṭra and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagaya pravara. As in the other grants, he was entitled to enjoy all the fixed and unfixed taxes including bhāga, bhōga, kara, pravaṇkara, etc.

The charter was written by Mahākshapatalika Thakkura Śripati who was also the writer of Nos. 2-6 and many other Gāhaḍavāla records.

<sup>1</sup> The word *plate* is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> The following imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 27-34: *Bhāmāya paśu prastigrahāt, etc.; Śaṅkham Mañjhi-tarṇam, etc.; Śhaktijāi mṛcho-anukarāṣa, etc.; Rukhāḥ-mṛchāḥ śhakti, etc.; Śau-dantāni parya-śa-  
ntakā vā, etc.; Uṣa-śhāni tvarama-śhāni śha, etc.; Vāri-Maṇjhi-vṛṇṇāḥ, etc.; Na visham vishama-śhṛṇṇā, etc.;  
Tadāpātāni mukarṣa, etc.; Sarvāśhāntāni, etc.; Vā-śhāni-vishama-śhṛṇṇā, etc.*

<sup>3</sup> It is No. A 25 of A. R. Ep. 1900-61.



[illegible]



[illegible]

Scale: Two-fifths



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 19 .....<sup>2</sup> śrīmaṇ-Jayachandradēvō vijayī || || Mañjhōḥa-pattalāyām  
[<sup>3</sup> sa-pāṭaka-Vaḍahōsa-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-jana-  
20 padān-upagātān-api cha rāja-rājā-yuvārāja-matṛi-purōhita-pratibhāra-sānōpati-bhāru-  
dāgarik-āśhapajalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika-dāta-kari-turaga-pattān-ākarasthā-  
21 na-gōkul-ādihikāri-purnahān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhā[ya\*]ty-ādīnāni cha viditān=astu bhavatūn  
yathā=ōpari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sihalah sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-(garit-  
śeḥa)-  
22 rah sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tripa-yūti-gōchāra-  
paryantaḥ a-ōrddhv-ādhaḥ=chatur-āghāta-viśuddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ | trayartisa-  
(śrīmān) d-ādika-dvājdaṇa-śata-sa]-  
23 mva(mva)tsarē Aśhāḍhē māsi su(śu)kīa-pakṣhē amāvāsyāryā(yām) tithau Ravi-  
dīnē ankatō-pi sarhvat 1233 Aśhāḍa(dha)-vadi 15 Ravau ady=śha śrīmaṇ-vijaya  
Vārāṇasyām Ga[mgā]yām smātva [vidhiva]-  
24 n=mamtra-dēva-muni-munuja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇān=tarppayitvā timira-pātala-pātana-pāṭu-  
mahasam-Uchṇarōchisham-upasthāy=Aushadhīpatibakalāśekharaḥ samabhyarchhya  
tri-bhuvana-trāitu[r-bhagavatō]  
25 Vāśudēvaśya pūjān vidhāya prachura-pāyasaṇa havishā Havirbhujash hutvā mātā-  
pitṛōr-ātmanas-cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛddhayaś amābhūr-ggōkarṇṇa-kuśa-latā-pātta(ta)-  
karatal-ōḍaka-pūrvvakam Vatsa-  
26 gōtrīya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aureva-Yā(Jā)madagny-śrī-paṇcha-pravarāya  
[hakkura-śrī-Gaṇgādharā-putrāya [hakkura-śrī-Mālādharā-putrāya śrīta-śrī-Ravidharāya  
ā-chaṇḍr-ārka[ś] yāvach<sup>4</sup>=chhāsanīkritya  
27 [prada]ttō matvā yathā-diyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-prabhṛiti-niyat-āmyata-  
samaet-ādīyān-ājñā-vidhōyibhūya dāsva(aya)th=ēti || || bhavanti ch=ātra  
ślōkāḥ || .....<sup>5</sup>  
28 ..... likhitam ch=ēdath tāmra-pāṭṭakam mahākṣha[paṭali]ka-[hakkura-śrī]-  
Śrīpatibhir-ī[ti] || ]

## No. 8—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This inscription<sup>6</sup> is written on a single plate containing writing only on one side and measuring 54 cm. in length and 44 cm. in height. There is no seal, though there is a hole at the central region of the top part near the upper margin of the plate. The hole (2.15 cm. in diameter) disturbs the continuity of writing in lines 1-3. The number of lines in the inscription is 33.

The date of the grant is recorded, in both words and figures, in lines 23-24. It is the same as in Nos. 6-7, viz. Vikrama 1233, Aśhāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday. As already indicated, it corresponds to the 29th May 1177 A.D.

On the above date, the Gāhāḍavāla king Jayachandra is stated to have granted the village called Mañjhōḥa-grāma, *Mañjh-Hōsa* literally meaning 'the middle Hōsa', i.e. the middle one of the three villages called Hōsa, the two others being 'the big' and 'the small'. The village was given along with its pāṭakas, one of which was called Rōhita. It was situated in the pottalā

<sup>1</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Verses 1-14 followed by a prose passage, both discussed in our introductory remarks, occupy lines 1-10.

<sup>3</sup> The *śaṇḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> The word *yāvach* is not necessary.

<sup>5</sup> The imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted in lines 27-34 are: *Bhūmim jag pradiśīkṣati*, etc.; *Śaṅkha-śaṅkha*, etc.; *Shashtim varsha-sahasraṇi*, etc.; *Rakubhū-saradā tātva*, etc.; *Gām-śrīmān-vargam-śrīmān*, etc.; *Śaṅkha-pura-dattān*, etc.; *Vāri-śrīmān-vargam-śrīmān*, etc.; *Nā-mānā*, etc.; *śrīmān-vargam-śrīmān*, etc.; *Vāri-śrīmān-vargam-śrīmān*, etc.; *Śrīmān-vargam-śrīmān*, etc.; *Yam-śrīmān-vargam-śrīmān*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> It is No. A. 96 of A. R. Ep., 1960-61.







No. 31—GOLLAVALLI GRANT OF PRITHIVI-MAHARAJA, YEAR 49

(1 Plate)

S. C. DE, BHUBANESWAR

(Received on 25.11.1959)

This set of copper plates<sup>1</sup> was received by me from the Principal, K. C. G. College, Parlakimedi, who is also the President of the District Regional Survey Committee, Ganjam. The find-spot of the set is not known. It was in the possession of Sri Balaram Patra who is now living at Parlakimedi, though he was a resident of Tekkali about 45 years ago. He had three sets of copper plates with him, two of which were made over to the late Raja Saheb Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb of Tekkali. The present set has recently been purchased by the Permanent Regional Survey Committee, Orissa.

The set consists of three plates, the first and third of which are engraved on the inner side only. The right half of the third plate is broken and missing. The plates measure 7.5" by 2.3" each. The engraved surfaces of the plates have slightly raised rims. They were held together by a ring which is now broken. A seal seems to have been attached to it originally, though there is no trace of it at present. The diameter of the ring-hole in the plates is  $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The charter was issued by king Prithivi-mahārāja already known to us from his Tāṇḍivāḍa grant<sup>2</sup> issued from Pihāpura in his 46th regnal year. R. S. Pancharukhi, who edited the inscription, assigned it to the beginning of the 7th century A. D. and suggested that Prithivi-mahārāja was ousted from Pihāpura by Pulakāśin II (610-42 A. D.). On palaeographical considerations, however, we are inclined to assign the charter under study as well as the Tāṇḍivāḍa grant of the same king to the last quarter of the sixth century A. D.<sup>3</sup> The characters of the inscription bear close resemblance to those of the Srugavarapukota plates which were published above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 50 ff., and belong to another king of Pihāpura named Anantavarman.<sup>4</sup>

The language of the record is Sanskrit with very few mistakes. The text of the grant is in prose excepting the three verses at the end (lines 16-20).

The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Virajō-nagara by king Prithivi-mahārāja who belonged to the Kāyapa gōtra<sup>5</sup> and was the dear son of Vikramāndra and grandson of Mahārāja Rapaḍurjaya. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Padmaśarma who was the son of Dāmodaraśarma and grandson of Mātrīśarma of the Bhṛigu gōtra and was a student of the Taittiriya śākhā. The gift village was Gollāvali situated in the Kuḍrāvati viśaya.<sup>6</sup> He was well-versed in Vēda, Vēdāṅga, Purāṇa, Rāmāyaṇa and other scriptures, applied himself constantly to the śānti-karmman and was engaged in yama and niyama. The grant was made on the

<sup>1</sup>[This is No. A 58 of A. R. Ep. 1955-56. It was published by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru in his *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part B, pp. 54-56 and Plates.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 65-96.

<sup>3</sup>[We find it difficult to agree fully with this view.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>[The name of the gōtra appears to be Śrīrama-Kāyapa.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup>[See below, p. 221, note 3.—Ed.]



8th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyēshtha in the 49th year of the king's reign (line 14). The *śāskṛti* of the grant was Lāntharāja.<sup>1</sup>

Virajā-nagara, whence the grant was issued, may be identified with Virajā in Orissa, i.e. modern Jājpur in the Cuttack District. It is mentioned as Virājā in the 83rd plate<sup>2</sup> of Bhānudatta (7th century) and as Virajas in the Dhauli cave inscription<sup>3</sup> of the time of Śāntikara of the Bhauma dynasty. In the Ganjam plates<sup>4</sup> of the time of Unmattakēśarin, the same place is mentioned as Virajas. It is now generally believed that the capital of the Bhauma kings of Orissa was situated at Jājpur known in early times as Virājā, Virajas or Virajā.

As regards the long distance between Jājpur in Orissa and Pishāpura (modern Pithapuram) in the East Godavari District, it may be pointed out that the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayāditya IV of the latter region is known to have captured Virājāpuri which has been identified with Jājpur.<sup>5</sup>

The following historical facts pertaining to the period and region may be noted. Anantavarman of the Vāsiṣṭha dynasty whose reign may be assigned to about the middle of the 6th century A.D. was ruling from Pishāpura. Prithivivigraha was ruling in Kālīnga in the year 250 of the Gupta era. Lōkavigraha of the Kanva plate<sup>6</sup> of the Gupta year 280 was probably the successor of Prithivivigraha; but he does not mention Kālīnga in his grant. He claims to be ruling in Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī. Absence of any reference to his paternal kingdom is probably due to the fact that he had been dispossessed of it by 600 A.D. The Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Tōsalīs were under Māna rule between the years 260 and 283 of what is assumed to be the Gupta era. Prithivī-mahārāja, who is assigned to the close of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century A.D., was ruling at Pishāpura in his 46th year and was at Virajā in his 49th year. Evidently he led an expedition to Virajā. In the light of the above facts, it can be assumed that Pishāpura was conquered by Prithivī-mahārāja from Anantavarman or his successors and that he led an expedition to the north in his 49th year which may be towards the close of the 6th century or the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Since he had to pass through the Vigraha kingdom on his way, he would have conquered it. That accounts for the absence of any mention of Kālīnga in the Kanva plate of Lōkavigraha. As Prithivī-mahārāja is assumed to be a contemporary of Saubhanyasas of the Māna dynasty who was the master of both the Tōsalīs, he is quite likely to have come in conflict with him. It is probable, in view of any absence of further information about Prithivī-mahārāja or his descendants, that it ended disastrously for him. Māna rule in northern Orissa comprising the two Tōsalīs probably continued till 600 A.D. when it was ended by the conquest of Orissa by Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa.<sup>7</sup>

I am not sure about the location of the village of Gōhāvalī and the district in which it was situated.

<sup>1</sup> [The correct reading is Ścīrāmaśāskṛtārāja.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 308. [What N. G. Majumdar read as Virājā is really Virajā.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 254.

<sup>4</sup> *JHQ*, Vol. XII, p. 492.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 323.

<sup>7</sup> [The argument that Kālīnga is not mentioned as the kingdom of Lōkavigraha of the Kanva plate of 559 A.D., even though it is mentioned as the territory of his predecessor Prithivivigraha in the Samantala plates of 569 A.D., does not take into account a well-known fact of the history of Kālīnga. It is that, from about 497 A.D., the Eastern Gangas were ruling from Kālīnganagara with the title Trikaṭīṅg-śāhīpati. This was apparently the reason underlying the change in the name of the Vigraha kingdom from Kālīnga to Tōsalī, the city of Tōsalī probably being their capital. Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Arc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 141 ff.—Ed.]



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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
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 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥



## TEXT

## First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति<sup>१</sup> [11\*] श्रीविजयस्कन्धावारात् विरजोनगराधिवासकालकङ्कजगदवनसमुद्भू-
- 2 तकीर्त्ति(र्त्ति)चारुचन्द्रिकासमुद्बो(द्बो)तितदिगन्तरस्य महाराजरणदुर्जयस्य
- 3 सूनोस्समतिशयितशक्रविभूतेष्विकमेन्द्रस्य प्रियतन-
- 4 यः प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसामन्तमण्डलः निज-
- 5 भूजविजयोदयाधिगतमशोविशेषभूषणः श्रीरामः<sup>२</sup>

## Second Plate: First Side

- 6 काश्यप[सगो]त्रः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानृद्धशतः श्री[पुर्विवो]-
- 7 महाराजः कुद्रावती<sup>३</sup> विषये गोत्लावल्लीग्राममधिवसतः सर्वस-
- 8 मवेतां(तां)त्कुटुम्बिनः समाज[1\*]पयति यथा मातृशर्मणः पौत्रा-
- 9 य दामोदरशर्मणः पुत्राय वेदवेद[1\*]ङ्गप[1\*]रगाय षट्कर्मनिर-
- 10 ताय समनियमपरायणाय पुराणरामायणचर्मशास्त्रा-

## Second Plate: Second Side

- 11 दन्तेकविद्यापारदर्श(र्त्ति)ने भृगुसगोत्राय तैत्तिरि(री)य[सब्रह्मचारिणे]
- 12 पद्मशर्मणे ग्रामोद्यमसमत्पुण्यायुरारोग्यजयवशोभिवृद्धये
- 13 सर्वकरपरिहारेणाग्रहारीकृत्य दत्तः [1\*] न कैश्चिदपि बाधा क-
- 14 रण(णी)या [1\*] प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यस(स)वत्सरे नवाधिकत्त[त्वारि]श(शे)
- 15 ज्येष्ठ(ज्येष्ठ)मासशुक्लपक्षाष्टम्यां धर्मप्रदानमेतदाज्ञप्तिः श्रीरामः[.]

<sup>१</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>२</sup> This word is engraved in the margin to the left of the ring hole near the beginning of the third line of the text.

<sup>३</sup> [See above, p. 221, note 4.—Ed.]

<sup>४</sup> The reading of the name may also be Kuddharati. [The correct reading is Kuddharati.—Ed.]



*Third Plate*

- 16 लेख्यराजः<sup>1</sup> [1\*] अत्र व्यासगीताः श्लो[काः] [1\*] [बहुभिर्बन्धुधा दत्ता बहु]<sup>2</sup>-  
 17 भिन्नानुपालिता [1\*] यस्य [यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य]  
 18 तदा फलं(लम्) [॥ १\*] आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो प्रवल्गन्ति गितामहाः ॥]  
 19 भूमिजा(दा)ता कुले जातस्त तस्मात्ता भविष्यति [॥ २\*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे]  
 20 मोदति भूमिदः [1\*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ ३\*]

<sup>1</sup> [See above, p. 323, note 1.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The portion of the plate containing the words shown in brackets in lines 16-20 is broken away and lost.



## No. 32—THREE PALA INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 7-2-1961)

### 1. Gayā Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, Year 7

The stone slab bearing this epigraph is built into the wall of the Mahādēva shrine in the compound of the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gayā in Bihar.<sup>1</sup> There are only sixteen lines in the inscription, covering an area about two feet five and three-fourths inches in length and one foot three inches in height.

The record was briefly noticed by Cunningham in his *Arch. Surv. Ind. Reports*, Vol. III, pp. 120-21 (No. 6) with an eye-copy in Plate XXXVI. A rough transcript of it, with an inaccurate notice of its contents, appeared in B. D. Banerji's *Pālas of Bengal*, published in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3 (pp. 60-61 and Plate XXIV). But the inscription was never properly edited.

The record refers itself to the reign of king Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 857-911 A. D.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar and resembles other epigraphs of the same monarch as regards palaeography and orthography.<sup>2</sup> The language of the record is Sanskrit and, barring a passage in prose at the beginning, it is written entirely in verse. It contains a *prastāvi* or eulogy composed in thirteen stanzas.

The inscription is dated the Vaiśākhi-pūrṇimā day in the seventh regnal year of Nārāyaṇapāla (verse 13). The date falls somewhere about the seventh decade of the ninth century A.D.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the passage *Om namah Paru-ṣhottamāya namah Om* in prose. In this, *Paruṣhottamāya namah* ('obeisance to Paruṣhottama, i. e. Viṣṇu') is preceded by *Om namah* which is sometimes found at the beginning of inscriptions and may be translated as 'obeisance to Om'.<sup>3</sup>

The first half of verse 1 is in adoration of the god Murāri (i. e. Viṣṇu) while its second half adores the *muni-jana* or the community of saints or sages. Verse 2 is in adoration of the *Narāsiṃha* or man-lion form of Viṣṇu described as *Lōkanāthā*. These two stanzas remind us of the first two verses of the Mallasrūl plate,<sup>4</sup> which run as follows:

Jayati tri-Lōkanāthā yā punsati sukṛta-karma-phala-hētib |  
satya-tapō-maya-mūrtir-lōka-dvaya-sōhanā Dharmah ||  
Tad-ann jita-dambha-lōbhā jayanti chirāya para-hit-ārthāḥ |  
nirmataḥśaḥ sucharitatāḥ para-lōka-jigishavaḥ santāḥ ||

<sup>1</sup> Bhattacharya's List, No. 1616, wrongly speaks of Bāligayā as the findspot of the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, published above, Vol. II, pp. 161 ff. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 81 and 85.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 159 ff.; cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 200.



There is a controversy about the meaning of these stanzas. Some scholars think that these are in adoration of Lōkanātha (the Buddha), Dharma and *santaḥ* (the monks forming the Saṅgha or Buddhist Church),<sup>1</sup> while there is another view that the adoration here is to Lōkanātha (Viṣṇu), Dharma (law or piety) and the good folk.<sup>2</sup> In favour of the first view explaining *santaḥ* as the Buddhist Church, the following Buddhist *māṅgala* at the beginning of Paruṣhōttama's *Trihṃśad-śloka* has been quoted: *Jayanti santaḥ kulalaṃ prajñānāṃ namo Muniśāstrāya curāḥ samitthā āha*, etc.<sup>3</sup> The second interpretation has been supposed to be supported by the representation of the Chakrapurusha on the seal attached to the Mallasārul plate.<sup>4</sup>

It will be seen that, while the Mallasārul plate adores Lōkanātha, Dharma and *santaḥ*, our inscription praises Lōkaiṇātha Murāri and the *muni-jana*. The similarity is remarkable, although Dharma is not mentioned in the latter. Since, in the age of the Mallasārul plate which has been assigned to the sixth century A. D., the identification of the Buddha with Viṣṇu as one of the latter's incarnations was fast taking shape,<sup>5</sup> it is not impossible to trace a rapprochement of Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism in the *māṅgala* verses in that inscription. We may possibly also trace in the Chakrapurusha represented on the seal of the Mallasārul plate a sort of compromise between the concepts of the Dharma-chaitra associated with the Buddha and the Sudarśana-chaitra of Viṣṇu.<sup>6</sup>

Verse 3 of our inscription speaks of Bhāṭṭa Vāmadēva while the following stanza (verse 4) mentions his son Sihadēva and grandson Bappadēva. Verse 5 describes Vallabhadēvi who was the wife of Bappadēva. Bhāṇudēva, the son of Bappadēva from the said Vallabhadēvi, is then introduced in verse 6. His description is continued in the next stanza (verse 7) while verses 8 states that Bhāṇudēva dedicated a *vāṭa* (house) at Gāyā for housing the *yatis* or ascetics and also refers to the house as an *āśrama* of the *brahmachāriṇas* (i. e. an abode of people committed to celibacy). Verse 9 contains a prayer of the *muni* (one who has taken a vow of silence) apparently meaning Bhāṇudēva, in which people are requested to see to the well-being of the *vāṭas* or houses. The real nature of this *vāṭa* or *vāṭas* for housing ascetics, called an *āśrama* again in verse 11, is further indicated, as will be seen below, in the concluding verse of the *prasaṅgi* which refers to it as a *maṭha* apparently to indicate a monastery.

Verse 10 is the oft-quoted *Sarvāṇāṃ bhāṭṭāṇāṃ pāṭhivīndrāṇāṃ*, etc., generally found at the end of copper-plate grants among imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, though the word *muni* indicating Bhāṇudēva is inserted in it in place of the name of Rāma. Verse 11 states that, as ordained by the *brahmachāriṇas* (persons engaged in religious observances or austerities), only ascetics (*tapādharma-janā*) who are not deformed and are respectable should stay in the *āśrama* (abode of ascetics) and that the Brāhminas of Gāyā should see that there is no transgression of this rule.

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 162-63.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 162, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> The representation has been regarded as a human figure standing against the background of a wheel. It, however, really appears to show the upper part of the body come out of the central hole in the wheel with its legs behind the lower section of the wheel. The figure has its left hand on the left side of the wheel and the right hand holding the upper left corner of the wheel. For a late representation of the Chakra-purusha on the central part of a wheel, see T. A. Gopinātha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, Plate LXXXV-A facing p. 391.

<sup>5</sup> A verse enumerating the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu, including the Buddha, and found in a number of Purāṇas is quoted in an inscription of the eighth century A. D. The inscription may be assigned to the Gupta age. See *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 416 and note 1.

<sup>6</sup> The *Paśchādīya* text *śāstrikāḥ puruṣaḥ*, assigned to a date about the eighth century A. D. (to the Gupta age by some), gives a long description of the Chakra-purusha, otherwise called *Sudarśana* *Sudarśana-purusha* and *Chakravartī-purusha*, and regards him as a manifestation of Viṣṇu and, not only as identical with Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva, but also as the Buddha of the Buddhists, the Tīrthankara of the Jains, the *Yajña-purusha* of the Yājñikas and Mīmāṃsikas and the Puruṣa of the followers of Kapila. See *JAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 27 ff.



Verse 12 contains a prayer for the long life of the king or fame-producing work, of course, meaning the *vāsa* or *nieśa* referred to above.

Verse 13, with which the *prastāva* ends, states that the *pratikṣhā* or installation of the *maṭha* took place on the full-moon day of the month of Vāśākha in the seventh year of the reign of king Nārāyaṇapālādēva.

It is interesting to note that what has been called a *vāsa* in verse 8 and a *nieśa* in verse 9 is called an *dāraṇa* in verses 8 and 11 and a *maṭha* in verse 13. The house was apparently a monastery, and probably not a *dharmaśālā*, for the stay of ascetics visiting Gayā. The inscribed stone slab must have been originally embedded into the wall of the building.

## TEXT

[Metres : verses 1 *Mālinī* ; verses 2, 9 *Śragdhara* ; verses 3-6 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 7-8 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 10 *Sālinī* ; verses 11, 13 *Śārdūlavatīśūka* ; verse 12 *Drutavilambita*.]

- 1 Siddham<sup>1</sup> [||\*] Ōm namō<sup>2</sup> Parameśvaram<sup>3</sup> namah || Ōm [||\*] Jayati jagat<sup>4</sup>[5]tā<sup>5</sup> prapurnah-  
chāru-mūrtir-jagad-ari-vinikantā śrīmad-ākāś Murārīśa(riḥ | ta)danu muni-janō-yam  
sthū[ra]<sup>6</sup>-sankṣāpa-rāśiḥ sphara-
- 2 d-amala-guṇyāś<sup>7</sup> dhyāna-vṛttan<sup>8</sup> sthīr-ātma || [||\*] Prōdabhūt-ātidarppa-prava(ḥa)la-mana-  
sām(sāh) trāsa-hṛta-svabhāva(vad) |<sup>9</sup> kṛtv-āstān-Nārasīnghaṇ(sinhāṇ) sphuṭa-vikāṣa-  
saṣaṇ rūpan=atyugra-randradī(draṇ) [||\*] y-
- 3 u-śīrṇaḥ pṛithivyām khara-nakhara-karair-bhōditō Daitya-rājah śrīmān-lōkaikanāthō<sup>10</sup>  
bhavans-hita-vidhātā<sup>11</sup> pātu yushmāu-sa Vāṣṇav || [||\*] Śrīmān-sāśa-subha-saribhrita-  
chāru-mā-
- 4 rtiḥ(rtiḥ)-bhagah samirmala-dhyān<sup>12</sup> pravaro śrīgrāha<sup>13</sup> | prāpt-ōlay-ādita<sup>14</sup>-kulō sukṛit  
rahhu(habhū)va yō Vāmadēva itī sarvva-jagat-pratīṭab || [||\*] Tasy-ātmajab priyatamō  
vidushū[m\*] samā-
- 5 st(ād)-yash Sthadēvamitī<sup>15</sup> va(ha)ndha-janō juhava || [||\*] tasy-ābhavat-sutavarō vara-dharmma-  
vṛttib samā(mā)nitō guru-janair-upi Va(Ba)ppadēvaḥ || [||\*] Sarvārtha-siddhi-kāraṇ-sika-  
nidhāna-bhūtā sa-
- 6 ndarya-gatīha-ruchir-āmla-rūpa-sutapate(pat | patnī) cha tasya Kamal-ēva sadā prastatā  
khyāt-ā bhava-jagati Vallabhadēva=atīṭab || [||\*] Tābhyaṃsa(ja)nyāma(jayata)<sup>16</sup> sotō=malā-
- 7 dharmma-vṛttir-vāh-lōka-chāra-kṛta-samīpananō hi mām [||\*] Vra(Bra)hm-ōpau(gī)ta-  
charitē(tō) vrata-saṅgata-śrīb(ārit)-yō Bhāgu(su)dēva<sup>17</sup> itī pūrvvam-īha pratīṭab || [||\*] Vidyā-  
lōkām kalapa-parigatib(tir)

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read *namah*.

<sup>4</sup> The word *jagati* does not suit the metre.

<sup>5</sup> Read *lōka* or *ākāśa*.

<sup>6</sup> Better read *prā-śūbhā*.

<sup>7</sup> The *danda* is redundant. The metre of this foot is defective. Better read *śāpasta-darppa-prabhā-saman-*  
*antā*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *śrīmad-āt*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *śrīmad-āt* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>10</sup> There is a mistake here. We may suggest *pravarāntānt*.

<sup>11</sup> The intended reading may be *ādina*. Otherwise *ādina* has to be regarded as the name of the family to which the hero of the poem belonged.

<sup>12</sup> Read *śrīmad-āt*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *Tābhyaṃsa-jayata* or *śāpasta-jayata*.

<sup>14</sup> R. D. Banerji read the name as *Bhāradvaja*.







## THREE PALA INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE I

1. Gayā Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, Year 7

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥

Scale: One-fourth







The stone slab bearing the inscription measures a little above ten inches in length and slightly less than seven inches in height. There are in all eleven lines of writing, the last of which contains only three letters and is engraved below the concluding part of line 10. The inscribed area covers about 9 inches by 8 inches. The writing is neat and clear while the preservation of the inscription is satisfactory. But the engraving of the record was entrusted to one who could not follow the draft before him and therefore shaped the letters as he thought he saw them. The case is similar to that of such other inscriptions as the Sūnahar plate of Gāhaḍavāla Vijayaachandra, recently edited in the pages of this journal.<sup>1</sup> It was for this reason that Maitreya regarded the study of the inscription as futile and, up till now, no less than four scholars have tried to emend the faulty text of the record without complete success. But we do not agree with the belief that the epigraph was 'manifestly incorrectly drafted and incised'.<sup>2</sup> In our opinion, it is only the engraver (or the person who wrote the document on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving) who is to be blamed and not the person who composed the five stanzas in the inscription. If the author of the stanzas had poor knowledge of Sanskrit, as in the case of the Chhṛṣṭi-Saddi inscription<sup>3</sup> of Gauri, the text of the epigraph would not have been full of meaningless passages as it actually is. A composition containing mistakes of language, grammar and prosody is one thing and gibberish is another and the two can be easily separated.

The inscription was first published in 1913 by B. B. Vidyāvinōd in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. XIX, 1319 B.S., pp. 155 ff., and next by R. D. Baverji in his *Pālas of Bengal* appearing in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1915 (p. 102 and Plate XXX). These scholars totally failed to do any justice to the record. In 1916, R. G. Basak published an improved transcript of the inscription, together with a translation, in the *Prabodhā* (Bengali journal of the Dacca Sāhitya Parishad), Vol. V, 1322 B.S., pp. 387 ff. The last to edit the epigraph is N. K. Bhattacharya whose article on the subject appeared in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, 1941, pp. 207 ff. and Plate.<sup>4</sup> We are, however, sorry to note that the emended transcript, published by this latest editor of the epigraphic record, very often ignores the rules of Sanskrit grammar and prosody and could hardly have been intended by the author of the verses. This may be illustrated by a few out of the many examples.

In the second foot of verse 2 in the *Sragdharā* metre, Bhattacharya's emended text is: *pitr-ājñā-pratijñā nṛṣṭa-hara-śataiḥ pāra-Sēna-śatruḥ a-śaṭan* which has been translated as "with fixed resolve to carry out his father's order . . . . with his eight associates, after having plied the enemy, namely the Sēna, with a hundred sharp arrows". Apart from the fact that such nonsense is not expected from the pen of even a poor Sanskritist, it is impossible to think that even the poorest poet would insert such a foot in a stanza in *Sragdharā* against the requirements of the metre. Bhattacharya interprets the expression *pāra-Sēna-śatru*, supposed to occur in the passage, as 'one who has killed or plied the enemy, viz. the Sēna, with'. Any student of Sanskrit would at once notice the difficulty in arriving at this awkward meaning of the expression which moreover violates the metre horribly. The expression *pitr-ājñā-pratijñā* is equally unhappy and unsuitable to the metre. The author of the stanza must therefore have written something different. Such inaccuracies in Bhattacharya's translation as *of hara-śataiḥ* as 'with a hundred arrows' are of course negligible.

Bhattacharya's emended text of the first foot of verse 3, which is in the *Rudhaddhatā* metre, runs as follows: *śantatantā-radhūya anigatāi*. We have doubts whether a poet of any worth could have written it in so flagrant a violation of the metrical rules. As regards the interpretation of the

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 163 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *IBQ*, Vol. XVII, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 120 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bhattacharya also published an article on the inscription in the Bengali journal, *Manik Farasat*, 1346 B.S., Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 432 ff.



expression *ardha-tad-anaja*, found in his emended transcript of the first foot of verse 4, as 'his half-brother', probably the less said the better.

The emendation of the faulty text of the Nimulghī inscription being a very difficult job and no satisfactory reconstruction of the text being available, we are inclined to place our text and interpretation of the epigraph for the comments of scholars.

On palaeographical grounds, the Nimulghī inscription has rightly been assigned to the time of Gōpāla III of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. The rule of this king has been tentatively assigned to c. 1130 A.D.<sup>1</sup> or c. 1125-40 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Since, however, his successor Madanapāla ascended the throne about 1144 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> that must be the time when Gōpāla III ended his rule. The beginning of Gōpāla's reign depends on his identification with the Pāla king of the same name known from the Rājīpur Sadāiva image inscription<sup>4</sup> of the 14th regnal year, which some scholars are inclined to assign to Gōpāla II (c. 935-92 A.D. or c. 940-60 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> We are in favour of the identification.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol which is followed by five verses and an endorsement in prose giving the name of the writer of the record. Verse 1 is in adoration of the god Śambhu (Śiva). This is appropriate since the purpose of the inscription was probably to record the construction of a Śaiva shrine.

Verse 2 contains two sentences the first of which states that Gōpāladēva went to him, on after giving up his body at his own will. The second sentence says that the grateful Aṇḍadēva also went to heaven consequently. Thinking that he was the prominent dust of Gōpāladēva's feet (i.e. a prominent servant of Gōpāladēva), Aṇḍadēva died probably as a result of his body being pierced with hundreds of sharp arrows. Certain extremely corrupt passages appear to suggest that Aṇḍadēva shook off the fear of his death, that he received his father's command [in giving up his life in the cause of his master] and that he died on the back of his elephant which had fallen into a swoon.

This stanza suggests that, although Gōpāladēva is stated to have embraced death at his own will, he lost his life in a battle and that his grateful subordinate Aṇḍadēva died on the battle-field fighting for his master. In the case of Gōpāla, the death at his own will probably means that he preferred to fight instead of leaving his forces on the battle-field to save his own life.

The second half of verse 3 says how the son of Śubhadēva sported as a god in the company of the celestial damsels after having obtained fame and, according to a defective passage, probably having died on the battle-field while fighting. There is no doubt that this 'son of Śubhadēva' is the same as Aṇḍadēva described in verse 2. As suggested above, the father of Aṇḍadēva seems also to be referred to in that stanza as having permitted his son to die in the cause of the latter's master.

Verse 4 praises a person named Bhāvakadāsa who was responsible for setting up the inscription as can be gathered from the following stanza. The second half of verse 5 speaks of a *śiri* built by the said Bhāvakadāsa. The first half of the same stanza says that the *śiri* was built at a place where certain great men had been burnt or, according to our emendation, where Bhāvakadāsa's brother had been burnt. Of course, our emendation would give the expected relationship of Bhāvakadāsa with the person mentioned in verses 2-3. But it has to be admitted that Śubhadēva and Aṇḍadēva have names ending in *dēva* and may have belonged to a Dēva family while Bhāvakadāsa has a *dāsa*-ending name. Bhāvakadāsa, however, must have been related to Aṇḍadēva and the relationship is expected to have been expressed somewhere in verses 4-5, probably in the latter. The difficulty indicated above is eliminated if the word *śirī* in our emended text is taken in the sense of a cousin (a son of one's paternal aunt or maternal uncle).

<sup>1</sup> Ray, *DHN*, Vol. I, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XVII, pp. 217 ff. and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> See Ray, *loc. cit.*; Majumdar, *loc. cit.* (*ibid.* p. 107, note 4).



Since the word *kīrti* means any fame-producing work, it is not easy to guess the nature of the object built by Bhāvakadāsa. But considering the fact that the stone slab bearing the present inscription was probably fixed in the wall of a temple, it may have been a Śaiva shrine that was built by Bhāvakadāsa in memory presumably of his relative Aiḍadēva, though the faulty text may suggest that the *kīrti* was built to commemorate the death of many people including Aiḍadēva and his master.

The last sentence of the inscription in lines 10-11 is in prose. It states that Rāstōka was the writer. It appears that the word *likhita*, 'written', here refers not to the composition of the short *prastāvi* contained in the epigraph but to its writing on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions the Pāla king Gōpāla III as having died while fighting some enemies near about the findspot of the record. We have seen how he was followed to the other world by his trusted officer Aiḍadēva, son of Śubhadēva, and how another person named Bhāvakadāsa built a shrine at the place where the dead body of Aiḍadēva (or, less probably, the bodies of the persons who died in a great battle) was burnt. It appears that, even though the Pāla king died on the battle-field, ultimately the Pāla army succeeded in driving out the enemy, since, if the land around the battle-field had passed to the victorious enemies, it would have been difficult for a Pāla partisan to set up a record in memory of a Pāla general (or less probably, a Pāla king and his military officers). The temple in memory of Aiḍadēva (or certain deceased persons including Aiḍadēva and his master) was apparently constructed shortly after the battle referred to in the inscription probably at a time when the area was free from the enemies.

The fact that Gōpāla III died in an attempt to repulse his enemies, as indicated by the Nīmadighī inscription, seems to be supported by another evidence. Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmācharita* (IV, 12) has the following stanza in the description of Gōpāla III :

*Api śatruḥṇ-ḍpāyāt-Gōpālāḥ-ast-jagāma tat-sūnuḥ |*

*hantuḥ Kumārapāla-āsta-nayasy-astasya sāmāyikaṁ-ītat |*

This has been translated as : " Even his (Kumārapāla's) son, Gōpāla by name, met with his death as the result of his effort to exterminate enemies. The [death] of this ill-disciplined person, who was the killer of the chief of the elephant force, occurred under the influence of time."<sup>1</sup> It has also been suggested that " Gōpāla met with a premature death while encountering either an elephant or a crocodile."<sup>2</sup> The first of the two interpretations is of course preferable, though we are inclined to take *asta-naya* as an adjective of *Kumbhīna* which may be the same as *Gajapati* probably meaning a contemporary ruler of Orissa. It has, however, to be admitted that the title *Gajapati* appears to have become popular with the Gaṅgas of Orissa not long before the middle of the thirteenth century,<sup>3</sup> although that does not prove that the earlier Orissan rulers were not so called by their contemporaries. Whatever that may be, it is clear that the poet, in eulogizing Gōpāla III, means to say that the royal hero, who even killed the powerful *Kumbhīna*, devoid of good conduct and therefore a particularly formidable enemy, lost his life while fighting certain enemies on the battle-field and that such a death was quite proper (*sāmāyika*) for him since that led him directly to heaven.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Majumdar, Basak and Banerji, *Rajshahi*, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 42-44.



In this connection we may draw the attention of scholars to verse 17 of the Manahali plate<sup>1</sup> of Madanapala which has the following passage in the description of Gōpāla III: *dhātṛi-pālana-jñenbhamāna-makimū karpūra-pānā-ūtkanar-āśvaḥ kṛtimogā vijayā vitanull paḥ śaśaś kṛdnam*. In this passage, the expression *dhātṛi-pālana* is generally interpreted as 'the state of being brought up by a nurse' and it has been suggested on the basis of this and the occurrence of the word *śaśaś* in the same passage that the king died in his childhood.<sup>2</sup> But the real meaning of the expression *dhātṛi-pālana* in this context is 'protection of the earth' so that, in our opinion, the stanza suggests that Gōpāla III ascended the throne or shouldered the burden of government even when he was a child.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres: verse 1 *Mālinī*; verse 2 *Śragdharā*; verse 3 *Rathoddhatā*; verse 4 *Pañjhaṭikā*; verse 5 *Anuakṣubh*.]

- 1 Siddham\* [[\*] Surasatid-uru-vichh(ch)-dkarau(rāḥ) kunda-gaṃu(rā)c-virachita-para-bhāgō vā(hā)la-cha-
- 2 nṛ-āvatanaś(taṇaś) | | dīkṣa(ta) śi(śi)van=a-jatarāś(araś) Śambhū(mbhu)-kōṭīra-bhāra-[[\*] kalama-kayira(ka)-rōchi-
- 3 rumajadiri-pājanirista\* [[ 1\*] Śrīmad-Gōpālādēvas=triḷ(di)vam=maharātaḥ\* av-ōyā(chahha)-
- 4 yā tyakta-kāsa(rā)s-tany-āham pāda-dhūḷi[[\*] praṇi(pra)thita itī mījān\* nāḥ(vaddhāma-thita\* [[\*] prē-
- 5 trījñāpratiḥḥṇi\* [[\*] śi(śi)ta-sa(śa)ra-śa(vai)taḥ) pūrṇaśaktarāśhṭha<sup>4</sup> niyājādantirā-
- 6 jā<sup>5</sup> trī(Tri)daśapuram-agād=Aidādōvaḥ kṛtājñāḥ || [3\*] Svataṭvatōvadhūya sadgarāt<sup>6</sup> prāpya-
- 7 chandra-kiraṇ-āmalaṇ yaśaḥ [[\*] kṛḍati trī(tri)daśa-gundarī-vrīḥ(ṭṣ) dāva śva śū(śu)bhaddra-nanda-
- 8 naḥ || [3\*] Artha(rthō) ta(ma)d-anga-gīta-vilāsa(śō) dharmma(rama)-dhvāra-maṣṭha(ṭa)ra-gala-vāsaḥ<sup>7</sup> [[\*] dānaśūra sasa-

<sup>1</sup> A. K. Maitreya, *Gaudakikāśāṭā*, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138, note; cf. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 167, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> From *Impressum*.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'c-mamajari-prajari' *reḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *uyyānāḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *vijayā*. It is an adjective of *pāṇam* (cf. foot 10 below).

<sup>8</sup> Read *nāḥ* *indhan=śāṭāḥ* or *vaddhan* *sa śāṭā*. The reverse-like sign followed by a *da* has resemblance with the letter *z*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *pūr=ōyāpū=āśhṭāḥ*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *yāra=uyyāra=uyyā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *vāsaḥ* *indhan=āntarāḥ*. In this passage, *vā* was originally written as *va*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *śura* (a *śura* *śura* *śura* *śura* *śura*).

<sup>13</sup> In Bengali, *pala-vestra* (i.e. to have the *ustara* on the neck) indicates an attitude of estimation.



9 namvāhitavśāḥ<sup>1</sup> sa yayatā<sup>2</sup> śrīśambhāvakadāśaḥ<sup>3</sup> ( || 4\* ) Dagaḥ yatra mahad-bhūtāḥ tara-śa-  
 10 lyāna pūrītā<sup>4</sup> ( || \* ) ya(śa)tra Bhāvakadāśaḥ kṛtā kṛtā(rttir)=vurājatāḥ(tā) || [5\*] Rāśūkēna li-  
 11 khitam ( || \* )

### 3. Gayā Inscription mentioning Gōvindapāla, Vikrama 1232

The stone slab bearing this inscription is embedded in the wall of a small shrine close to the Gadādhara temple below the courtyard of the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gayā in Bihar. There is the figure of a Śiva-linga above the writing and another figure of a female deity below the inscription. This second figure reminds us of similar representations in the Gayā records of certain South Indian pilgrims edited above,<sup>5</sup> though we cannot be sure whether the persons responsible for setting up the present epigraph also hailed from the South. The incision of the Śiva-linga above the writing is interesting since the inscription was set up in the Viṣṇupāda temple which is one of the most celebrated Vaiṣṇava shrines in the whole of India. The transaction recorded in the epigraph relates to the Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) temple and it was conducted by people who appear to have been all devoted to the god Viṣṇu. The representation of the Śiva-linga in our inscription may suggest that the engraver of the record was a Śaiva.

The inscription under study is well known for the importance of its date which has been discussed by most writers on the later history of the Palas of Bengal and Bihar, though the epigraph was never properly edited. A totally inaccurate account of the contents of the inscription given by Buchanan in his *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 51, was quoted in 1871-72 by Cunningham in his *Arch. Sur. Ind. Reports*, Vol. III, p. 125, No. 18. Cunningham also noticed the 'particularly valuable' date of the epigraph and published an eye-copy of it in the same work (Plate XXXVIII). In 1915 a rough transcript of the inscription was published by R.D. Banerji in his *Palas of Bengal* appearing in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3 (p. 109). A good facsimile of the record also appears in Banerji's work (Plate XXVIII).

The importance of the date of the present inscription lies in the fact that it quotes Vikrama 1232 as corresponding to year 14 of the *gata-rājya* of Gōvindapāla. The dates of the records of the Pāla regime are generally quoted in the regnal years of individual kings without reference to any era. Of course, the recently published Valgudar inscription<sup>6</sup> of Madanapāla, dated in his 18th regnal year and Śaka 1083, has offered us the most important date in Pāla records while only the Sārnāth inscription<sup>7</sup> mentioning Mahipāla I was known, since the close of the eighteenth century, as bearing the date Vikrama 1083 without the corresponding regnal year. Thus, before the discovery of the Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla, the Gayā inscription offered a date which was unique among Pāla records though, as will be seen below, the expression *gata-rājya* used in connection with the date was generally misunderstood.

<sup>1</sup> Read *dāśa-dāśa-śa* available *śāśa*. The word *śāśa* seems to be original but does not satisfy the metrical requirement of any exception. It may, however, be remembered that *ś* is pronounced like *ṣ* in Bengali. Or, *śāśa*?

<sup>2</sup> Read *yayati*.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading is *śrīśambhāvakadāśaḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *pūrītā* or better *dalpāra-pūrītā*. *Mahadbhūtāḥ* may mean 'those who have become great', or we may have *śāśa-bhūtāḥ*. But the plural is not justified by the context since the reference seems to be to *Alidāśa* alone unless, of course, it is believed to indicate *gavama*. It is also not impossible to take it to refer to several people including *Alidāśa* and the king. The intended reading seems, however, to be *dalpāra-gata mahad-bhūtāḥ* or *dalpāra-pūrītā*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 110, 113, and Plate between pp. 112 and 113.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145, No. 3.

<sup>7</sup> See Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 114.



The inscription begins with the *śaṅkha* symbol followed by the passages *śrī matā* and *śaṅkha bhagavate Vāsudevāya* ('adoration to Lord Vāsudeva'). Next comes the date given, against the background of eternity, as the **Vikāri-samvatsara** of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle, corresponding to *Samvat* (i.e. Vikrama) 1232 and falling in the *pāra-sandhyā* (dawn) of the Kali age in the twenty-ninth cycle of the *Valvasvata-manvantara* in the *kalpa* of *Varāha* and the second *parārtha* of the god *Brahman* (lines 1-3). The dating reminds us of the Warangal inscription<sup>1</sup> of *Raghadeva*, in which the year is similarly quoted as *Pramādi-samvatsara* corresponding to the *Kaliyuga* year 4561 falling in the first quarter of *Kali* in the twenty-eighth *chatur-yuga* of the *Valvasvata-manvantara* in the *Śvātavarāha-kalpa* and the second *parārtha* of *Brahman*. But the date is given in the latter inscription as falling in the eternal sovereignty of the god *Viṣṇu* and the place of the record is there likewise located in the dominions of a *Rahmani* ruler in the western part of the *Āndhra* country which is stated to have formed a part of *Bhārata-varāha* lying in the *Jambū-dvīpa* section of the earth. The idea of dating the *Gayā* inscription in the way indicated above may have occurred to the author of the epigraph because it records a transaction relating to the temple of *Gadādhara* or *Viṣṇu*, the lord of the three worlds. He may have also been a South Indian like the author of *Raghadeva*'s record.

The above date, viz. **Vikrama 1232 = Vikāri**, corresponding to 1175-76 A.D., is equated in lines 3-4 of the inscription with year 14 of the *gata-rājya* of *Gōvīndapāla*. The inscription records, as we shall see below, the creation of an endowment for feeding *Brāhmaṇas* once in a year on **Āśvina-sudi 5**. Associating these details with **Vikrama 1232 = Vikāri**, Kiehlhorn regarded the date to be **Monday, the 22nd September 1175 A.D.**<sup>2</sup> We know that, besides this record, the rule of the same *Pāla* king is referred to in the colophon of seven manuscripts. There are thus altogether eight dates associated with *Gōvīndapāla*. They are the following:

- (1) *śrīmad-Gōvīndapālāya vijaya-rājya samvatsarē 4*;
- (2) *satvat 1232 Vikāri-samvatsarē śrī-Gōvīndapālādēva-gata-rājya chaturdaśa-samvatsarē*  
..... *Āśvinā śukla-pañcāmīyām*;
- (3) *śrīmad-Gōvīndapālādēvāy = ājita-samvatsa 18 Kārttika-dinē 15*;
- (4) *śrī-Gōvīndapālāya-samvat 24 Chaitra-sudi 8*;
- (5) *Gōvīndapālādēvānām sam 37 Śrāvaga-dinē 11*;
- (6) *śrīmad-Gōvīndapālādēvānām vinashṭa-rājyē aṣṭa-triṅśat-samvatsarē-bhūṭikhyamānē*  
*Jyaiṣṭha-kṛishṇa-āṣṭamīyām tithi yatra sam 38 Jyaiṣṭha-dinē 8*;
- (7) 'the 38th year of *Gōvīndapāla*';
- (8) *śrīmad-Gōvīndapālādēvānām sam 39 Bhādra-dinē 14*.<sup>3</sup>

It will be seen that out of these eight cases, the regnal years 4, 24, 37, 38 and 39 are associated with *Gōvīndapāla*'s rule in the usual way of referring to regnal reckonings as found in epigraphic and literary records, while the years 14, 18 and 39 are mentioned as falling in his *gata*, *ajita* or *vinashṭa* rule or sovereignty. It is quite clear that all these years refer to the same reckoning and this is made absolutely certain by the fact that the same year in *sam* (No. 6) of the eight cases cited above is quoted in both the ways as *vinashṭa-rājyē aṣṭatriṅśat-samvatsarē* and as *sam 38*, while another date (No. 7) also speaks of the 38th year of the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 125 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Appendix p. 24, No. 166; *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 338, No. 163; cf. Bhattacharya's *Loc.*, No. 879.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142, note 3.



king without any specification. It has, however, to be noticed that the regnal year 4 has been associated with Gōvindapāla's 'victorious rule or sovereignty' while the later years have been related to himself (i.e. to his rule) or to his *gata* (past), *atita* (past) or *vinashita* (destroyed) rule or sovereignty. Ordinarily, the ascription of a particular year to a king means that the year in question fell in the reign period of the said ruler. In the present case, however, the years 24, 37, 38 and 39, associated with king Gōvindapāla (i.e. his reign), fell after the 14th year which has been specifically stated to have fallen in his *gata-rājya*. These years therefore did not belong to Gōvindapāla's normal regnal reckoning as their citation may suggest and this probably explains the absence of the word *rājya* in these cases. It is thus certain that Gōvindapāla's rule or sovereignty was a thing of the past after the fourth year of his reign and before the fourteenth year counted from the year of his accession.

We know that the latest date of Gōvindapāla's predecessor Madanapāla is supplied by the Valgudar inscription of Śaka 1083 corresponding to his 18th regnal year.<sup>1</sup> The actual date quoted in the inscription is Jyāishṭha-dina 11 which corresponds to the 4th May 1161 A.D., the month being lunar and *pūrṇimānta*.<sup>2</sup> Gōvindapāla must have ascended the throne after that date. On the other hand, a Bōdhgayā inscription<sup>3</sup> of a date falling between 1183-84 and 1192-93 A.D. shows that the Gayā region then formed a part of the dominions of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandra, though the Sīlvar plate<sup>4</sup> of the same ruler, dated 1175 A.D., seems to record the grant of a village in the Patna District and points to the Gāhaḍavāla occupation of the Gayā-Pātnā region of Bihar as early as that year. Thus Gōvindapāla must have lost his hold on the Gayā area before 1175 A.D. which is also known to have fallen in the period of his 'lost sovereignty' from the evidence of the Gayā inscription under study. Since a king named Palapāla, who seems to have been the successor of Gōvindapāla on the Pāla throne, ruled in the Moughyr District till the 35th year of his reign<sup>5</sup> while the Turkish Musalmāns established their hold on Bihar about the close of the twelfth century A.D.,<sup>6</sup> it appears that Gōvindapāla ended his rule about 1165 A.D. not long after his 4th regnal year. Thus the reign of Gōvindapāla, covering about four years, may be assigned to the period 1161-62 to 1165-66 A.D.

There is a controversy whether the dates related to Gōvindapāla's *gata*, *atita* or *vinashita* sovereignty should be counted from his accession or from the time when he lost his kingdom. But the second alternative is impossible in view of the fact that a number of dates quoting years far exceeding the probable reign period of Gōvindapāla are associated merely with his rule without indicating that it was *gata*, *atita* or *vinashita*. If there were two reckonings relating to Gōvindapāla, viz. one associated with his *rājya* or *vijaya-rājya* counted from his accession and another connected with his past or lost sovereignty counted from the end of his actual rule, the two different systems of dating could not have been indiscriminately used as has actually been done. The people who used both the styles without discrimination had therefore no fear of a confusion which would have undoubtedly resulted if there were two different reckonings, one starting after the expiry of the other.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 141 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 142 and note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 461.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 129; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> See *JHS*, Vol. XLI, Part II, pp. 143 ff. The discovery of an inscription of Ballāṣena's ninth regnal year (c. 1106 A.D.) near Bhāgalpur (above, Vol. XXX, pp. 78 ff.), Lakshmanasena's claim to have obtained success against the king of Kāśī (cf. Vol. XXVI, p. 6, text line 19; Vol. XXXIII, p. 318) and the early use of the peculiar Lakshmanasena era at Gayā (*IHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 22 ff.) would suggest that Palapāla became a feudatory or subordinate ally of the Senas.

<sup>6</sup> Iḥtiyār-ud-dīn Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khāḥī sacked Bihārsharif in the Patna District about February 1199 A.D. and reduced the province of Bihar to submission between October 1199 and January 1201 A.D. (*Hist. Beng.*, Vol. II, ed. J. N. Sarkar, p. 32) or shortly before the 24th March 1203 A.D. (*IHQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 145).



A question that naturally arises in our mind is why the reign of Gōvīndapāla was referred to when it had been actually ousted by the Gāhaḍavālas. It cannot be argued, as is often done, that since Gōvīndapāla was a Buddhist, when he was ousted from the Gayā region by the Brahmanical Gāhaḍavālas, the Buddhists of Gayā continued to refer to his reign in preference to that of the Brahmanists whom they hated. Such a contention is disproved by the present inscription which is not a Buddhist record. There must have been some other reason for this peculiar phenomenon. The people, especially of the Gayā region if not of other parts of Bihar, apparently had a strong hatred for the Gāhaḍavālas probably as a result of persecution. Similar must have been the reason underlying the rise of the Lakṣmāṇasēna-samrat (La-Sen) in the same Gayā region apparently after the extirpation of Śēna rule in Bihar by the Turkish Mussalmāns. As is well known, the earliest use of the *śīta-rājya* reckoning of Lakṣmāṇasēna (c. 1179-1206 A.D.) is noticed in the Gayā inscriptions of the years 51, 74 and 83.<sup>1</sup>

The last word in the prose section of the inscription discussed above is *Gayāyām*, 'at Gayā', in line 4, which has to be read with the versified part below. There are altogether six manas in this part of the epigraph called a *prastāvi* in the concluding verse as we shall see below.

Verses 1 contains two sentences the first saying that there was [at Gayā] a *Dravida* Brāhmaṇa of the *Vasiṣṭha* *gotra*, by name Paṭṭapa, whose son was the *guggulin* Vidyādhara.<sup>2</sup> The word *guggulin* apparently means 'one who burns *guggula* (a particular fragrant gum resin)'. Vidyādhara was thus an incense-burner in a temple (probably, the Gadādhara temple) at Gayā. The verse further states that this Vidyādhara 'created some *dhana* (literally 'money') at the temple (*maṭha*) of Gadābhṛt (Gadādhara)' for the Brāhmaṇas. As the following verses indicate, Vidyādhara deposited some money for making provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas at the temple on Āvina-sudi 5 every year.

The word *bhakṣaḥ-ārthasā* (for the provision of food) in verse 2 should have to be read with *dhana* in verse 1. The rest of verse 2 states that there was an amount of sixteen *kāraḥāpāṇas* to the credit of Vidyādhara as annual interest on the capital of fifty *kāraḥāpāṇas* which must have been deposited by him one year earlier. The persons with whom the sum was deposited are indicated further below. Thus Vidyādhara created an endowment out of a deposit of fifty *kāraḥāpāṇas* yielding an annual interest of sixteen *kāraḥāpāṇas* at the rate of 32 per cent.<sup>3</sup> The word *kāraḥāpāṇa* seems to have been used in the sense of a silver coin weighing 32 *ratas*, also known as *purāṇi*.<sup>4</sup> But, in the age in question, the silver *kāraḥāpāṇa* or *purāṇa* was probably not in actual circulation, the transactions being generally conducted in cowrie-shells. As will be seen below, *kaṇḍaka* or cowrie-shell is actually mentioned in an endorsement added to the record.

The same stanza (verse 2) also mentions two of the witnesses to the creation of the endowment. These are Padma and Viśvarūpa. In continuation of the list of witnesses, verse 3 mentions the following persons: Nṛsiṃha, Śrīdhara, Dēvadhara, All and Padmanābha. Of these, All and Padmanābha are stated to have been the servants of Viśva probably because they were associated with the administration of the Gadādhara temple and the worship of Gadādhara. All these people were residents of the *tapōvana* (literally 'a penance-grove') probably meaning a particular locality in Gayā.

Verses 4 mentions Rāghava, Śrīkara, Aśka, Dāmōdara, Hīdhara, Bhikha, Dēvanidhi and Dharmin who are stated to have been the protectors (*pālana-kōṣṭhā*) apparently of the endowment created by Vidyādhara. It appears that it was these persons with whom the sum of fifty *kā-*

<sup>1</sup> See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1467-69; *IBQ*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 21-25.

<sup>2</sup> Probably we should not take *Guggula* as the name of the person and *vidyādhara* as his epithet.

<sup>3</sup> For the high rate of interest in ancient India, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 163, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. VII, p. 84.



*śāḍpāṇas* was deposited for making provision for feeding Brāhmanas in the Gadādhara temple on Āśvina-sudi 5 every year out of the annual interest of sixteen *kāśhāpāṇas* accruing to it annually. Otherwise they were the trustees and the money was deposited in the temple treasury.

Verse 5 states that those who would maintain the *dharma* (i.e. Vidyādhara's pious deed) every year (i.e. those who would arrange for the feeding of the Brāhmanas out of the interest of the sum deposited by Vidyādhara) would acquire the merit of the performance of the *Āśvamedha* sacrifice. The following stanza (verse 6) says that, whoever would stop the feeding of the Brāhmanas on Āśvina-sudi 5, he would be committing the five great sins.

The above six stanzas are followed in lines 13-14 by a passage in prose. It states that the eulogy (*prāśasti*) was composed (*kṛtā*) by Muktāndra and that it was written (*likhāṇā*) by the *Kā* (i.e. *Kāpusthā* or scribes) Jājyī (or Jājyā) and Jayakumāra.<sup>1</sup> The word *likhāṇa* seems to mean here the writing of the record on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver.

There is one line of writing in the left margin along the border of the inscription discussed above. That it is a separate endorsement is indicated by the fact that it begins with a *siddham* symbol. This line of writing contains a single verse. The second half of the stanza states that 'these' *kāpustakas* (cowrie-shells) were given in the presence of the image of the god (i.e. Gadādhara), the first half of the same verse stating that Somaśvara and the Gayā Brāhmaṇa (i.e. Gayā Brāhmaṇa) Padmanābha were the witnesses 'in this matter' (*idam*). The endorsement appears to mean that the annual interest of sixteen *kāśhāpāṇas* accruing to the deposit made by Vidyādhara after one year in Vikrama 1232 was handed over to the temple authorities by Rāghava and others for arranging for the feeding of Brāhmanas on Āśvina-sudi 5 and that this fact was entered in the margin of the original document a little later than it had been drawn up. The statement was engraved in the same position in the document when it was copied on stone. The Gayā Brāhmaṇa Padmanābha mentioned as a witness seems to be the same person known from verse 3 to have been a witness of the creation of the endowment.

It is interesting to note that the sum of sixteen *kāśhāpāṇas* or *parāṇas* was paid in cowrie-shells. This reminds us of the *kāpustaka-parāṇa* mentioned in the 85th inscription apparently in the sense of 'a *parāṇa* counted in cowrie-shells'.<sup>2</sup> The number of cowrie-shells going for one *kāśhāpāṇa*, at least in the Bengal area, seems to have been 1280. It is stated that 4 cowrie-shells = 1 *gudā*; 20 *gudā* = 1 *paṇ* (*paṇi*); 16 *paṇ* = 1 *kāṣa* (*kāśhāpāṇa*).<sup>3</sup> Thus 1280 *kāpustakas* made 1 *kāśhāpāṇa*.<sup>4</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

[Metres: verse 1 *Uṣṇīṣ*; verse 2 *Indravajrā*; verses 3-7 *Aṇuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 Siddham\* Ō svasti [!]<sup>6</sup> namo bhagavatē Vāsudevāya | Vra(Brahmanas) dvitya-parārthā-  
(vāhā)
- 2 Vācāha-kalpē Vairāśva(ava)ha-manvath(ava)utāṣṭa-vidhāt[ita\*]mō yugē Kamb(Ka)lan  
pūrvva-sat[sa]-
- 3 mihyāyām Samvata\* 1232 Vikāri-samvata(va)tsarē | Śrī-Govindapālādē-

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that one of them wrote the main document and the other only the endorsement.

<sup>2</sup> *J.B.A.S.*, Letters, Vol. IX, 1943, p. 233; *Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 669.

<sup>3</sup> *J.S.S.*, Vol. VII, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> From *liprasaṅga*.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>6</sup> Read *svasti*.



- 1 **va-gata-rā** || yā chaturddasa-**suhmva(va)**tearē **Gayāyār** || <sup>1</sup> **Vaś(a)sh(ha-gūnā)**
- 5 **tigupō** dvivēda || **śrī-Dallapō-sūta**<sup>2</sup> antām māsānta[śi](ntam) || **Vidyādharan ga-**
- 6 **ga(gga)linam** **Gadābhūtin-ma(ha-mun-ākāri dhana(nam) dvijānām(nām) || [1\*] Bhā(Bha)-**  
**ksh-ārtham=avdanti(bdanti) pra-**
- 7 **ti shōḍaś=ai**va kāreḥāpaṇ(ṇā) vyūdhita śva ladhvāḥ(bdhāḥ) || **mūlān=cha pañchāsa(sa)śi=**
- 8 **h=āti sākā**l Padm-ābhīdhānō=cha cha Viśvarūpaḥ || <sup>2</sup> **Nrisīṃha** Śrīdhārō Dēva-
- 9 **dhārō=It-Padmanā(bha\*)kan** || **Viṣṇu-śva(vā)-kara** **ch=āitō** tapōyana-**ayāśana** || <sup>3</sup> **Rāghava**
- 10 **Śrīkarō=śikō** Dāmōḍarsakaḥ(ka)-Hādharo<sup>4</sup> || <sup>5</sup> **Bhūkō** Dēvanidhīr-**Dakṣ(r)ma**<sup>5</sup> **ch=āitō**  
**pāla**<sup>6</sup>
- 11 **na-kāripa**ḥ || <sup>4</sup> **Ā-kandr-ārkam=imam** **dhā(rmanā)** **pālayishvanti yō** **sukhaś(gham)** ||  
**praty=avdanti(bdanti) tē-**
- 12 **śvamōḍhasaya** **ha(pha)lani** **prāpra(pya)nti** **mānavā** || <sup>5</sup> **Āsvinē** **śukla-pañchamiyām**  
**bhō(bha)kshanti yē-**
- 13 **vārayō=ida**m(dam) || **labhātē=āy=asā**dhidgham **mahāpātaka-pañchakam(kam) || [6\*]**  
**prāstā-**
- 14 **r-iyam** **kritā** **śrī-Muktānārā** **lkhitā** **ch=āyam** **kā-Jaṇy-Jayakunārābhyām(bhyām) ||**
- 15 **Om**<sup>7</sup> || <sup>6</sup> **Sāmāyārō=tra** **sākāśa(kahya)nti** **Paṇḍa(dam)śābhō** **Gayā-dvija** || <sup>7</sup> **Dēva-**  
**rūpaśya**<sup>8</sup> **pāpūnatō** **datā**<sup>9</sup> **ch=āitō** **kapardakā** || <sup>7</sup> **[7\*]**

**Postscript**—Fresh light on the *gata-rāja* reckoning comes from a manuscript of Jivādēva's *Bhakti-ratnāvalī* (H. P. Shastri's Catalogue, Vol. VII, No. 5347) copied on Sunday, Bhādrapadī 11 in the 29th Aṅka (24th regnal year) of Mukundadēva (1559-68 A. D.), the last independent Hindu King of Orissa. The details of the date show that it corresponds to the 18th August 1583 A. D., though the king died 15 year earlier, and that the year has to be counted from Mukundadēva's accession and not from his death. See *Indian studies—Past & Present*, Vol. IV, No. 1, October-December 1962, pp. 106 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Gayāyār*. The punctuation mark has been used to indicate the separation of the following stanza to verse.

<sup>2</sup> The word is more suitable for the mother than father.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading may be either *Dāmōḍara-Mahādhara* or *Dāmōḍara-Śatdhara*.

<sup>4</sup> *Dharmā* may also be regarded as an epithet of Dēvanidhī.

<sup>5</sup> *Kā* is an abbreviation of the word *kāyāśa*. The following name may be read as *Zastpāśa* also.

<sup>6</sup> This line is engraved in the left margin.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>8</sup> *Dēvarūpa* may have also been the name of a person.



ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

[illegible]







# No. 33.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF DURGARAJA

( 1 Plate )

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTAUMUKED

( Received on 6.2.1961 )

The first of the two inscriptions edited in these pages now lies in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer (Museum No. 290). It was found at the well-known *tīrtha* of Pushkar near Ajmer and was presented to the Museum by the late Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda. The inscription was noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1909-10*, p. 59.<sup>1</sup> We copied the epigraph some years ago and it was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1952-53*, No. B 6.

Bhandarkar observes, "It really records two separate grants, one by Mallhaga, son of Bhatta, and the other by a king named Durgarāja. The first grant . . . . . consists of a portion of a field called Khātakhētra within the precincts of the village Nandā-grāma on the west of Jyēshṭha-Pushkara . . . . . spoken of therein as having brought into existence by Brāhmā and as *Viśṇu-dharma-purāṇa*, i.e. old in (the practice of) the Vaiṣṇava religion . . . . . Mallhaga, the donor, is called *Pushkara-sāmdāya*, i.e. belonging to the Pushkar community. Pushkara Brāhmanas are at present known as Parāsaras. Mallhaga was thus, in all likelihood, a Parāsara Brāhmaṇa. The date of the second grant cannot be properly deciphered, but it is certainly Samvat 990 and something odd.<sup>2</sup> It was made by Durgarāja to the same god, i.e. Puṇḍarikākṣha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Phālguna. But the nature of his grant is not clear from the inscription."

We are sorry that it is difficult to agree with many of Bhandarkar's suggestions. In the first place, Mallhaga seems to us to have enjoyed the designation *Bhatta-putra*<sup>3</sup> which need not be explained as 'the son of [a person named] Bhatta'. Secondly, the gift land consisted of the entire *Khātakhētra* and not any portion of it. Thirdly, Jyēshṭha-Pushkara has not been called *Viśṇu-dharma-purāṇa*. The reference in the epigraph is certainly to the well-known Purāṇa entitled *Viśṇudharma* or *Viśṇudharmottara*.<sup>4</sup> Fourthly, *Pushkara-sāmdāya* may really mean 'a resident of Pushkara' as in cases like *Ujjayinī-vinirgata-Kūragirika-sāmdāya* (i.e. hailing originally from Ujjayini and now residing at Kūragirika) in the description of a Brāhmaṇa in an inscription from Rajasthan, dated 654 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Fifthly, the year of Durgarāja's grant is apparently Samvat 994. Sixthly, Durgarāja, who was not a king but a small local chief, really did not make any gift of his own in favour of Puṇḍarikākṣha but merely ratified Mallhaga's grant as the landlord of the Pushkar region. Besides these, there are also some other minor points on which we are inclined to disagree with Bhandarkar.

The second of the two inscriptions forming the subject of our paper was discovered by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, on a pillar in the Śiva temple at Thanwala or Thāmvālā (near Pushkar) in the Nagaur District of the Jodhpur Division of

<sup>1</sup> It is No. 41 of Bhandarkar's List (see also No. 55); cf. *Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1916-17*, p. 2, Appendix B, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 5 refers to the year as V.S. 990 (7).

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that the community of learned Brāhmanas is called *Bhatta-jñā* in lines 19 and 20 of our record. For *Bhaga* and *Bhatta-putra* as common designations of Brāhmanas, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 325, text lines 27-28, p. 327, text lines 10-12.

<sup>4</sup> See Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 580.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 172, text line 12; cf. p. 176, text line 17.



Rajasthan: A very brief notice of the record by Mr. Bhattacharya appeared in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1954, p. 134. We copied it a few years back and it was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1956-57, No. B 513.

The first inscription records certain gifts given in favour of the god Puṇḍarikākṣa (i.e. Viṣṇu) worshipped at Puṣkara, by a Brāhmaṇa of Puṣkara named Mallaka in Vikrama 982 and the ratification of the gift by the chief Durgarāja of the Puṣkar region in Vikrama 994. The second epigraph records certain gifts made by the same Durgarāja in favour of the god Rannāditya (i.e. the Sun-god) worshipped either at Thanwala or in its neighbourhood within the Puṣkar region and refers to gifts made to the same deity by a number of people, which were added to those of Durgarāja in Vikrama 1013. It is clearly stated in the first record that whatever gifts were given by people at Puṣkara became those of Durgarāja, called a *Māhata*, apparently because he was the landlord of the district around the holy place or the person in charge of the *śrēṭha*.<sup>1</sup> The most important information supplied by the second inscription is, however, the fact that Durgarāja is mentioned here as the *Mahantaka* of *Mahārājādhirāja* Siṃharāja who was no doubt the Chāhamāna king of the same name.

The extension of Chāhamāna power in the Puṣkar-Ajmer region in the days of Siṃharāja is an important information supplied by the above record. But the real meaning of the designation *Mahantaka*, which is derived from Sanskrit *mahat*, 'the great (man)', like the official designations *Mahattaka*, *Maḥattara* and *Mahattama* of inscriptions and *Mahatā*, *Mahatā* and *Mahanta* of today, cannot be determined in the present context. Essentially, the word seems to mean the head of a village or the village council or a Paṇḍitayat board or of some administrative, social or religious institution or organisation.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to say whether Durgarāja was the head of the religious institution at Puṣkar like the *Mahanta-Mahārāja* of today, though his designation *Māhata* in the first inscription and *Mahantaka* in the second may point to that direction. That, however, he was not an ascetic is suggested by the mention of his father's name in the second inscription.

So long the earliest epigraph of the Chāhamāna house in question was the Haru inscription<sup>3</sup> (Vikrama 1030=973 A.D.) of the reign of Siṃharāja's son Viraharāja. Now we have an epigraph of Siṃha's reign, dated Vikrama 1013 (956 A.D.). The *Prithivīrājapūra* associates the Śākambhari or Sāmbhar lake, about 40 miles from Puṣkar, with Vāṇdeva who was the founder of the Chāhamāna house and was favoured by the goddesses Śākambhari and Kāpuri.<sup>4</sup> Thus the original seat of the family seems to have been in the region of the said lake. A point to be considered is whether the present inscriptions help us in determining the date of the establishment of Chāhamāna power over the Ajmer-Puṣkar region. Since the name of a Chāhamāna king is not found in the first inscription bearing the dates Vikrama 982 and 994 while Siṃharāja is mentioned in the second record of Vikrama 1013, it is possible to suggest that Chāhamāna power was established in the area shortly before Vikrama 1013. But the possibility of the omission of the name of the Chāhamāna king in the first epigraph through negligence in a private record of this kind is not precluded. That the Chāhamānas succeeded in extending their power over the Puṣkar area earlier than the days of Siṃharāja of our inscription may be conjectured from certain traditions recorded in the *Prithivīrājapūra*. Thus Rudrānī or Ātmaprabhā, the queen of Siṃharāja's grandfather Chandana, is stated in that work to have established one thousand Śiva-līngas on the banks of the Puṣkara lake while Siṃharāja's father Vīkpati is said to have built a temple of Śiva at Puṣkara.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to a well-known convention, the ruler of the land had a share in the religious merit earned by the people.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahantaka* is used in the *Lakṣanadharmas* in the sense of a clerk or accountant and is used in Gujarat as a term of respect among the Bāṇyās. See also *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 206-07, Bhattacharya's List No. 565.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 116-20.

<sup>4</sup> See Ray, *DRNI*, Vol. II, p. 1091.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, op. cit., pp. 1063-64. The performance of merit-making deeds at holy places, however, does not conclusively prove the inclusion of the area in the performer's dominions (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 100-01).



About the time of the records edited here, the Chāhamānas were apparently feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Gōvaka (Gōvinda) I, Sindhārāja's grandfather's great-grandfather, was a subordinate of king Nāgvalōka, identified with Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 800-33 A.D.), while Sindhā himself owed allegiance to a *Rayakulā-chakravartin* who must have been a successor of Nāgabhaṭa II.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Pushkar Inscription of Vikrama 982 and 994

This is a stone inscription containing 31 lines of writing in all. The inscription covers an area 61 cm. in length and 31 cm. in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory.

The characters belong to the Siddhamātṛikā alphabet of the tenth century A.D. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. But the text is full of grammatical and orthographical errors. Some of these are due to the fact that the engraver could not follow the draft before him at certain places, though there must have been defects even in the composition. The record is written in prose and verse.

There are two dates in the record quoted with reference to two different transactions, viz., (1) grant of some land to the god Vishnu of Pushkara by a private person in *Saṃvat* 982, *Māgha-sudi* 11, and (2) its ratification by the landlord in *Saṃvat* 994, *Phālguna-amāvāsyā*, solar eclipse. The first date, quoted without mentioning the week-day, fell in the month of January 926 A.D. The second date corresponds to the 3rd February 938 A.D., when there was a solar eclipse on Phālguna-badi 15.

As we have said, Vikrama 982 (926 A.D.) relates to a grant made by a private person and Vikrama 994 (938 A.D.) to its ratification by his landlord. The long delay of more than a decade in the ratification, however, requires an explanation. It appears that the donor of the land continued to pay taxes on its account for some years after which the landlord agreed to make the grant rent-free. As we have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> suggested, such a ratification may have required payment of a sum of money by the donor to the king or landlord.

The inscription begins with an adoration to the god Puṇḍarikāksha (i.e. Vishnu-Krishna) followed by the date Vikrama 982 *Māgha-sudi* 11 (lines 1-3). Reference is then made to a *khāta-khētra* within the *Kaḍḍhāra-khētra* lying in the area of *Nandā-grāma* to the west of *Jyēsthā-Pushkara* which is no doubt the modern Buḡhā Pushkar lake (lines 3-4). It is stated in the following passage that the said *khāta-khētra* was purchased from Savatuka and Pama, the sons of Māiniga (lines 4-5) while another passage in lines 5-6 says that one-third of the same *khāta-khētra* was purchased from Savatuka alone. The second piece of land was naturally within the boundary of the first and the entire land thus purchased was meant to be given in favour of the god Vishnu at Pushkara with the exclusion of a portion which seems to have been the property of a deity in the possession of a person (probably a priest of the said deity) named Vāmāna (lines 6-8). In this section of the record, the meanings of *Kaḍḍhāra-khētra* and *khāta-khētra* are uncertain, though *Kaḍḍhāra* may be the name of the field (cf. many such cases in the Thanwala inscription edited below) and *khātakhētra* may indicate that the land in question was recently cleared by digging up trees, etc.

The next section of the record in lines 8-11 describes the donor, *Bhaṭṭa-suta* Maḥaraja of Pushkara, while the following section in lines 12-13 mentions the penance-grove at *Jyēsthā-Pushkara* described as the great *tīrtha* made by Padmayāni (Brahman)<sup>3</sup>, the father of the world, and situated

<sup>1</sup> See verses 12 and 19 of the Harwa inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 37 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Pāṇini Perśa*, V, 15.



on the pivot of the earth. Lines 13-16 mention the great god Puṇḍarikākṣa, one of whose epithets states that he granted his devotees the privilege of living in Śveta-dvīpa, i.e. the world of Viṣṇu according to epic and Puranic traditions.<sup>1</sup> The whole portion in lines 13-16 means to say that *Bhaṭṭa-suta* Malhaga heard at the penance-grove, on the date quoted at the beginning of the charter, a *rockana* (saying) about the god Puṇḍarikākṣa in the *Viṣṇuśāhama Purāṇa* apparently from some reciter and that, having heard that, he gave the said land to Sōmāditya for flowers, etc., for the god's (i.e. Puṇḍarikākṣa's) worship and for white-washing, etc., of his temple. Sōmāditya appears to have been the chief priest of the Puṇḍarikākṣa temple at Pushkara. This Sōmāditya seems to be mentioned in several inscriptions<sup>2</sup> in the Śiva temple of Thanwala near Pushkar. The name of the same Malhaga occurs as that of a donor in one of the Thanwala inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> His name seems to appear as Mālhaga in the Thanwala inscription edited below.

Lines 19-21 contain a passage in prose stating that the gift was made by Malhaga praying for the goodwill of the *Bhaṭṭas*. This is followed by a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, in which the donor, *Bhaṭṭa-mahaga* Malhaga, requests the people for the protection of his gift.

The second record begins in line 22 with the date : Vikrama 994 (in words only), *Phālguna-amāvāsyā*, solar eclipse. The time is specified as when three fourths of the day were still to pass (i.e. at the end of the first quarter of the day) and when the sun's orb was divided into two sections (as a result of a part of it being eclipsed).

The date is followed by a verse in the *Giti* metre and another irregular stanza. The purport of this section is to say that whatever was given by the pilgrims visiting the Pushkara *śrīṅga* became the gift of Durgarāja himself when the *śāhī* (ruler) Durgarāja took a bath in the waters of the Pushkara lake and offered libations of water to gods, etc., and also *homa* to the fire. The following passage in prose in lines 29-30 states that, for that reason, the gift was made in favour of the god Puṇḍarikākṣa. The record ends with a verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre containing a request to the *Bhaṭṭas* for the protection of the grant. This is similar to Malhaga's own prayer in the stanza quoted in lines 21-22.

Pushkara, Jyēṣṭha-Pushkara and Nandā-grāma are the only geographical names in the inscription. Of these, Nandā-grāma has been identified with modern Nānd about six miles from Pushkar.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 On-namaḥ<sup>5</sup> [Puṇḍarikākṣaya || sa]m|vatara-[-śa]tāshu
- 2 navasu dvā(dvya)śīty-adhikē[shu] saṁvatu(vat) 982 Mā[ga](gha)-[-
- 3 [su]dī(dī) aikādashyām(śyām) Jyēṣṭha(śhṭha)-Pā(Pu)ṣkarasya pāśahimē pūtyāḥ<sup>6</sup>  
Nandā-g[rā]-
- 4 [ma]-bhūmy[ā]m [ka]ḥ[śh]āto-khētr-āgā(ata)m khāta-khētram [||] yam(yat) Mānaga<sup>7</sup>-asa-  
[Sa]-
- 5 [va<sup>8</sup>][su]ka-Pamayār-hastārḍha(ī-kra)y-āgatakaṁ(kam) | aparaṁ-āpi aya-aiva khā[ta]-

<sup>1</sup> See *Mahābhārata*, XII, 336, 27-35; also, Vol. XXXIV, p. 80 (p. 83, text line 30).

<sup>2</sup> See *A.R.S.*, 1953-57, Nos. B 510-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 311.

<sup>4</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>5</sup> This is followed by a symbol which may be a variety of the *siddha* symbol, though its proper place was at the beginning of the line.

<sup>6</sup> Read "śyām."

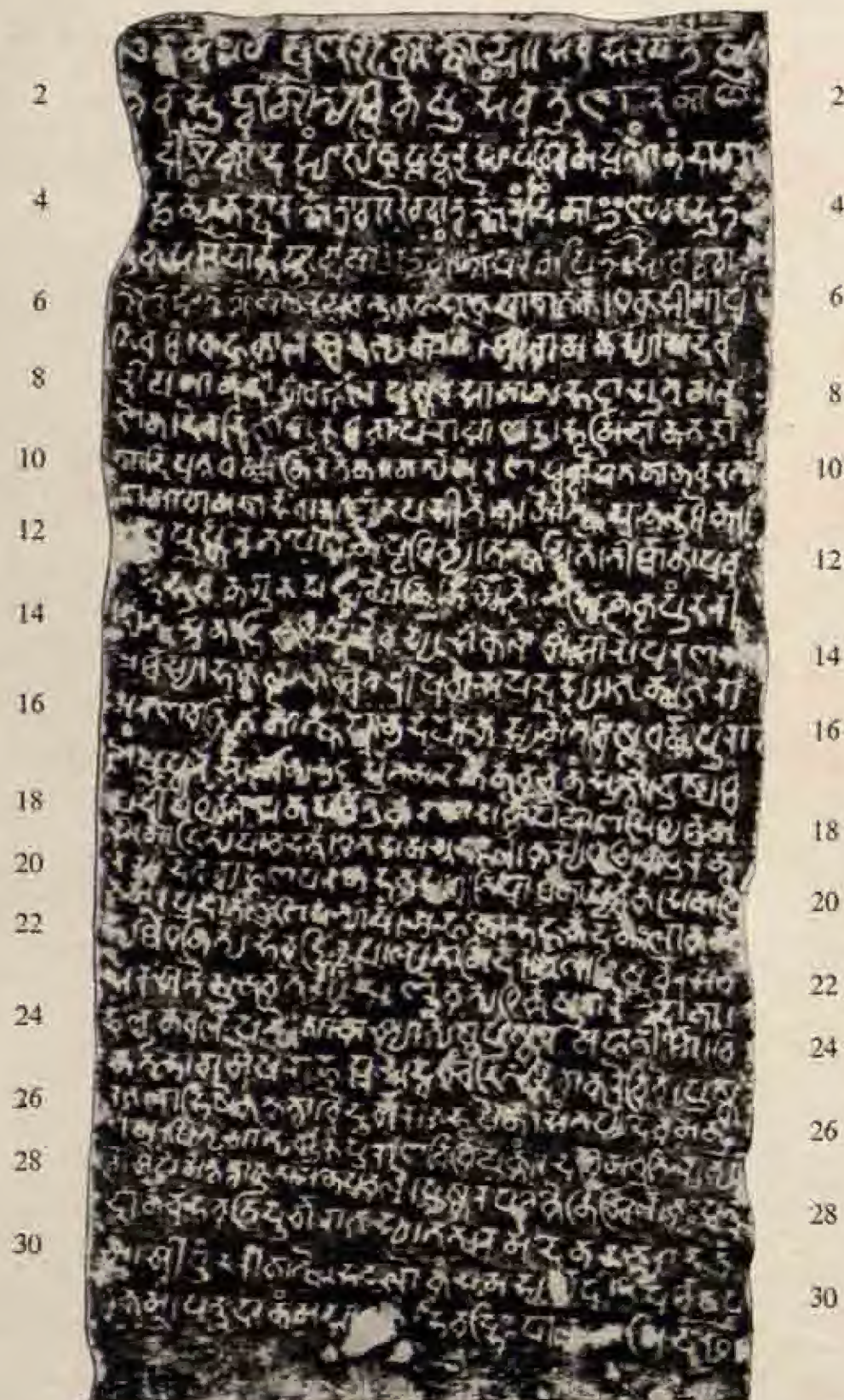
<sup>7</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>8</sup> The Sanskrit form of the name may be *Mānaka*.

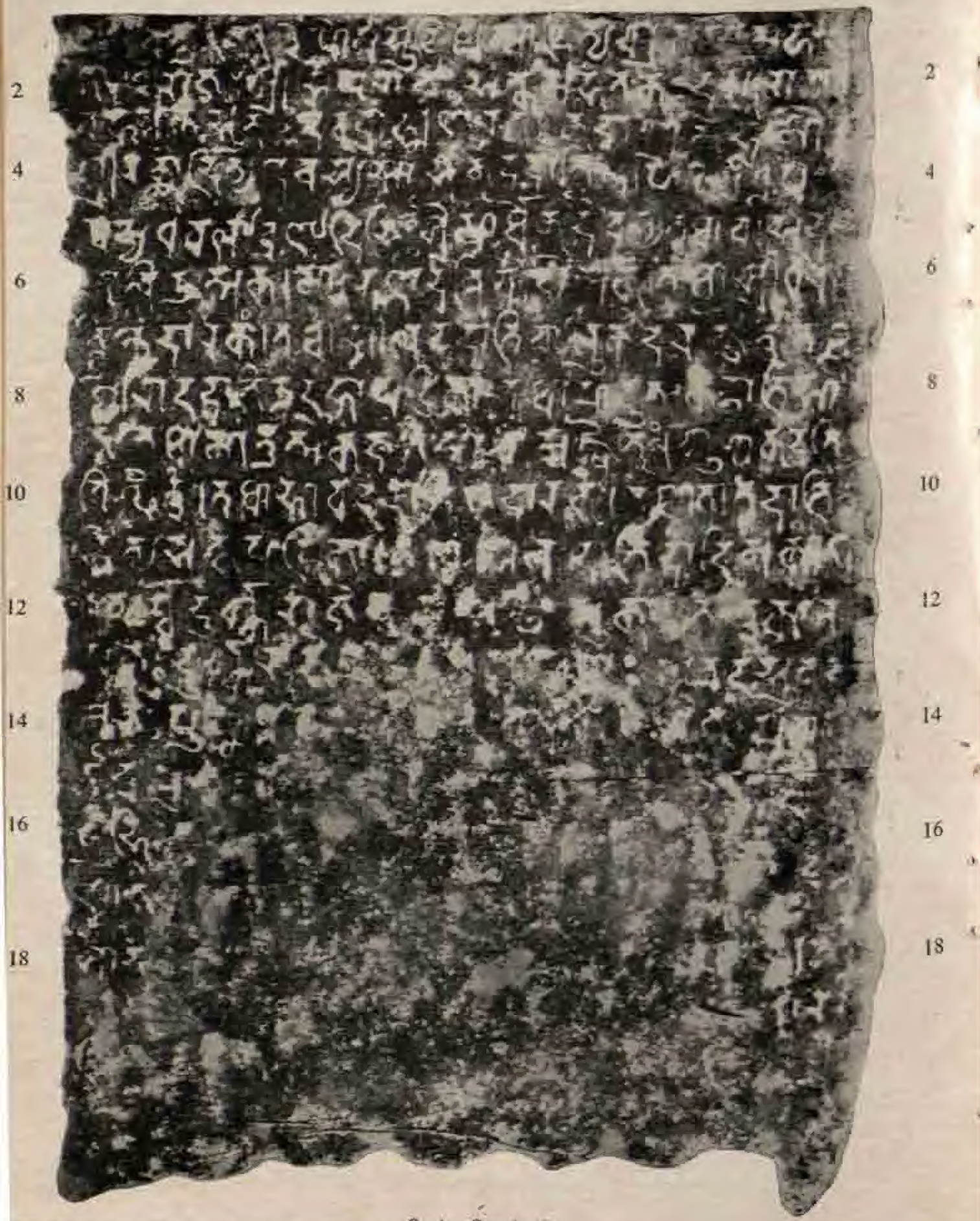


# TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF DURGARAJA

## 1. Pushkar Inscription of Vikrama 982 and 996









- 6 kshēttaraya tṛityā-śāśāch<sup>1</sup> Savatuka-hastā(t\*) kray-āgatakam(kam) | <sup>2</sup> ēka-simā-pra-
- 7 tiradhyam(baddham) | <sup>3</sup> {va(ba)hu-kāśācha(B=cha) bha(bhu)jyamānam | <sup>4</sup> śrī-Vāmanasya-  
śya<sup>5</sup>-dēva-
- 8 diyamāna-bhō(ga)-varijala(kam) Pushkara-sāmānya-Bhaṭṭasuta-Malha-
- 9 pāna | <sup>6</sup> dēva-dvija-guru-(pū)jā-parāyāna<sup>7</sup> | <sup>8</sup> bhūmi-dāna-tadā-
- 10 g-ādi-pu(pū)[r\*]tta-dharmma-niratēna || <sup>9</sup> martya-maraṇa-svargga-paten-āśvara(ta)-
- 11 gam-āgama-garbha-vāsā(nā)ni bhaya-bhūtēna | <sup>10</sup> mōksha-(tā)na-luḍdhē(bdhē)na || <sup>11</sup>
- 12 {Jyē}śhṭha-Pushkara-tapōvanā prithivyām taksha<sup>12</sup>-śhīlō<sup>13</sup> | <sup>12</sup> ūrthānāt prava-
- 13 {ra}stī<sup>14</sup>-bhuvana-guru-Padmavōni-nirmmittō | <sup>13</sup> {ta}minakya<sup>15</sup> Pundari-
- 14 {k}āksha{śya\*} anādi-{sa}mādhā-dēvasya sakala-śāś(śāś)śārē | <sup>14</sup> putana<sup>16</sup>-(sa)-
- 15 {ma}ritheya | <sup>15</sup> bhak{t}a-l[ō]ka-{Śrō}ta-di(dvi)pa-v[ā]śa-p[r]adāsya | <sup>15</sup> jama-jarā-
- 16 maraṇa-varjjita-mōksha-s{th}ā{na}-dayākasya<sup>17</sup> mētat<sup>18</sup> | <sup>16</sup> Vishṇudharmma-purā-
- 17 pō Pushkara-s{ā}mānya<sup>19</sup>-Bhaṭṭasuta-Malhanō(pō)na vachanam sa(śru)tvā | <sup>17</sup> vā(pu)śha-  
dhva(dhā)-
- 18 pa-dīpa-dhava(la\*)-lēpana-pavitra(trā)-kāraṇa-sarvv-ōpayōga(ga)-śidhyarthama<sup>20</sup>
- 19 {Śō}māditya(tyā)ya | <sup>18</sup> cha(pra)dattam(ttam) | <sup>18</sup> ēta(t\*)-śamasta(m\*) Bhaṭṭa-lōkasya dhārmika-  
dhurandhā-
- 20 rasya dēva-Vrā(Brō)hmaṇa-parama-bhaktasya {pr}iti-prō(r)thānā-pūrvvakam | <sup>19</sup> sama{z}pi-
- 21 tama(tam) | Pradātā prapīṭy-āyam Malhanō(pō) Bhaṭṭa-śrīndanaḥ || <sup>20</sup> lōkan-a-

<sup>1</sup> Read "śa-śāśāch."

<sup>2</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> Read Vāmana-āya. The word āya seems to be used to intimate āya-pada (cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 145 also p. 149, text lines 33, 34-35, 37, 39, 43).

<sup>4</sup> Read parāyāna.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading is "ryō śāśā-śhīlō."

<sup>6</sup> Read "pō śrī."

<sup>7</sup> Read śamādhānyā.

<sup>8</sup> The intended reading may be pōśa or śhīrāś-pōśa.

<sup>9</sup> The intended reading is dayākasya.

<sup>10</sup> Read śat. The second śhāśā is written above the line.

<sup>11</sup> The word śhīrāśya has been used in the sense of śhīrāśya.

<sup>12</sup> Read śhīlō-śhīlā.



- 22 bhavarthēdha' nityam bhavadbbhīḥ pālyatām=idaṁ(dam) ||<sup>12</sup> | Viṣṇuvē<sup>13</sup> | sadiva-  
 23 |t|sara-śatēṣhu navatēṣhu' a(chatu)ṛṇavaty-adbhakēṣhu garē dānā<sup>14</sup> |<sup>15</sup>  
 24 Pha(Phā)lguna-va(ba)[hu]<sup>16</sup> ||<sup>17</sup> pakṣhē-mā|v|āyā<sup>18</sup> Jyēṣṭha-Pushkarē mahā-tīrthō-  
 (rthē) |<sup>19</sup> vi(dī)-  
 25 na(nā) tṛi(tri)-bhāga-śēṣhē rūḥu-pra(ga)stō dva(dvi)-khamḍita(tō) divākārē(ra)-vīṇvō(bā) |  
 Pushka-  
 26 ra-jat-ābhūṣhākaṁ kṛtvā vai Durgarāja-bhūpāna | śaṁtarpya dēva-manu-  
 27 ||am<sup>20</sup> |<sup>21</sup> pītṛi-mātṛi-gurūḥ purāṇa-vidhī-yuktam(ktam) ||<sup>22</sup> Dadhi-madhū-tilāhijyā-<sup>23</sup>  
 28 mīṣṭam hēmaṁ kṛtvā hutāsa(sa)nē prava(ba)ḥ | Pushkara-pātha(thi)kaṁ-nikhilam |<sup>24</sup> jah<sup>25</sup>  
 prattā[m]||tam|  
 29 dānaṁ cha bhavati Durgarājasya<sup>26</sup> || tat-parama-dēna(va)-bhaktiyā dattam  
 30 ma(yā<sup>27</sup>) |<sup>28</sup> ari-Pundarikākṣhē<sup>29</sup> | Bhāṭṭa-lōkāt samabhya(schya) priti-pra(prā)rtthana-pū-  
 31 |rv|vakam | ya(a)ttre dānaṁ masā(yā) [kaṁ]ra<sup>30</sup> bhavadbbhīḥ pālyatām=idaṁ(dam) | o |<sup>31</sup>

## 2. Thanwala Inscription of the time of Śiṁharāja, Vikrama 1013

This epigraph, as stated above, is engraved on a pillar inside the Śiva temple at Thanwala. There are altogether twenty lines of writing covering an area 40 cm. in height and 33 cm. in breadth. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory especially in the lower part of the record. A large number of letters in lines 13-18 are more or less completely rubbed off while no letter is decipherable in the last two lines (lines 19-20).

The characters of the inscription are similar to those of No. 1 edited above. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in prose and verse as is the case with the other inscription. There is, however, some influence of the local dialect on the language and orthography of the epigraph.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by the date Vikrama 1013, Pausmasudi 5, solar eclipse. The weekday is not quoted, while solar eclipse could have occurred only on an earlier new-moon day. The date falls in December 956 A.D., though there was no solar eclipse in the near past according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*.

<sup>1</sup> Read, 'Agyarhatē.

<sup>2</sup> There is a floral design between the double Jaṅgus. The metre of the verse is Anuṣṭuph.

<sup>3</sup> Read *vaṁś* Viṣṇuvē.

<sup>4</sup> Read *vaṁś*.

<sup>5</sup> It is tempting to suggest here *Gurudīn* or *Gurudīn*, though Thursday does not suit the date in question. Probably *gallakavāṇḍa* is intended.

<sup>6</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śyāpāḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *jaḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> The metre of the verse is Gtā.

<sup>10</sup> Read *tilāhijā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *jaṁś*. The *akāra* *va* was omitted through oversight.

<sup>12</sup> If the word *Durgarājya* is taken out, we may have a stanza in the *drpt* metre.

<sup>13</sup> Read *hikṣāḥ*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *brāhṁ* or *brāhṁ*.

<sup>15</sup> The metre of the verse is Anuṣṭuph.



Lines 1-3 then introduce **Durgarāja** as devoted to the gods and Brāhmanas, as the son of **Chaharaka** and as the *Mahantaka* of *Mahārājādhirāja* **Śirīharāja**. We have already discussed the meaning of the designation *Mahantaka*. As also indicated above, *Mahārājādhirāja* **Śirīharāja** is no other than the Chāhanūha king of that name, who was the father of **Vigraharāja** of the Haras inscription of 973 A. D.

Lines 3-4 state that **Durgarāja** issued a grant in respect of some land situated in **Nandagrāma** in favour of the deity **Rannādityadēva**. As we have explained elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> **Rannā** is the name of the wife of the Sun-god according to the popular mythology of Western India. It is probably derived from the Sanskrit name *Rājñī*, the name of a wife of the Sun-god according to the Purāṇas. Both the god and goddess may have been worshipped in the temple in question.

Lines 4-5 suggest that the said gift of land was intended to provide for a lamp (probably, a perpetual lamp) for the god as well as for the burning of incense before the deity, offering of food to him and whitewashing of the walls of his temple, etc.

After the above statement, the following gifts are specified in lines 6-11 : (1) *Kālīlaka* (probably the name of a field) given by **Durgarāja** himself ; (2) *Chaitulāka* (possibly the name of another field) given by **Mālhaṇa** (probably the same as **Malhaṇa** of the inscription edited above) ; a *kēḍūroka* (a marshy field) given by **Śrīlhaṇa** ; (4) [a field called] *Chālakandara* given by **Sila** ; (5) the *paṭṭikā* (meaning uncertain) called *Uḍahhā* given by **Mōchā** ; (6) a field (name uncertain) given by **Yavuka** ; (7) the *āgama-kshētra* (probably, field near the entrance to the temple of **Rannāditya**) given by **Guguka** ; (8) a *kēḍūroka* given by **Sāva** ; (10) a *paṭṭikā* belonging to **Āditya**, given by **Vāta** ; and (11) [a field called] *Dāḍimaka* given by **Sila**. A passage in lines 11-12 states that all the above gifts were added by **Durgarāja** to his own gift. This reminds us of the ratification of **Malhaṇa**'s grant by **Durgarāja** as recorded in the **Pushkar** inscription edited above.

A damaged passage in lines 12-13 apparently mentions a person who was 'the-maker' no doubt of the inscription, i.e., the engraver of the record. His name is lost, but he was the son of **Sāvata** and obviously an officer of **Durgarāja**.

Line 14 mentions **Maru** (i.e. the country of **Marwar**) and also **Pushkara**, while the next line (line 15) seems to have referred to the permanent nature of the grant. Lines 16-17 contain parts of the well-known stanza *Bahubher=varudhā dattā*, etc.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription have been discussed above.

#### TEXT\*

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> [ ]<sup>3</sup> **So[m]vatu(vat) 1013 Pausa-sudi 5 āditya-grahapē mahā[rā]-**
- 2 **jādhirāj[ah](ja)-rī-Śirīha(ha)rāj[ah](ja)-satka-mahantakāḥ Durggarāj[ah]**
- 3 **Chaharaka-antah dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmana-tataḥ Nandā(dā)-grāma-khūman**
- 4 **rī-Rannādityadēvaya sāsna[m]-dadāti | dipō(pa) s[ka][h<sup>4</sup>] | dhūps[htpa]-nāi-**
- 5 **[vā]jya-dhavalā-ghū(r<sup>5</sup>)p-ādihhīh arēyō-rthāna dēvaya<sup>6</sup> [ ]<sup>7</sup> tathā cha | sa/sva)-dā[ti][h<sup>8</sup>]**

\* Above, Vol. XXII, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> From inked impressions. In a recent note on this inscription by D. Sharma (*Panjab*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 2 ff.), it is said that it was first published by B. N. Rau and then by R. C. Agrawala (*Panjab*, Vol. V, No. 1). The articles of Rau and Agrawala are not available to me.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> The name is also spelt as *Rangar* or *Rāgar*.

<sup>5</sup> Better read *var-ārēyō-rthāna dattāḥ dēvaya*.







The material for this Part was sent to the Press by  
Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. Gai,  
*Government Epigraphist for India.*



## No. 34—SILVER COIN OF VASISHTHI-PUTRA SATAKARNI

(1 Plate)

D. U. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 29.3.1961)

Two silver coins of the Śātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śātakarṇi<sup>1</sup> (second century A.D.), bearing his bust on the obverse, have so far been known. Like similar coins of Gautamī-putra Yaśo-Śātakarṇi, they were imitated from the silver issues of the Śakas of Western India and were apparently meant for circulation in the northernmost areas of the Śātavāhana dominions, which had been recently reconquered from the Śakas. The first of the two coins of Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śātakarṇi was published by A.S. Altekar in *JNSI*, Vol. XI, pp. 58 ff., Plate II, Nos. 5-6, and the second by Dinkar Rao in the same journal, Vol. XXI, pp. 9-12, Plate I, No. 4, with Altekar's comments at pp. 13-17.

The legends on the obverse and reverse of the first coin (size—round, 6<sup>2</sup>; weight—28 grains) were read by Altekar respectively as *raño Vasiṣṭhi-putasa* [Śātakarṇi]<sup>2</sup> and *Arakāsha Vāsiṣṭhi-putasa* *hiṣa-Hatakapisha* through the reading is admittedly tentative and the illustrations of the coin do not enable us to check his reading of most of the letters. But, although Altekar thought otherwise, the legends and symbols, etc., on both the silver coins of Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śātakarṇi appear to be identical.

The published illustration of the **second coin**, now in the possession of Mr. Rao of Hyderabad, is quite unsatisfactory. But recently Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in my office, visited Hyderabad where he met Rao and prepared some good plaster casts of the coin, which he kindly placed at my disposal for examination. It is a matter of gratification to me that I am now in a position to point out the errors in the published readings of the legends on this coin and in their interpretations. Its **reverse legend**, which has not yet been correctly read and interpreted, is of **great importance** as it not only helps us in restoring a damaged word in the legend on the reverse of the similar coins of Yaśo-Śātakarṇi<sup>3</sup> but also throws new light on the **Dravidian language and alphabet** of about the second century A.D. Two eye-copies of this legend, one prepared by Rao and another by Altekar, have been published in *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, p. 13. Neither of them is true to the original, though Rao's copy is closer to the original than Altekar's.

The **obverse** of the coin exhibits the bust of the king to right and circular legend in normal Brāhmī characters of about the second century A.D. above the back of the head and to the front of the bust. This legend was read by Rao as *vīra-Śātakarṇi raño Vāsiṣṭhi-putasa*. Although the arrangement of the words in the legend looks like the above, we are inclined to read the right

<sup>1</sup> This name is spelt as both *Śātakarṇi* and *Śātakarni* while the name of the family, to which the kings bearing this name belonged, is spelt both as *Sataśakana* and as *Śātaśakana*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *vīra* has been omitted before the name by Altekar. Macrum over *s* and *ś* has not been used in this article.

<sup>3</sup> The legends on the obverse and reverse of Yaśo-Śātakarṇi's coins were read by Rao as *raño Gotama-putasa vīra-Yāsa-Śātakarṇi* and.....*putasa* (*Gotama-putasa* *hiṣa-Yāsa-Hatakapisha* respectively *Catalogue*, p. 45).



half beginning from XII (*rañā Vāsiṭhi-putam*) before the left half ending at XII (*śiri-Sātakarni*) since this is the case with the reverse legend. We therefore read *rañā Vāsiṭhi-putam śiri-Sātakarni* (Sanskrit *vāsiṭh Vāsiṭhi-putrasya śiri-Sātakarnēḥ*). [This is the coin] of the illustrious Sātakarni, the son of Vāsiṭhī (i.e., a lady belonging to a family of the Vāsiṭha *gotra*).<sup>1</sup> This is also what Rapon has done in respect of the obverse and reverse legends of the silver coins of Yajña-Sātakarni.<sup>2</sup>

The reverse of the coin exhibits a number of symbols and circular legend in Southern Brāhmī characters along the border. This legend has been read by Rao as *Arīhaṇaśa vāla-danḍa-dhā-Kaṇaśa nira-Hātakaṇiśa*. He explains *arīhaṇa* as 'the killer of enemies', *vāla-danḍa-dhā* as 'one who holds swords and sceptre' and *Kaṇa* as standing for *Kṛiṣṇa* which, in his opinion, may have been a secondary name of the king in question or indicate 'one who is like Kṛiṣṇa'. The difficulty in accepting Rao's interpretation of *vāla-danḍa-dhā* has been pointed out by Altekar. But the said reading of the passage is also impossible and Rao's reading and interpretation of *arīhaṇa* and his explanation of *Kaṇa* are equally unsatisfactory.

Altekar reads the legend on the reverse of the coin as *Tiru-Hātakaṇiśa arahaṇaśa Vāsiṭha-Shathakapasha* explained as '[Coin of] the worshipful Vāsiṭha (or Vāsiṭhi, i.e., Vāsiṭhiputra) Sātakarni of the respectable Sātakarni [dynasty]'. But this is as unsatisfactory as Rao's reading and interpretation.

In the first place, it is impossible to believe that the same name has been written here once as *Hātakaṇi* and for a second time as *Shāthakapāṇi*.

Secondly, it is not explained why, in *Shathakapasha*, *sh* at the beginning has a form altogether different from that of the same letter at the end.

Thirdly, the name of the family, to which the issuer of the coin belonged, was *Śātavāhana* and not *Sātakarni*.

Fourthly, Altekar says, 'The legend also shows the Tamilian practice of changing *ta* into *tha* in the word *Shāthakapasha*'. But his reference to a Tamil practice in support of the change of *t* to *th* is due entirely to misunderstanding. The Tamil alphabet has only *t* for the four letters *t*, *th*, *d* and *dh* of the Sanskrit alphabet and likewise *l* for *l*, *lh*, *ḍ* and *ḍh*, though intervocal *t* and *l* are pronounced as *d* and *ḍ* respectively. The Tamil practice, which Altekar has misunderstood, is really that, when Tamil words or names are written in Roman characters, the sounds of *t* and *d* are reproduced respectively by *th* and *dh* only to distinguish them from those of *l* and *ḍ* which are written in English by *t* and *d* respectively.<sup>3</sup>

Fifthly, in Altekar's opinion, *Vāsiṭha* or *Vāsiṭhi* is an abridged form of *Vāsiṭhi-putra*. Since, however, the words *Vāsiṭha* or *Vāsiṭhi* (a man or woman belonging to the Vāsiṭha *gotra*) and *Vāsiṭhi-putra* (a man born of a lady belonging to a family of the Vāsiṭha *gotra*) have significantly different meanings, we have doubts whether a sensible and responsible mint-master could have used the former in the sense of the latter.

Sixthly, Altekar's interpretation of *arahaṇa* as *arahaṇa*, 'the worshipful one', does not appear to be happy, because *arahaṇa* really means 'worship' and not 'worshipful'.

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Altekar thinks that the mint-officer hailed from the Tamil country and that, after having spelt *Sātavāhanam* as *Shāthakapasha*, 'he then perhaps realised that that was not the pronunciation in his master's dominions and so he spelt the word the second time as *Hātakaṇiśa*' (op. cit., p. 15). Apart from the quite unconvincing nature of the conjecture, it may be pointed out that, in the legend as read by Altekar and quoted above, the word *Hātakaṇiśa* appears first and *Shāthakapasha* later.



In our opinion, Rapson was perfectly right in thinking that the legends on the obverse and reverse of the similar coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi differ only in script and phonology but are identical in contents<sup>1</sup> while Altekar is certainly wrong in thinking that the legends of the present coin offer a phenomenon quite different from those of the coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi and that the obverse legend on it 'is considerably different' in contents from the legend on the reverse.<sup>2</sup>

The passage, which both Rao and Altekar have read wrongly, is quite clearly *Vah[ṣi]ṭi-māka-gaṣha* and is certainly not *vāh[ṣi]ṭi-māka-gaṣha* or *Vāhi(ha)-Shāthakagaṣha* which are both meaningless.

As we have seen, the obverse legend of the coin under study reads *raṣo Vāsiṭhi-putraṃ vīri-Sātakaṣa* (Sanskrit *vāsiṣṭhī-putraṃ vīri-Sātakaṣa*), '[This is the coin] of the illustrious king Sātakarṇi, son of Vāsiṣṭhi'. There is no doubt that this legend in Sanskrit or Prakrit was translated into Dravidian Prakrit in the reverse legend which in our opinion clearly reads: *araha-gaṣha Vah[ṣi]ṭi-māka-gaṣha vīri-Hātakaṣa*. In this, *sha* is used for *sa* to indicate the sixth case-ending while *arahaṃ* and *mākaṃ* are derived from Dravidian words meaning 'king' and 'son' respectively. Rapson rightly conjectured that the word in five or six syllables on the reverse of Yajña-Sātakarṇi's coins, which Bhagwanlal Indraji wrongly read as *Chaturapaṇaṣha* though he was himself sure only of its last two aksharas (viz. *paṣha*), was probably equivalent to *raṣo*.<sup>3</sup>

The first of the two words is equivalent to Tamil and Malayalam *arahaṃ* or *arahaṇ*; Kannada *arasa*, *arasa*; Tulu *arasa*. In this word, viz. *arahaṃ*, *ha* represents the change of *s* or *ṣ* to *h* as in *Sātakarṇi* or *Sātakaṣi* modified to *Hātakaṣi*; cf. also the change of Sanskrit *vīri*-Prakrit *vīri* to *hīri* on the coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi. The second word stands for Tamil and Malayalam *mākaṇ* (*maṇ*), *maka(maṇ)*; Kannada *magan*, *maga*, *magam*; Tulu *maga*. It will be seen that the Dravidian words ending in a final consonant have been made to end in *a* as in cases like Tamil *nir* and *mā* adopted in Sanskrit as *nīra* and *māna*, the latter probably coming back to Tamil as *mīnam* (cf. Telugu *nīra*, *nīram*; *mīna*, *mīnam*). In *māgaṇa*, both *mā* and *ga* are intentional. It may be pointed out that the word *arahaṃ* is spelt with *g* also on the coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi. But, even if *g* is regarded as due to a Prakrit convention, the length of the vowel in *mā* may be assigned to the original pronunciation of the word.<sup>4</sup>

*Vah[ṣi]ṭi* is of course the same as Sanskrit *Vāsiṣṭhi*-Prakrit *Vah[ṣi]ṭi* with the absence of aspiration while *vīri* is the modification of Sanskrit *vīri*-Prakrit *vīri* as used in modern Tamil. The word *vīri*, as we have seen, is written as *hīri* in the reverse legend of Yajña-Sātakarṇi's coins. As regards *vīri-vīri-hīri*, Rapson drew our attention to *Sāta-Sāta-Hāla* and *Sakti-Haku* as known from literary and epigraphic records relating to the Śātavāhana family.

It is interesting to note that the originals of neither of the two words of Dravidian origin used in the legend, viz. *arahaṃ*-*arahaṇ* and *mākaṇ*-*mākaṇa*, are now traceable in Telugu<sup>5</sup> which appears to have been the mother-tongue of the Śātavāhana kings called Andhra in the Purāṇas. That the phonology and vocabulary of Telugu were much nearer Tamil in the second century A.D., seems also to be clear from the occurrence of the two words in the Prakrit legend on the coin.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Catalogue*, pp. xi-xci.

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue*, p. xci.

<sup>4</sup> A Dravidian palaeographical characteristic, indicated by the Bhattiprola inscriptions (above, Vol. II, p. 324), is the representation of the consonant with the inherent *a* by an *a-mātra*-like sign except when it was endowed with an anusvara. We do not think that this has any bearing on the length of *mā* especially in view of the occurrence of *māga* in a Reṅgula inscription in the Undakal cave in the Madurai District (*Proc. Trans. 3rd Or. Conf.*, Madras, 1924, p. 290).

<sup>5</sup> Cf., however, *māgaṇa* used in the sense of 'son' in Telugu inscriptions (*SIU*, Vol. X, Nos. 602, 632, etc.). As regards *arahaṇ*, A. N. Narasimha (*A Grammar of the Old Kannada Inscriptions*, p. 277) gives *arasa* as a Telugu word without quoting any reference.



under study. It is further clear, as already known, that Tamil has retained some of the characteristics of the original Dravidian language till the present time while greater impact of Sanskrit has caused their disappearance from Telugu.

The **palaeography** of the reverse legend exhibits close resemblance of the characters with those of the reverse legend on the similar coins of Vajña-Sātakarpi. The letters that are written in forms different from those of normal Brāhmi are *m*, *śh* and *k*. The letter *m* as reproduced by Rapson from Vajña-Sātakarpi's coins has a shorter and more angular form than the same letter on the present coin; but this lingual form with the roundish lower limb is remarkably similar to the form of *m* as found in the Arittapatti and Arkamedu inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say whether the modified forms of the letters, at least of *k* and *śh* which did not exist in the Dravidian language, were used to indicate a modification in the sounds. We have seen that *s* in Prakrit *sira* has been represented by *k* and *t* while, in Prakrit *Sābhagana*, the first *s* is represented by *k* and the second by *śh* although the sound of neither existed in Dravidian. It is not impossible that the letter *k* represented a half aspirate and *śh* the Dravidian *ch*-*ś* (a sound like *ts*).

But the more important **palaeographical feature** of the legend under study is the dot placed to the right of *t* in *Takṣi* to indicate final *t*. This sign, called *puffi* in Tamil and now universally used only in Tamil amongst the alphabets of the Dravidian group of languages, is indicated by a dot above the consonant. It is found in Tamil inscriptions only rarely from about the 7th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> That the fashion of indicating the final consonant by a *puffi* was known in Tamil writing in still earlier times is indicated by the *Takkapayam* which does not appear to belong to a date later than the 5th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> But the present coin not only shows that the fashion was known in the second century A.D. but also that it was originally used in writing other languages of the Dravidian group such as early Telugu. Although the *puffi* is now put above a letter in Tamil writing, the dot is placed to the right of the consonant in the legend of our coin probably to distinguish this sign of a final consonant from the usual *śaśvāra* mark. Thus the *puffi* may have been put to the right of the consonant in the early centuries of the Christian era.

King **Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Sātakarpi** who issued the coin under study is known from the Kanheri inscription<sup>4</sup> of his queen who was a daughter of the Śaka *Mahāśakabhoja* Rudradāman I (c. 150-50 A.D.). As we have suggested elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> he was apparently a co-uterine brother of Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Puṣumāvi, son of Gaṇapati-putra Sātakarpi (c. 106-30 A.D.), and was not identical with Puṣumāvi as supposed by Rapson. Because his mention in the Purāṇas is not quite clear, we formerly supposed that he may have been a viceroy of his father-in-law Rudradāman I in Aparānta (Northern Konkan) or, if he ruled as a king, the said tract may have been conquered by him after Rudradāman's death.<sup>6</sup> But the issue of the coin would suggest that he ruled as a king for some time. Since he appears to have succeeded in conquering the Aparānta area of the Śaka kingdom after the middle of the second century A.D., he must have been a successor of Puṣumāvi.<sup>7</sup> Before the discovery of Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Sātakarpi's silver coins, the Śātavāhana conquest

<sup>1</sup> See *Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 119; cf. the shorter form of the letter with roundish bottom in the inscriptions from Madhavā, Sittambaram and various places in the Tiruchchali District other than Arittapatti.

<sup>2</sup> See T. N. Subramaniam, *STI*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 1340-41.

<sup>3</sup> See *Sāras* 16 stating that 'a pure consonant will have a dot added to it'; cf. T. N. Subramaniam, *op. cit.*, p. 1508.

<sup>4</sup> See Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 4, No. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 208.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> If the name of Puṣumāvi has been correctly read on a silver coin of this same type as ours published in *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1-2, Plate I, Nos. 1-2, it is possible to ascribe the reconquest of Aparānta to Puṣumāvi (c. 120-30 A.D.) himself about the end of his career. Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Sātakarpi may be identical with Puṣumāvi's successor Śivast Sātakarpi of the Purāṇas and Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śivast Sātakarpi of coins. Cf. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. ixvii (No. 25), 29.



SILVER COIN OF VASISHTHI-PUTRA SATAKARNI

Enlarged



(from Photograph)







of Aparānta from the successors of Rudradāman I was ascribed to Yajña-Sātakarṇi<sup>1</sup> who ruled about the close of the second century A.D. It should also be remembered that the Śaka-type silver coins of the successors of Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi may have been meant for circulation primarily in the Nasik-Poona region, which had been conquered by that king from the Kahakarāta-Sakas but was not reconquered by the Kādamaka-Śakas, though Aparānta also very soon passed once again to the Later Śātavāhanas.

The use of the Dravidian script and the Dravidian Prakrit (resembling Tamil more than Telugu) in the legend of this and a few other Śātavāhana silver issues belonging to Yajña-Sātakarṇi is very interesting. As we have seen, the Śātavāhana kings were Andhras while wide areas of the present-day Telugu-speaking tract inhabited by the people called Andhras formed parts of their dominions. They may or may not have ruled over any part of the land where the Tamil language is now spoken. Apparently Telugu, which was in older times closer to Tamil than it is now, was the mother tongue of the Śātavāhanas and they wanted to exhibit their Dravidian character by using an admixture of that language and Sanskritic Prakrit in the reverse legend on their coins meant for circulation in the northernmost provinces conquered from the Śakas. The real reason for their eagerness to exhibit their Dravidianism in the said area, where the coins of the Śakas were in popular use, cannot be determined.

On the inadequate evidence of Yajña-Sātakarṇi's silver coins, Rapson suggested that the occurrence of the 'local Prakrit, perhaps containing Dravidian elements, peculiar to the Kistna District', 'like that of the alphabet associated with it, on the coins of Śrī-Yajña struck in Western India must, no doubt, be regarded as a reminiscence of the old home of the race in the Telugu country and may be compared to the use of Kharoṣṭhī on the coins of Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Caṣṭana'.<sup>2</sup> There are, however, some difficulties in accepting this view. Firstly, it does not explain why this dialect and alphabet are found only in a few issues of the Later Śātavāhanas, which were specially meant for circulation in a limited area in the northern part of their dominions. Secondly, there is little evidence that the original home of the Śātavāhana dynasty was in the Krishna District while there is some evidence to show that the Andhra people moved southwards to the present-day Telugu-speaking area from the Vindhyan region.<sup>3</sup> The use of the Dravidian Prakrit and alphabet may have been more widely spread in the age in question. The show of Dravidianism only on the Śaka-type coinage of the Śātavāhanas is, however, difficult to explain without further light on the subject.

#### Description

( Silver ; round—0.8" diameter ; 25 grains )

*Obverse* : Bust of the king to right ; his frizzled hair tied with a ribbon ; crest-jewel, offering a side view and looking like a flower to front, above the forehead ;<sup>4</sup> legend in two parts above the back of the head and to the front of the bust ; the right part beginning from XII reads : *vañṣo Vāsi(hiṣa)ṭasa*, and the left part beginning at VIII and ending at XII reads : *siri-Sātakarṇiṣo*.

<sup>1</sup> *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 203. For his inscriptions at Kauheri in Aparānta, cf. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. III.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> Rao thinks that the king's frizzled curly hair is 'tied in a knot by a decorative ribbon at the centre of his forehead in a peculiar style, so as to form a round ball resembling a flower bouquet'. But Altekar points out that the said object can also be a crest jewel. He also doubts whether 'frizzled hair can be tied in a knot', though Rao probably means a knot of the ribbon and not the hair. The object is, however, clearly a flower design and the flat position in which it is depicted shows that it offers only the side view of the decorative jewel above the king's forehead. The same object is also found above the forehead of the king on the similar coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi.



*Reverse* : Ujjayini symbol surmounted by a crescent to the left and six-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent to the right ; wavy line below and rayed sun between the two crescents above ; continuous circular legend around starting from and ending at XII : *maḥarajaśaśa* *Vah[ī]ṣi-māḥarajaśaśa* *śiṣi-Hātakarajaśaśa*.

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# No. 35—MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA, SAKA 973

( 1 Plate )

G. S. Gai, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.3.1961)

The inscription edited below was copied by me in December 1960 at **Mallēsvaram** in the Kollapur Taluk of Mahabubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. The epigraph is engraved on three sides of a **pillar** set up in the compound of the Agastēsvaram temple, situated about a mile from the village on the banks of the Krishnā river. The temple is built in what is known as the Chālukyan style of architecture. Besides the present record, there are other inscriptions in the temple belonging to the time of Chālukya Jagadēkamalla (Jayasinha II, 1016-1044 A.D.) and Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI, 1076-1126 A.D.) and the Kakatiya king Pratāparudra II (1200-1326 A.D.).

The first side of the pillar containing the inscription under study bears at the top the figure of a **liṅga** below which is a bull (*Nandi*) sitting and facing proper left. The record commences immediately below this figure of the bull. The first side contains 22 lines, the second 26 lines and the third 15 lines. Thus there are altogether 63 lines. The left end of the first side of the pillar has suffered some damage resulting in the loss of one letter at the beginning of each line in lines 1-13. Similarly, the right-hand edge of the second side has been damaged affecting one or two letters in each line. These letters can, however, be restored from the context without any difficulty.

The **characters** of the record belong to the Telugu-Kannada alphabet and are quite regular for the period to which the epigraph purports to belong, viz., the **middle of the eleventh century A.D.** The language is Kannada prose except the three benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. The **orthography** does not call for any special remarks, except that Sanskrit *l* is spelt as *ḷ* in words like *ḷuḷa-tṭakam* (line 5), *Trailṭakya*\* (line 7), *mahāmāḷḷatēvaram* (lines 14, 31), *Chāḷukya* (line 19), *kāḷē kāḷē pāḷaniyē* (lines 54-55) which feature is quite common in Kannada inscriptions.

The inscription is dated **Saka 973, Khara, Kārttika** ba. 7, **Sunday**. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the week-day, i.e. Sunday, coincided with the *tithi* ba. 6 instead of ba. 7 and corresponded to **27th October 1051 A.D.** The record belongs to the reign of **Trailōkyamalladēva** (Sāmāvara I, 1044-68 A.D.) of the Western Chālukya family of Kalyāṇa.

The **object** of the inscription is to register the gift, made on the date discussed above, by prince (*kumāra*) **Vijayāditya** and **Mailaladēvi** to the temple of god Agastēsvara. The temple is known by the same name even today. The gift was entrusted to **Vidhāvara-pandita** and consisted of two villages the names of which appear to read **Pinnanadh** or **Bannanadh** and **Pittugadh** or **Battugadh**.<sup>1</sup> These villages are stated to have been situated in **Ettapi-90** which was a *kampana* or division of **Vaddavani-500** in the **Kamūr māḷa** or province. The gift is stated to have been made on the occasion of the bath (*mūḷa*) at **Āṇāra-tīrtha**.

\* The difference in the reading of the first letter is due to the fact that *P* and *B* look alike. It is possible to take these two donated villages as representing a single place-name. But since the donors are two, it is better to take them as two names, one donated by Vijayāditya and the other by Mailaladēvi.



Mallaladēvi was one of the queens of Sōmēśvara I and some records style her as the chief queen (*priyavarā*).<sup>1</sup> Prince (*kumāra*) Vijayāditya, who is mentioned as a donor in association with Mallaladēvi, is introduced in lines II-33 with a string of feudatory and other titles. Among the feudatory titles may be noted *ras-pāda-pada-ōpajīvē*, *samādhiyata-paṇchamahāśabde*, *Mahā-maṇḍalēvara* and *Traṣṭēyanamalladēva-pāda-panḍita-śramana*. It is a matter of common knowledge that the princes and other blood-relatives of the ruling sovereign, appointed as governors of some territory, were endowed with such feudatory titles.<sup>2</sup> We are, however, not told in the present record as to which territory prince Vijayāditya was governing as *Mahāmaṇḍalēvara*. The other epithets associated with this prince in the record are: *Vira-Mahāśvara*, *ayyana-viṅga*, *vīrāṇa-tiṅga*, *vīri-maḍa-mardana*, *pratāpa-Janārdana*, *achūṭa-vākyam*, *Chāpukya-māṇḍalyam*, *vijayāśī-kīṭi-māṇam*, *abhāva-Madoma*, *vīraśu-kula-Jāla-dapāda*, *vīra-mārtta-dā*, *śiṅ-śūṭha-chidāmat*, *maṇḍalika-chūḍamani*, *ari-rāya-kumāra-kridaya-sellam* and *sāha-mullam*.

The importance of the epigraph under study lies in the fact that it helps us in establishing the identity of Vijayāditya. The expressions *kumāra*, *Chāpukya-māṇḍalya*, 'a ruby of the Chālukya', and *ayyana-viṅga*, 'a lion or champion of his father', coupled with the fact that he made the grant in association with Mallaladēvi, a queen of Sōmēśvara I, indicate that he was a son of Sōmēśvara I, probably born of that queen. We know that Sōmēśvara I had at least three sons, viz. Sōmēśvara II (1068-76 A.D.), Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) and Jayasimha IV<sup>3</sup> (did not ascend the throne). But there is some controversy on the question whether Sōmēśvara I had a fourth son called Vijayāditya or Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya.

There are a number of inscriptions<sup>4</sup> belonging to the reign of Sōmēśvara I which refer to a certain Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya-mahārāja as the son and feudatory of the ruling king. The terms used in giving his relationship to Sōmēśvara I are *nandana*, *sāna*, *putra* and *maga*, all meaning 'a son'. This feudatory is endowed with the titles *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Vāḡgimaṇḍalēvara*. In 1891, when Fleet knew of only one such inscription,<sup>5</sup> he was inclined to regard, on account of the titles *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Vāḡgimaṇḍalēvara* associated with the name Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, that the latter must have been of Eastern Chālukya descent and that the term *nandana*, which was used through courtesy, need not be understood literally.<sup>6</sup> He was, however, careful enough, even then, to observe that the fact that, in an inscription dated in 1064-65 A. D., Jayasimha IV is described as 'born in the Pallava lineage' and as having the title of 'lord of Kāñchi, the best of cities', may be used as an argument that Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya was in reality a son of Sōmēśvara I.<sup>7</sup> Later, in 1896-97, while editing the Jaiṅga-Rāmēśvara hill inscription<sup>8</sup> of Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya dated in 1064 A. D., the same scholar observed, 'The terms used to denote the relationship of Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya to Sōmēśvara I, are *maga* here and *nandana* in his Dāvanagere inscription. . . . Elsewhere, and at a time when I know of only the Dāvanagere record, I questioned the literal applications of these in this case (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *SII*, Vol. XI, Part I, Nos. 83 and 103.

<sup>2</sup> Sōmēśvara II, the eldest son of Sōmēśvara I, is introduced with such titles in the early records of the latter (Cf. *SII*, Vol. XI, Part I, Nos. 84 and 102).

<sup>3</sup> In all the works on Karnatak history, this Jayasimha is referred to as Jayasimha III. But since a few records have brought to light an earlier Jayasimha in the person of a brother of Sōmēśvara I (above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 37 ff.), Jayasimha, son of Sōmēśvara I, should now be called Jayasimha IV.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Dāvanagere II and Chitaldarg 47; above Vol. IV, pp. 212 ff.; *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 374-76; Vol. IX, Part I, No. 126.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Dāvanagere II.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 277-78; cf. also *SII*, Vol. III, p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 213 ff.



pp. 277-8). . . . . Facts have come to light, however, which show that certain titles which, one would imagine, would only go by Hue of descent, occasionally accompanied investiture with provincial authority. And, on mature consideration, I think that the terms *maga* and *mandana* should be accepted literally.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, although Fleet himself revised, on mature consideration, his opinion regarding the identity of Vishnupurvardhana-Vijayāditya, some scholars continued to hold the view that he was a member of the Eastern Chālukya house of Vāṅgi. In the *Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1924-25, pp. 75-76, it has been stated that Vishnupurvardhana-Vijayāditya mentioned as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I was an Eastern Chālukya prince who was a viceroy under the Western Chālukya monarch.

N. Venkataramanayya has dealt with this problem at great length in his book, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vāṅgi* (1930), pp. 250 ff.<sup>2</sup> Disagreeing with Fleet, he has arrived at the conclusion that Vishnupurvardhana-Vijayāditya, mentioned as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I, should be identified with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII of Vāṅgi.<sup>3</sup> His arguments may be summed up as follows: (1) The titles such as *Sarvalokāśraya*, *Vāṅginayalādhara*, *Chālukya-māyāṅga*, etc., borne by this prince (mentioned in the records of the time of Sōmēśvara I) distinctly point to his Eastern Chālukya origin. (2) The terms *putra*, *mandana*, *sūna*, *magi*, etc., are very wide in their application and are employed to denote several kinds of relationship besides one's own male issue. Hence the evidence of these terms is not quite conclusive. (3) The contemporary inscriptions, other than those under reference, and Bilhana's *Vikramādhikādeśacharita*, while enumerating the sons of Sōmēśvara I, omit the name of Vijayāditya. (4) Vāṅgi was in the hands of the Western Chālukyas from the beginning of the reign of Rājādhirāja I, i.e. 1014 A.D., down to 1067 A.D. On the death of the Eastern Chālukya prince Rājārāja I in 1061 A.D., Vijayāditya VII seized the Vāṅgi throne with the approval of Sōmēśvara I and remained, like his namesake described as the son of Sōmēśvara I, a vassal of the Western Chālukya monarch. (5) Both of them had the double name Vishnupurvardhana-Vijayāditya. (6) No title indicative of the position of the *sāmanta* is associated with either of their names. While the *sāmantas*, the princes of the blood and even the heirs-presumptive are invariably styled *samudhigata-pādcha-mahāśabda*, this title is conspicuous by its absence in the *prafasita* of both the Vishnupurvardhana-Vijayādityas. Both of them are called *Mahārāja*. Therefore the so-called son of Sōmēśvara was not a mere *sāmanta* but a subordinate ally, superior in status even to the princes of the blood.

It is not possible to agree either with the arguments or with the conclusion of Venkataramanayya. Let us consider the value of his arguments. But before doing so, we may point out that prince Vijayāditya of the epigraph under study is the same as Vishnupurvardhana-Vijayāditya, described specifically as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I in some records referred to above and only as a feudatory in others and as ruling over Nalambavāṇi or the adjoining territory.<sup>4</sup> For almost all the fifteen epithets, associated with the prince in our record and listed above, are also found attributed to Vishnupurvardhana-Vijayāditya, son of Sōmēśvara I.<sup>5</sup> (1) Venkataramanayya

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 212, note 3; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 454, note 5; also cf. *SIU*, Vol. III, p. 138, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> D. C. Ganguly does not discuss this question in his book, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, nor is there any reference to it in the chapter on Eastern Chālukyas in *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri did not accept the identification of the two Vijayādityas in the first edition of his book, *The Cholas*, Vol. I, pp. 341-43. But in the revised edition (1933, p. 287), he seems to have changed his opinion apparently under the influence of N. Venkataramanayya's arguments and appears to uphold the identification.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *SIU*, Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 127-29; *Ep. Caran.*, Vol. XI, Dāvanagere 141.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *SIU*, Vol. VI, Nos. 574-75; Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 126-28.



attaches too much importance to the titles *Saṃśāhārāya* and *Vāṅgimandaleśvara*. Both these titles are absent in our record. The former is only a general title like *Saṃstābhucandārāya* while the title *Vāṅgimandaleśvara* appears to indicate only a formal investiture of provincial authority on the royal prince by *Sōmēśvara* I. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that *Sōmēśvara* II, the eldest son of *Sōmēśvara* I, was also endowed with the title *Vāṅgipuravarṣeśvara* in the records<sup>1</sup> of the time of his father while his brother *Jayasinhha* IV was called *Kāñchīpuravarṣeśvara*.<sup>2</sup> And what is more important is the fact that *Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya* himself bears the title *Kāñchīpuravarṣeśvara* in one record, as will be shown below. Moreover, neither the title *Vāṅgimandaleśvara* or *Vāṅgipuravarṣeśvara* nor any of the epithets enumerated in the list given above is associated with the name of the Eastern Chālukya king *Vijayāditya* VII either in his own records or in any other inscriptions of his family. (2) The terms *mandana*, *soma*, *putra* and *maga* used to indicate the relationship of *Vijayāditya* to *Sōmēśvara* I should *prima facie* be understood, as has been done by Fleet, in their real sense unless there is enough evidence to prove the contrary. (3) The omission of *Vijayāditya*'s name in *Bīlhana*'s *Vikramāditya-Charita* and in some epigraphical records is only an *argumentum ex silentio* and cannot exclude the possibility of *Sōmēśvara* I having a fourth son in the person of *Vijayāditya*. It may be observed in this connection that only a few records reveal the existence of a brother of *Sōmēśvara* I in the person of *Jayasinhha* while the rest of them omit his name.<sup>3</sup> The omission of *Vijayāditya*'s name in some records may be due to the fact that he was born of queen *Māṇalādēvi* while the remaining three brothers were born to another queen named *Bāhulādēvi*. (4-5) That the Eastern Chālukya ruler *Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya* secured the *Vāṅgi* throne in 1060-61 with the help of *Sōmēśvara* I and that he had the double name are no grounds for excluding the possibility of *Sōmēśvara* I having a son called *Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya*. (6) Some of the records<sup>4</sup> consulted by *Venkataramanayya* himself use the expression *tat-pāda-padm-ōpajit* and *tat-pāda-padm-ārūḥkata* and *manḍalika-chūḍāmaṇi* which clearly indicate as much a fondatory status as the expression *samadhigata-pāṭha-mahāśabda*. Further, our inscription introduces *Vijayāditya* with both the titles *tat-pāda-padm-ōpajit* and *samadhigata-pāṭha-mahāśabda*. And the title *Mahārāja* associated with this *Vijayāditya* indicates nothing. Some members of the Telugu Chōḷa family, who were governing the Karnool and Anantapur area as local chiefs under the Western Chālukya kings, also bore this epithet, e.g. *Chōḷa-Chōḷa-mahārāja* and *Bijjala-Chōḷa-mahārāja*.<sup>5</sup>

A damaged inscription<sup>6</sup> from *Nirālgi* in the *Dharwar District* belonging to the reign of *Sōmēśvara* II and dated in 1074 A.D. seems to refer to his brothers *Vikramāditya* VI and *Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya*, the latter with the titles *Kāñchīpuravarṣeśvara* and *Bhuvanāśvamaḥalla-Pallana-Perumāṇi* which are usually found associated with *Jayasinhha* IV. The preserved portion of the name reads as *Vi... [pā]ditya* and the damaged portion has just enough space for the letters *viṣṇuvardhana-Vi*. Although Fleet has drawn attention to the existence of this record,<sup>7</sup> *Venkataramanayya* has ignored it probably because the date 1074 A.D. for *Vijayāditya* goes against the theory of his identification with the Eastern Chālukya king of the same name.

<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. XI, Part I, Nos. 84 and 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 110.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXXV, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 573; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 123; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, *Davanagere* 141.

<sup>5</sup> See *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 123 and *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1946-47, No. B-237.

<sup>7</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 444, note I and p. 454.



Thus the above discussion would make it clear that prince Vijayāditya of the inscription under study as well as Vishnunarāyaṇa-Vijayāditya mentioned in other Western Chālukya records is none else than a fourth son of Sōmēśvara I and that he cannot be identified with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally our epigraph supplies the earliest known date for Vijayāditya, viz. 1031 A.D.

There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the identity of poet Kirtivarman, the author of the Kannada work *Gōvaidya*. In this work as well as in another work called *Samga-parīkṣa* by Brahmasīva, Kirtivarman is called *varānda*, *jagadīdāta* and *dharaṇīpati* while his father is stated to have been king Trailōkyamalla and elder brother Vikramāditya. From this description R. Narasimhaiah suggested<sup>2</sup> that Kirtivarman must be identified either with Jayasinha IV or Vishnunarāyaṇa-Vijayāditya who were the sons of Sōmēśvara I. He also thought that the poet lived about 1100 A.D. On the ground that no son of Sōmēśvara I named Kirtivarman is known from any other source, A. Venkatasubbiah disagreed with the above view and suggested that Kirtivarman might have been only a feudatory of Sōmēśvara I and that the terms indicating his relationship to this Chālukya monarch as well as to Vikramāditya VI should not be understood in their literal sense.<sup>3</sup> In this connection, N. L. Rao<sup>4</sup> has drawn the attention of scholars to a verse occurring in an undated inscription<sup>5</sup> of the time of Trihuvanamalladeva or Vikramāditya VI. The verse reads as follows:

*Manam-ah=Ahavamalladevaṁ dhāritrīvallabhaṁ Sūmidēvaṁ Permmāṇḍi-Vikramādityaṁ  
Nolambādihivara-Singidē |*

*raṁ Bēṅgīpati-Vishnunarāyaṇa-dhārādīdāta-vaṁ Kirtivarmanā rājyakh-ābhivṛddhiy-akke  
śubhaṁ-aḷḷ=Ś-śāndra-tīraṁbaram ||*

<sup>1</sup> The career of this Vijayāditya VII as chalked out by Venkataramanayya is something as follows: On the death of his father Vimalāditya in 1010 A.D., he tried to seize the Vēṅgī throne from his half-brother Rājārāja I, but, failing in his attempt, went into exile in the Kalinga kingdom; later he took refuge in the Western Chālukya territory and seized the Vēṅgī throne in 1031 A.D. and was again dislodged within a short period. He then returned to the Western Chālukya kingdom where he was appointed, during the reign of Sōmēśvara I, as the governor of the Nolambavāḍī province and assumed many titles like *Chālukya-mahīya*, *Ayyana-naga*, etc., and described himself as the son of Sōmēśvara I. On the death of Rājārāja I in 1061 A.D., he once again seized the Vēṅgī throne but appointed his son Sakṭivarman II as the ruler of Vēṅgī, himself preferring to remain in the Western Chālukya kingdom. Though his son died after a rule of one year, he appointed his ministers to carry on the administration of the Vēṅgī kingdom and himself continued to be the governor of Nolambavāḍī under Sōmēśvara I. He was finally permitted by Sōmēśvara I to leave Nolambavāḍī and return to his country shortly after 1066 A.D. when the Chōla monarch Virarājendra invaded Vēṅgī. He submitted to the Chōla king who bestowed on him the Vēṅgī kingdom in preference to his own nephew and heir-apparent Rājendra, son of Rājārāja I. Soon after this, Vikramāditya VI, son of Sōmēśvara I, marched through Vēṅgī and Vijayāditya VII repudiated his agreement with the Chōla king and joined the Western Chālukyas. The Chōla king re-conquered Vēṅgī in 1067 A.D. and expelled Vijayāditya VII from the Vēṅgī kingdom for his act of treachery. This time Vijayāditya VII sought refuge at the court of the Kalinga king Rājārāja I Dharmavarmān. He was, however, restored to the Vēṅgī throne sometime before 1072 A.D., when the then ruling king Rājendra left Vēṅgī to become the Chōla monarch under the name of Kulōttunga-Chōla. Shortly afterwards the Vēṅgī country was invaded by the Chōla and Eastern Ganga kings and Vijayāditya VII, as last, died in 1076 A.D.

Apart from the fact that the suggested identification of Vijayāditya VII with the homonymous son of Sōmēśvara I has been shown to be wrong, such an unheard of career for a king can hardly convince any serious student of history. Besides, there are many discrepancies in the dates in the above account.

<sup>1</sup> *Karavāḷa Kavi Charita* (Kannada). Vol. I (revised edition), pp. 129 ff. and correction to first Volume, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Kelava-Kannada Kavigala Jeyanāḷavarichāra*, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> *Kannada Śāhitya Parīkṣat Patrike*, Vol. 29, Part 1, pp. 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> *SHI*, Vol. IX, Part 1, No. 220.



As pointed out by Rao, the verse refers to the four sons of Sōmēśvara I and shows clearly that not only *Bhāgipati* Viṣṇuvardhana, elsewhere called Vijayāditya or Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, was a fourth son of Sōmēśvara I but also that he was the same as the poet Kirtivarman who, as pointed out above, was endowed with royal epithets like *varāṇḍa* and *dharaṇipati*.<sup>1</sup>

As already stated, the epigraph containing the verse discussed above belongs to the reign of Vikramāditya VI but is not dated. It is not possible to say whether Vijayāditya was alive at the time of this record. Assuming that the record belongs to the early part of Vikramāditya's reign and that Vijayāditya was then alive, Rao has roughly assigned the latter to the period 1060-80 A.D.<sup>2</sup> But we now know from the present inscription that Vijayāditya lived as early as 1051 A.D. Therefore we may assign him approximately to the period 1050 A.D. to 1080 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are the villages of Pinmanah or Banmanah and Pittugamanah or Battugamanah, Ettapi-90 in which the donated villages were located, Vaḍḍavapi-500 of which Ettapi-90 was a *kaṣapa* or division, Kandūr-nāḍu which comprised Vaḍḍavapi-500 division and Āpāra-ūrtha. Kandūr-nāḍu may be identified with the area round about modern Kandur in Wanaparti Taluk of Mahabubnagar District, which is situated at a distance of about 35 miles north-north-east of Mallēsvaram, the find-spot of the record under review. Vaḍḍavapi-500 may be modern Waddemann, about 15 miles east-south-east of Kandur. Ettapi-90 is apparently the same as Yethain, about 15 miles to the north of Mallēsvaram. I am unable to identify the remaining places.<sup>3</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

##### *First side*

- 1 [Śva]sti [!]<sup>5</sup> Samasta-bhuvan-[ā]-
- 2 [ra]ya-śri-prithvī<sup>6</sup>vallaḥha-
- 3 [mahā]rājādhirāja-paramē-
- 4 [śvara]-paramabha[ṣ]āśakaṁ Sa-
- 5 [tyā]śraya-ku[a-ti]śakaṁ Ch[ā]-
- 6 [lu]ky-ābharanah śrīma-
- 7 [r-Trai]śōkyamalladēvara vi-
- 8 [ja]yārājyam=uttar-ōtta-
- 9 [r-ā]bhivridhdhī<sup>7</sup>-pravardhdha<sup>8</sup>mā[na]-

<sup>1</sup> For some unwarranted conjectures about this Kirtivarman, see *Pratidhāna Kāvyaśaṭaḥ*, Vol. 41, Part 3, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Shri G. Ramakrishna Sarma of Alampur for suggesting the identification of some place names.

<sup>4</sup> From inscription.

<sup>5</sup> Read *prithvī*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *pradīhi*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pradīhi*.







# MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA, SAKA 973

Second Side

First Side

Third Side



Scale : One-sixth



- 10 m=4-charṇdr-ārkka-tāraṇha-  
 11 [raṇ] saluttam-ire [i] tai-pā-  
 12 [dā]-padm-ōpa[ṭvi] samadhi-  
 13 [gata]-paścāta-mā(ma)hāsabda  
 14 [mā(ma)]bhūmapā[ś]śvara[m] [śrī(āśrī)]-  
 15 [Vi]raṇabhōvaran-ay[y]a-  
 16 [na]-śiṅga[m] vikrānta-tuṅga[m] vai]-  
 17 [ri]-māda-marddanam pratā-  
 18 [pa]-janārdananāma-chalita-  
 19 vākyaś Chālukya-mā-  
 20 pīkyam vijaya-śrī-  
 21 k[ṣi]-sadanam-abhinava-  
 22 Madanam vipaksha-kuṣa-ka(kā)-

## Second Side

- 23 [uṭi(da)]pāṣaṇ vi(vi)ra-mārtta[pāṣaṇ]  
 24 [d]n-ānātha-chintāma-  
 25 [ni] mapā[ś]ika-ohūḍā[m]-  
 26 [ui] ari-rāya-kumā[ra]-  
 27 [hri]daya-solla[m] sāha[sa]-  
 28 [ma]llā[m] śrīma[ṭ]-Trailō-  
 29 [kya]malladēva-pāda-[paṇ]-  
 30 kaṣa-pra(bhṛa)maruṇ śrī-  
 31 mau-mahāmapā[ś]śeva[raṇ]  
 32 kumāra-Vijayā[di]-  
 33 tyadēvaruṇ śrīma[n-Mai]-  
 34 jaladēviyaruṇ A[ga]-  
 35 atēvarada cha(chha)trakke [Vi]-  
 36 dhīvara-paṇḍitaragga Sa(Śa)[ka]  
 37 varsha 973 naya Kha[ra]-



- 38 saṁvatsarada Kārtti[ka]  
 39 ba 7 Ādityavāra[daṁ]-  
 40 du Āpāra[da] tīrthha-sū[na]-  
 41 nīmīttadiṁ sarvva-na[ma]-  
 42 sya(sya)diṁ kāl-gatchchi dhāra[pā]-  
 43 rrvakadiṁ daye geydu ko[ṭṭa]-  
 44 r-Kīrtidūr-mā[ṭṭ]-olagaya Va[ḍḍa]-  
 45 vapi 500[ra] kappaya  
 46 Ettapi 90ra ha[ṭṭi]ya  
 47 hā[ḍḍa] Pinmanam<sup>1</sup> Pittu[ga]ma[m]  
 48 sarvva-bādhā-parihāsa ka[ṭṭi] [?]

*Third Side*

- 49 Bahubbhī=vaṇḍā(dhā) datt[ā]  
 50 rājahhī Sagar-ādibhī [?]  
 51 yasya yasya yadā bhāmi[h]  
 52 tasya tasya tadā pa[pha]u[ṭṭ] [?]  
 53 Sāmānyō-yadā dharma-sē-  
 54 tur=ṇipāṇā<sup>2</sup> kāṭṭa kālā  
 55 pāṇāyō bhavadbhī [?]  
 56 sarvva=ētān=bhāgīnāḥ pārtthi-  
 57 vēṇḍāṇḍān(dān) [?] bhūyō bhū-  
 58 yō yāchatā Rāmabha-  
 59 dā[ḥ] [?] Sva-dattam(tāṁ) para-dattam(tāṁ) [vā]  
 60 yō harēti(ta) vasu[ḍḍ]dha-  
 61 rā[ḥ] [?] ahaṇṭir=varaha<sup>3</sup>-sahasā-  
 62 pāṇ [?] vialhāyāḥ jāya-  
 63 tā krimī [?]

<sup>1</sup> This name can also be read as *Buṇṇamam*.

<sup>2</sup> This name can also be read as *Paṭṭipamam*.

<sup>3</sup> The *ḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> Read *ahāṇṭir* instead.



# No. 36—NOTE ON MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA

D. C. SIRCAR, DATAGAMUND

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While editing the Mallesvaram inscription above, pp. 253 ff., Dr. G. S. Gai has pointed out the weakness of the grounds on which some scholars have identified a ruling chief named Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya, known from a number of inscriptions found in various parts of the Western Chālukya empire, with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII. Dr. Gai has considered the problem from the view-point of Western Chālukya history and has only in passing referred to the doubtful reconstruction of the career of the said Eastern Chālukya king. Looking at the problem from the stand-point of the history of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, I find that most of what has been so far said about king Vijayāditya VII is based partly on a misunderstanding of the evidence of Eastern Chālukya records and partly on an eagerness to get light on Eastern Chālukya history from the confused story of the struggle between the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas.

Reference has been made to 'the deep-seated antagonism' between Vijayāditya VII and his step-brother Rājārāja I and it has been suggested that Rājārāja I rarely enjoyed peace during his long reign of 41 years due 'mainly to the opposition of his younger brother Vijayāditya' or partly to 'the sinister designs of his half-brother (Vijayāditya VII)' and partly to 'the conflicting ambitions of the rival imperial powers (i.e. the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas)'.<sup>1</sup> But, as will be seen below, the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions prove beyond doubt that Vijayāditya VII ousted his step-brother's authority from the latter's kingdom or a part of it during the first half of the latter's long reign but that he was loyal to Rājārāja I for many years after that short rule as a usurper.

Certain Chōla inscriptions, said to be of the 10th regnal year of Rājendra-chōla I (1012-44 A.D.), state that the Chōla general compelled the king of Vēngi to flee from his country, destroyed the family of Jayasinha and defeated the Kalingas, Teluṅgas and Oḍḍas.<sup>2</sup> On this basis, it has been suggested that Vijayāditya VII succeeded in seizing the Vēngi kingdom after his father's death probably with the help of Western Chālukya Jayasinha II and of the rulers of Kalinga and Orissa, that the Chōla army sent by Rājendra-chōla I to help his nephew Rājārāja I defeated Jayasinha II at Musāgi in 1020-21 A.D. while Vijayāditya VII, disastrously defeated, fled to the court of his ally the king of Kalinga, and that the combined forces of his allies, viz. the Kalingas, Oḍḍas and Teluṅgas, were defeated by the Chōla general in the 10th regnal year of the Chōla monarch counted from 1012 A.D. when he participated in his father's administration as the heir-apparent, i.e., in 1021 A.D.<sup>3</sup> But, whatever may be the ingenuity of this reconstruction which appears to us to be dubious,<sup>4</sup> there is some evidence to show that this could not have been the case.

<sup>1</sup> N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēngi*, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 226 and 239. For similar views, see also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Reference is made in this connection to *J. R. Ep.*, 1917, Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 761, 762.

<sup>4</sup> Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.

<sup>5</sup> It is indeed difficult to prove that the undated Kallidindi grant (above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 67 ff.) of Rājārāja I and the undated Madakamra inscription (*J. R. Ep.*, 1917, No. 8751) mentioning no king but stating that 'the king of Vēngi ran away on hearing that the Chōla [king] had ordered [his general] Sōliyavarāṇa to conquer that country' have any bearing on the period in question.



Some scholars believe that the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya died in 1018 A.D., though the coronation of his son and successor Rājārāja I took place on the 16th August 1022 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> and that 'the hostility of his (i.e. Rājārāja's) step-brother Vijayāditya probably delayed his coronation for four years'.<sup>2</sup> But others put the death of Vimalāditya and the accession of Rājārāja I in 1019 A.D. and speak of a delay of three years in the latter's coronation.<sup>3</sup> The possibility of 'a war of succession' between the two brothers or 'the forcible occupation of the kingdom' by Vijayāditya VII has also been suggested.<sup>4</sup> But there is no support for this in the inscriptions of the family according to which, Rājārāja I succeeded his father and ruled for 41 years. It is expected that the genealogical section of the records of the family, which clearly notices a 27 years' period of anarchy between 973 and 999 A.D., would have given us a hint if the coronation of Rājārāja I was really delayed for three or four years due to anarchy or to the occupation of the throne by Vijayāditya VII. The reason for the delay in Rājārāja's coronation is unknown and various causes can be imagined. But there is hardly any justification for bringing in Vijayāditya's hostility to account for it since the evidence at our disposal seems to tell a different tale.

As will be seen below, the 27th June 1031 A.D. fell after 'twelve years' rule' of Rājārāja I and this would suggest that he ascended the throne sometime before the 26th June 1020 A.D. Since the reference seems to be to the twelfth year of his reign, he probably ascended the throne after the 26th June 1019 A.D. The following dates in both the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era are known for the reign of the king: (1) year 12 = Śaka 952 (1030-31 A.D.); (2) year 37 = Śaka 980 (1058-59 A.D.); and year 41 = Śaka 983 (1061-62 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> These three dates would roughly equate his first regnal year respectively with Śaka 941 (1019-20 A.D.), Śaka 944 (1022-23 A.D.) and Śaka 943 (1021-22 A.D.). It thus appears that the first date counts the reign period from his accession while the second and third calculate it from his coronation. It has, however, to be noticed that the first date counting his reign from about 1019 A.D. is found in a record of Vijayāditya VII. If Vijayāditya would have been responsible for delaying Rājārāja's coronation, not to speak of his forcible occupation of the throne for a few years, it is impossible to believe that Rājārāja's reign would have been counted from c. 1019 A.D. in this record of Vijayāditya himself.

As we shall also see below, Śaktivarman II, son of Vijayāditya VII, succeeded Rājārāja I in Śaka 983, the date of his coronation being given as Thursday, month of Tūlā, endi 2, Anurādhā-nakṣatra and Kumbhā-lagna (18th October 1061 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> Rājārāja I seems to have died during his 41st regnal year sometime before that date.

The Pamukavaka plates issued in the second year of the reign of Vijayāditya VII have the following stanzas after the description of the 7 years' rule of Mummaśībhūta (Vimalāditya):

*Tasya Mummaśībhūtasya sataḥ kṛtā-matir-mahān |*

*Rājārājābhivyaḍ rājā dvādaśābhīdau-dharmān-urpāt ||*

*Tam Rājārāja-vṛpatisā vīrībhūtya bhuvāḥ pravākya Vijayādityaḥ |*

*Vimalāditya-tanujasya dvāvimāśūro-grahid=ya rājyam ||*

<sup>1</sup> The date is quoted in Rājārāja's records as Śaka 944, month of Śaka, endi 2, Thursday, Uttara-Bhādrapada-nakṣatra. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 58, verse 16; *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> D. C. Ganguly, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Venkataramanyya, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 224 and 239.

<sup>5</sup> Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-100.

<sup>6</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. V, pp. 40, 44.



*Śrīmān Śāhī sam-ugrā drig-śhu-nidhi-mā Karkajā karkatūhān*

*buddh-ātma śuddha-paśchamy-Aditivuta-dīnā nūrga-bhā śūrga-śālī |*

*Kanyā-lagna=ādhanā Śādikula-tilakā Rājasmūrti-śūrga-śāsur-*

*Vāgī-sūmārya-paṭṭānā sma vahatī Vijayāditya-bhūpaḥ pradāpī ||<sup>1</sup>*

According to this, Vijayāditya ousted Rājaraṣa I after the latter's rule of 12 years, occupied the kingdom of Vāgī by force, was anointed on Sunday, month of Karkatāka, śadi 5, Śaka 952 (or 903), Kanyā-lagna, Śūrga-nakṣatra and ruled at least up to his second regnal year when the charter was issued. The date of his coronation has been equated by some with the 9th July 1030 A.D.<sup>2</sup> and by others with the 27th June 1031 A.D.<sup>3</sup> The first date is certainly wrong. It has to be pointed out that, although the word *drig* normally means 'two', the date is irregular for Śaka 952. But if *drig* is taken to mean *Ida-drig* or 'three', the date corresponds to the 27th June 1031 A.D.

The language of the stanzas quoted above would of course suggest that Vijayāditya VII became the master of the entire Vāgī kingdom. But often such claims are exaggerated. Thus when the Chōla and Western Chālukya inscriptions speak of the conquest of Vāgī or any other country, not the entire country is meant in many cases. Another point to be noticed in this connection is that the later records of both Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II do not refer to any break in the 41 years' reign period of Rājaraṣa I; that is to say, they do not state that Rājaraṣa I ruled for 12 years, then Vijayāditya VII reigned for so many years and then again Rājaraṣa I ruled for so many years. It is thus not impossible that Vijayāditya succeeded in occupying only a part of his step-brother's kingdom.<sup>4</sup> Another fact that has to be considered is that, about this time, the rulers of Vāgī were subordinate allies of the Chōlas while the Vāgī country was a bone of contention between the Chōlas and Western Chālukyas. It is thus not impossible that Vijayāditya occupied parts of the Vāgī kingdom with the help of the Western Chālukyas who regarded him as a subordinate ally and installed him as a rival king of Vāgī in the areas occupied by them.

As indicated above, the said period of Vijayāditya's rule, ostensibly resulting in a break in Rājaraṣa's reign, is not recognised in any later record of the family, even in those of Vijayāditya VII himself and of his son Śaktivarman II. This is a significant fact which, coupled with other evidences to be discussed below, shows that Vijayāditya soon atoned for his rebellion probably by handing over the territory to Rājaraṣa I, so that this lapse of his youth was later forgiven and totally forgotten. There are well-known cases of this kind, e.g. the rebellion of Stambha against his brother Gōvinda III and of Jayasinha against his brother Vikramāditya VI.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. Vol. II, p. 287 (text lines 90-95); Vol. V, p. 38. In this article, we have quoted the epigraphic texts, which are not always correct in the published transcripts, after removing the scribal errors, etc., of the original. The second foot of the second stanza here is metrically defective.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. V, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Venkataratnamayya, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> It is sometimes supposed that Vijayāditya VII occupied only the Virajaputani District (Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-103).

<sup>5</sup> Altekar, *The Śātyavahans and their Times*, pp. 61-62; *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. Majumdar, p. 171.



The Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II and both the Ryali copper-plate grants of his father and successor Vijayāditya VII have the following stanzas after the description of Vimalāditya and before the introduction of Śaktivarman II:

*Tanva kṛmān-ātmapā Rājārāja rāja-māhā-Chandā-mahā-āgragaggaḥ |*  
*s-aikān chateāramintim rājārājāi bhāgān rākṣā-dakṣiṇā rākṣatī sma ||*  
*Vimalādityāch-Chōd-āntog-anda-lakṣmīnā-cha Meḍara-mahādityāḥ |*  
*ajani jagu-śrī-mityo Vijayāditya narī-dara itaguh ||*  
*Parālakṣi Rājārājaga bhāṣa-damīdāntaga gaḥ |*  
*pratyagrahā-mahī-rājya-bhīma vīra-śrīyā yutuh ||\**

On the basis of the word *parālakṣi* (literally, 'in one's absence') used in the last of these verses, some scholars have said, "In the year A. D. 1000, when Rājārāja was away from his capital, Vijayāditya seized his throne and declared himself king."<sup>1</sup> But this is certainly wrong. In the first place, if such was the case, Rājārāja I would not have been described in the eulogistic terms (*rājatējas*, *Chandā-mahā-āgragagga* or *rāja-mahā-āgragagga* and *rākṣā-dakṣiṇā*) used in the first stanza. Secondly, if there was enmity between the two brothers about 1000 A.D., Vijayāditya's rule over Vengi at least for more than one year from 1031 A.D. would not have been totally omitted from these records. As will be seen below, the respectful mention of Vijayāditya VII in the records of Rājārāja's grandsons also goes clearly against the theory of enmity between the two brothers.

Thirdly, the word *parālakṣi* in the present context certainly means, 'when he was no more in this world'.<sup>2</sup> This is probably indicated by the verb *pratyagrahā* which primarily means 'accepted or received [as a gift]' and suggests that Vijayāditya VII obtained the kingdom in a peaceful way. As we shall see below, the throne of the deceased Rājārāja I passed on to his son Kulōttunga I who was then living at the Chōja court waiting for gaining the Chōja throne and therefore bestowed it on his uncle.

The following three verses, the first quoted from the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II and the second and third from the Ryali copper-plate inscriptions of Vijayāditya VII, show that Vijayāditya was not inclined to rule the kingdom, even though he got it, but that he gave it to his son Śaktivarman II out of paternal affection:

*Arōpya svakam-bhāratā-uttarān-uttarān-mahādantam |*  
*pitrā nirjita-bhāratā Vijayādityam aity-rajānā |*  
*putra-māha-rasa-prajayā-mamaś cātadāya-paṭam bhavā*  
*gama-magatān-idaṁ gaganā-mamāntam nṛpānā saroṣṭh prajāḥ ||\**  
*Opāntān sva-antā mahādāntāgam śrī-Śaktivarmanā |*  
*nṛpatān tasmān-bhāratā-ikam suncatāhy-ābhān dīnān gāt ||*  
*Aprāya-ānubhāntā sūtā mādāntā-prāptā-bhīmānān-ān*  
*svargam iyukta-ruchā-rākṣiṇā Vijayādityānta-paḥ Pārthana |*  
*āntān vīradhānā lala-kāma-gatān-āpāntānānā bhāṣā*  
*dharmānā bhāṣāntānā bhāṣāntānā alarān-bhāṣānā dharmā-rākṣānā ||\**

\* The first syllable of the name should be short according to metrical requirements.

<sup>1</sup> JAHES, Vol. V, p. 44, verses 14-16; Vol. IX, Part I, p. 31. The Ryali copper-plate grants have *rāja-mahā-āgragaggaḥ* for *Chandā-mahā-āgragaggaḥ* in the first stanza.

<sup>2</sup> Ganguly, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Vedataramanayya (op. cit., pp. 30 and 223) accepts this interpretation; but, even then, he says, "The language of the inscriptions (i.e. *Parālakṣi*, etc.) clearly indicates that it (i.e. Rājārāja's death) was followed by a war" (op. cit., p. 223). This is due to misunderstanding.

<sup>4</sup> JAHES, Vol. V, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. IX, Part I, p. 31.



If Vijayāditya was eager to obtain the throne of Vēṅgi and was zealously fighting for it, we do not understand why he should have given the coveted object to his son when he actually got it after a bitter struggle. Of course, if he was to rule the kingdom on behalf of Kulōttuṅga I, one understands why he entrusted the burden to his son. The graphic description of his dejection at his son's death when he was prevailed upon by the officers to have reluctantly agreed to govern the kingdom for the establishment of law and order (*dharma*) scarcely suits one who was vigorously striving for the throne. Śaktivarman's comparison with Abhimanyu may be merely to indicate that he prematurely died as a young man before the death of his father. But, even if it is taken to indicate that he died like Abhimanyu in a fight with his relatives, these latter need not be necessarily identified with the partisans of Kulōttuṅga I or the Chōlas. The enemies may have as well been the Western Chālukyas or the Eastern Gaṅgas or somebody else. The Eastern Chālukyas were an offshoot of the Early Western Chālukya dynasty while the Imperial Eastern Gaṅgas and the Eastern Chālukyas were both matrimonially related to the Chōlas.

The copper-plate grants of the sons of Kulōttuṅga I, issued during Kulōttuṅga's reign, state that their brother Rājārāja-Mummaḍichōḷa took up the burden of the kingdom of Vēṅgi when their father addressed him in the following words after appointing the other brothers as rulers of different districts (*vishayas*):

*Mayā Vēṅgi-mahī-rājagadā Chōḷa-rājya-ābhilāṣikā |*  
*mat-pitrasyā purā nyastam Vijayāditya-śhūlhaḥ |*  
*Sa cha pañchakulā=ar-śhūlā pañchānana-parākramaḥ |*  
*mukhā cakṣan-mukhāntā dīvanī dīv-ōpanāḥ gataḥ ||*<sup>1</sup>

The reason why Kulōttuṅga I did not like to be the ruler of Vēṅgi and bestowed the Vēṅgi kingdom on his uncle is given here clearly as his ambition to get the Chōḷa throne. Apparently he was afraid of losing the Chōḷa crown, a much more coveted prize than the Vēṅgi throne, in case he would be away from his supporters at the Chōḷa court, ruling over his paternal kingdom.<sup>2</sup> If the relations between Rājārāja I and Vijayāditya VII were bitter, such respectful reference to the latter would not have been put here in the mouth of the former's son. Vijayāditya VII is not only called *pañchānana-parākrama*, 'a very lion (or Śiva) in valour' but also *dīv-ōpanāḥ*, 'like a god'.

An inscription assigned to Rājārāja Mummaḍichōḷa, who was a son of Kulōttuṅga I and is supposed to have been anointed on the Vēṅgi throne on the 27th July 1076 A.D., i.e. shortly after the death of Vijayāditya VII, records that a son of the family of Kannarakūṭva who was the lord of the earth from the Himāchala to the Seta (probably Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III), by name Mummaḍi Bhīma, was made the chief of one thousand villages in Vēṅgipura-vishaya by the said ruler of Vēṅgi.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that this Bhīma is described in the inscription as brought up by king Vijayāditya VII. If Vijayāditya was regarded as an enemy of Kulōttuṅga I, it is doubtful if the former's protégé would have received, so soon after the former's death, favours from the latter's son. Even if there was good reason for favouring the person, there was certainly no necessity for mentioning his relation with Vijayāditya VII in the record. This fact therefore suggests that Vijayāditya's relations with Kulōttuṅga I and the latter's sons were not bitter.

<sup>1</sup> *BII*, Vol. I, p. 55, verses 14-15; *I. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 430-31, text lines 65-67. Sometimes we have *Kata* for *Mayā* and *mayā dīv-ōpanāḥ* in place of *Chōḷa-rājya-ābhilāṣikā* (see above, Vol. V, p. 78, verses 12-14; Vol. VI, p. 329, verses 14-15; see also p. 344).

<sup>2</sup> It has been supposed by some that Kulōttuṅga I was in his teens at the time of his father's death and that this necessitated the installation of Vijayāditya as the successor of Rājārāja I (above, Vol. XXII, p. 271). But the fact that Kulōttuṅga I had a number of grown up sons capable of assuming viceregal responsibilities in territories including Vēṅgi in the year 1076 A.D. seems to show that he was not quite in his teens in 1061 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23; *A. I. Ep.*, 1922, p. 97.



It may be pointed out that Kulōttuṅga I claims to have got the kingship of Vēṅḡl on his father's death about 1060-61 A.D. though he gave (*cf. agasta*) that to his uncle Vijayāditya VII who also acknowledges its receipt (*cf. pratyagubhī*) even though it was at first given (*agasta*) by him, in his turn, to his son Śaktivarmān II. It thus appears that the reigns of both Śaktivarmān II and Vijayāditya VII in Vēṅḡl were calculated to commence in 1060-61 A.D.

There are two *stanas* in the above inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga's sons, in the description of Kulōttuṅga I, which clearly state that the said king became at first the ruler of Vēṅḡl (*prathamam Vēṅḡl-īśvaratvam-anbhyaṅga*) and was later mounted to the Chōḷa kingdom (*Chōḷa-vijyā-mahābhāṣa*).<sup>1</sup> Later records of the family represent Kulōttuṅga I as the successor of his father Rājarāja I, but assign to him a reign of 49 years (rarely 50 years)<sup>2</sup> as the lord of the Chōḷa empire (*śrī-paṇḍita-Draviḍa-mah-Āndhra-mahāyam*)<sup>3</sup> apparently referring to the period 1070-1120 A.D.<sup>4</sup> It is not stated here that he was the king of Vēṅḡl after the death of his father Rājarāja I and before his own accession to the Chōḷa throne. This has therefore to be understood as the recognition of the fact, on the part of his successors, that Kulōttuṅga I was not the *de facto* king of Vēṅḡl between 1061-70 A.D. even though he claimed to have been the *de jure* lord of that country then under the rule of his proxy, his uncle Vijayāditya VII. That, however, the reign of Kulōttuṅga I was sometimes counted from 1061 A.D. is known from one of his inscriptions dated Śaka 1017 (1095-96 A.D.) and the 35th year of his reign.<sup>5</sup> The mention of Kulōttuṅga I as 'Rājā, the king of Vēṅḡl', in Billapa's *Vikramāditya-chakravartī*<sup>6</sup> also shows that he was regarded as the king of Vēṅḡl at the Chōḷa court. It may also be noted that, if Vijayāditya VII was a Western Chāḷukya partisan, his rival for the throne of Vēṅḡl would scarcely have been mentioned as the king of that country by the Western Chāḷukya court poet.

The contemporary eulogistic work *Kaliṅgapattapparaṇi*, the hero of which is Kulōttuṅga I, says how the queen of Rājendra-chōḷa I regarded her daughter's son Kulōttuṅga I as 'worthy to be her [adopted] son and to increase the fame of the Solar race (i.e. the Chōḷa family)', how king Vizaraṅdra made him the *Yuvarāja* and how he, when still a *Yuvarāja*, conquered Chakrakōṭṭa (i.e. the present Bastar District) and was a terror to Virutacīja (Chāḷukya Vikramāditya VI).<sup>7</sup> This seems to be quite consistent with what has been said above on the basis of epigraphic evidence misunderstood by scholars. As regards Kulōttuṅga's exploits in the Bastar region apparently against Chāḷukya Vikramāditya VI who was probably aiding the local Chihinda ruler, a subordinate ally of the Western Chāḷukyas,<sup>8</sup> it is supported by an inscription<sup>9</sup> of Kulōttuṅga I, dated in his fifth regnal year, which states that, at the time (when he was still) the heir-apparent (*iṅgaṅ*), he conquered Sakkarakōṭṭam and seized a herd of elephants at Vayirāgarām (in the present Chanda District, Maharashtra). Under the circumstances, Sastri's theory that Kulōttuṅga I 'spent the best part of the period A. D. 1065-70 in the region of the modern Bastar State'<sup>10</sup> seems to be against all available evidence. A person who did not occupy the Vēṅḡl throne for fear of losing the Chōḷa crown would have scarcely liked to have spent such a long period in Bastar to the north of Vēṅḡl, even further away from the Chōḷa capital.

<sup>1</sup> *Nil.*, Vol. I, verses 9 and 11; *I. Ind. As.*, Vol. XIX, p. 430, text lines 54-55 and 57-60; above, Vol. V, p. 77, verses 8 and 10; Vol. VI, p. 335, verse 5, and p. 339, verse 10.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 227-28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 336, verse 21 and note 14.

<sup>4</sup> Kulōttuṅga's accession in 1070-71 A.D. is also supported by his own inscriptions with both regnal and Śaka dates (Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, 2nd ed., p. 290).

<sup>5</sup> *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> VI, 26.

<sup>7</sup> Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

<sup>8</sup> *Cl. The Struggle for Bengal*, ed. Majumdar, p. 215.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. As.*, Vol. XIX, p. 142.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 392.



Another significant fact is that Kulōttuṅga I sent one of his sons as his viceroy in Vēṅgi immediately after the death of his uncle Vijayāditya VII. This shows that the installation of a son of Kulōttuṅga I in Vēṅgi did not involve the conquest of an enemy's territory since, if Vijayāditya VII was hostile to Kulōttuṅga I, the installation of Kulōttuṅga's son on the Vēṅgi throne immediately after Vijayāditya's death could not have been possible without any struggle with the partisans of the Eastern Chālukya king. But there is no clear evidence of such a struggle. That Vijayāditya VII was not regarded as an enemy by Kulōttuṅga I seems also to be evident from the fact that no attempt is definitely known to have been made by the former to occupy Vēṅgi during the period after his occupation of the Chōḷa throne and before Vijayāditya's death. It is thus clear that, even if parts of the Vēṅgi country may have been till then under the occupation of Western Chālukya forces, the area under Vijayāditya VII passed smoothly after his death to Kulōttuṅga I.

What has been said above would suggest that there was no struggle between Vijayāditya VII and Kulōttuṅga I for the throne of Vēṅgi.<sup>1</sup> But certain copper-plate grants of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga of Kalinga state that when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left [the country of] Vēṅgi, as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chōḷas, he, Rājārāja (i.e. Chōḍagaṅga's father Rājārāja I Dēvendravarmān, 1070-78 A.D.), the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region (i.e. the region to the west of the Gaṅga kingdom of Kalinga).<sup>2</sup> The Dirghasi inscription of Śaka 997 (1075 A.D.) refers to the victory of Gaṅga Rājārāja's *Mahāpantiḥṣa* Vanapati over the Chōḷa king's army and other enemies including the king of Vēṅgi whom he claims to have often defeated.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of these statements, it has been supposed that, after his accession to the Chōḷa throne, Kulōttuṅga I was bent on conquering Vēṅgi from Vijayāditya VII who is supposed to have become helpless after the death of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra (1063-70 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> It is, however, not impossible that the reference is to a Chōḷa invasion of Vēṅgi about the close of Virarājendra's reign, which drove Vijayāditya from Vēṅgi and compelled him to seek help from the Eastern Gaṅgas about 1070 A.D.,<sup>5</sup> and that he succeeded in returning to Vēṅgi after Virarājendra's death when a struggle for the Chōḷa throne was going on between Kulōttuṅga I and Virarājendra's son Adhirājendra. If Kulōttuṅga was responsible for driving him out of Vēṅgi, it is difficult to understand why this success is not noticed in the records of his family, which assign to Vijayāditya a rule of 10 years between 1061 and 1076 A.D.

During Vijayāditya's reign, a good part of the Vēṅgi country must have once been occupied by the forces of Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was then a general of his father Sōmśvara I.<sup>6</sup> The Kuruvur inscription of the fourth regnal year of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra states that he attacked and destroyed the powerful army that Vikkalan (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) had 'again'

<sup>1</sup> The theory of unity between Kulōttuṅga I and his uncle Vijayāditya VII was at first propounded by Hultzsch on inadequate evidence (*SII*, Vol. III, p. 128) and has since been followed by later writers on the subject. Cf. above, Vol. XXII, pp. 271-72; etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* *loc. cit.* Vol. XVIII, p. 171. It is strange that Venkatarāmanayya (*op. cit.*, pp. 221 and 271, note 1) thinks that Kalinga had no separate existence in the age in question and that it was a dependency of Vēṅgi. This is believed by him to be 'clearly brought out in the Charala plates (*El.* XXV, p. 202)'. He seems to attach undue importance to claims which should be taken with a grain of salt.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 517.

<sup>4</sup> Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> Because he was regarded as a traitor by the Chōḷas, he may have been afraid to surrender to the Chōḷa forces and therefore left the country to seek the help of the Eastern Gaṅga king who was his relative.

<sup>6</sup> Note also the existence of an inscription (1037 A.D.) of the reign of Sōmśvara I in the East Godavari District and the assumption of the title 'lord of Vēṅgi' by the said king's son and viceroy Sōmśvara II (*The Struggle for Supremacy*, ed. Majumdar, p. 170). This title goes against the belief that Vijayāditya was a Western Chālukya partisan.



despatched to Veṅgai-nāḍu.<sup>1</sup> The Minimangalata inscription of Virarājendra's fifth regnal year also states that he 'reconquered the good country of Vēṅgai and bestowed it on Vijayāditya whose broad hand held weapons of war and who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet'.<sup>2</sup> This shows that Vikramāditya VI had occupied parts of the Vēṅgai kingdom and that Virarājendra helped Vijayāditya VII in regaining them. It appears that soon afterwards Vijayāditya VII was again defeated disastrously by the Western Chālukyas and was compelled to become a subordinate ally of the latter. This may have brought in the intervention of the Chōlas who probably defeated Vijayāditya and his allies and, as a consequence, the Eastern Chālukya king fled away and received help from the Gaṅga king of Kālīṅga. Since this possible anti-Chōla activity of Vijayāditya VII was thrust on him by circumstances, it was not difficult for the Chōla king to forgive his subordinate ally. Of course, if it happened during Virarājendra's reign, it was easier for Kulōttuṅga I to be favourably disposed towards his uncle whose help he might have later received in his struggle with the Western Chālukya forces still in occupation of parts of Vēṅgai.

The following dates in the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era belong to the reign of Vijayāditya VII: (1) year 3-Śaka 986 (1064-65 A.D.); (2) year 8-Śaka 990 (1068-69 A.D.); (3) year 12-Śaka 994 (1072-73 A.D.); (4) year 13-Śaka 995 (1073-74 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> They show that Vijayāditya's reign was calculated as beginning from Śaka 983-1001-63 A.D. The Ryali copper-plate grants were issued in his 12th regnal year, i.e. 1072-73 A.D.<sup>4</sup> His 15th regnal year, in which he seems to have died, would correspond to 1075-76 A.D.

Besides the facts discussed above, these dates and a few others of his reign make it impossible to believe that *Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamśivara Paramahattarako*<sup>5</sup> Vijayāditya VII of Vēṅgai is identical with his namesake who was a subordinate chief and is mentioned in the records of the reign of Western Chālukya, Somaśvara I, especially when the said chief is supposed to have been the Western Chālukya governor of the province of Nolambavāḍi (i.e. parts of the Bellary, Anantapur, Kolar and Tumkur Districts) and the adjoining area 'from A.D. 1063 to 1066'.<sup>6</sup> The same person could scarcely have been the king of Vēṅgai and the Western Chālukya viceroy of Nolambavāḍi at the same time.

We have indicated above a few solid facts of the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya kings Rājāsja I and Vijayāditya VII. The claims and counter-claims of the Chōlas and Western Chālukyas in respect of Vēṅgai during the period in question should be viewed against the background of these facts.

<sup>1</sup> *SIU*, Vol. III, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-08.

<sup>4</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> These titles are found in his Ryali copper-plate inscriptions while the Pannalavaka plates, issued after he had been set up as a rival of his brother Rājāsja I, call him *Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*.

<sup>6</sup> Venkateramanayya, *op. cit.*, p. 250. The Western Chālukya viceroy is also known from an inscription of 1074 A.D. (*A.B. Ep.*, 1046-47, No. B 237) and now also from another dated 1051 A.D. (above, pp. 253ff.).



No. 37—DEVALI PLATES OF GOVINDA, VALABHI 500

(3 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, DOTACAMUND

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This set of three copper plates was in the possession of a cultivator of the village of **Dēvali** in the Talaja District of the former Bhavnagar State (now the Bhavnagar District of Gujarat). It was presented to the Mahārāja Sāholi of Bhavnagar in 1944 and was preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhavnagar.<sup>1</sup> A short note on the inscription was read by Dr. P.M. Modi at the Nagpur Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1944, while an unsatisfactory transcript of it was later published with a sketchy introductory note and plates by Dr. S. C. Upadhyay in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vols. XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, pp. 196 ff. The defect of Dr. Upadhyay's transcript is that, besides containing numerous minor inaccuracies, the new stanzas occurring in the inscription have not been fully and correctly read (cf. especially verses 30, 31, 36 and 40) whereas the text of the verses previously known from other inscriptions has not generally been quoted exactly as they are worded in the present record. It should be remembered in this connection that, of the three known charters of the time of the donor of the present grant, viz. *Samudhigatāśāsthamahāśāhda Mahāśāmantādhīpati Prabhūtavaraha Gōvindarāja* of the second feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa family of the Gujarat region, the Torkhade plates (Śaka 735)<sup>2</sup> were actually issued by his feudatory, *Samudhigatāśāsthamahāśāhda Mahāśāmantā*<sup>3</sup> Buddhavaraha, who was the son of Rājāditya and grandson of Mapināga of the Śalukika (Chālukya) family and ruled over the Siharakhī-12 area, and have only a few stanzas in the introductory section. Similar is the case with Gōvinda's Prince of Wales Museum plates (Śaka 733) having only 15 introductory verses.<sup>4</sup> The Kavi plates (Śaka 749)<sup>5</sup> of Gōvinda have of course a large number of verses in common with the present record. The inscription under study has a special importance because it not only offers us some new stanzas but also throws some new light on the history of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty in question and raises certain problems, which Dr. Upadhyay failed to realise.

Of the three plates of the set, the first and third measure each about one foot in length and nine inches in height while the second plate is about 4 inch higher than the other two. The plates have raised rims for the protection of the writing and their corners are rounded off. There are two ring holes (each about half inch in diameter) in the upper margin of the plates, but the rings that must have passed through them to hold the plates together and the seal expected to have been affixed to one of the rings are not available. The second plate has writing on both the sides while the other two plates are engraved only on the inner side. There are altogether 79 lines of writing in the following order: Plate I—20 lines, Plate IIa—23 lines, Plate IIb—22 lines and Plate III—14 lines. The preservation of the writing is not very satisfactory, some letters being rubbed off here and there.

<sup>1</sup> The copper-plate grants of this museum were recently transferred to the local institution called *Gāndhī Smṛiti* which I visited for copying the inscription about the close of January 1960.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Note that he is called a *Mahāśāmantā* whereas his immediate liege-lord Gōvinda enjoyed the higher feudatory title *Mahāśāmantādhīpati*.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 245.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 ff.



The characters of the inscription belong to the West Indian variety of the Telugu-Kannada alphabet while the donor's signature copied in line 78 is in the Siddhamātrikā characters of North India.<sup>1</sup> We know that the charters of the family to which the donor belonged were written either in the Northern or in the Southern alphabet while the characters of the copy of the donor's signature are sometimes different from those employed in the records themselves.<sup>2</sup> The initial vowels *a* (lines 61, 72, 76), *i* (lines 11, 12, 62, 71), *u* (lines 6, 30, 35, 58, 76, 77), *e* (lines 38, 60) and *o* (lines 38, 60) occur and also *avagraha* (line 60), final *i* (lines 12, 13, 30, 37, 42, 71) and final *a* (lines 38, 39, 44, 50, 52, 55). While final *i* has been written in two different ways (cf. lines 12 and 14), final *a*, in the cases cited above, has been written without superscribing it to the following consonant. The letter *ḥ* has also been written in two ways (cf. *balāḥa* in line 11 and *bandha* in line 24).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Its orthography is characterised by the general use of class nasals in preference to *anuvāra* which has, however, been generally used for final *m* at the end of the halves of stanzas. There are many cases of the wrong use of *anuvāra* (as in *amāṣaṇ=ēva* in line 4) and, in one case, *śiṣha* has been spelt as *siṣha* (line 3).

The date of the record is quoted in words as the **Vālabhīya year 500** and the occasion of the grant is stated to have been a **solar eclipse** (lines 63-64). The era referred to is the Gupta-Vālabhī Samvat, the year 500 of which corresponds to Śaka 740 expired or 741 current = 818-19 A. D.<sup>3</sup> The solar eclipse in question may have been the one on the **31st December** in the year **818 A.D.** or on the **26th June 819 A.D.**

The introductory part of the record under study contains 41 stanzas (lines 1-54), of which verses 1-28 (lines 1-36) describing the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty down to **Gōvinda III** (c. 794-814 A. D.) are the same as in the Kavi plates of Gōvindarāja himself as well as in many other epigraphs of the family.<sup>4</sup> The section begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the well-known *maṅgala* verse *Sa vā-ryād-Vidhau dhīma*, etc., while verse 2 introduces Rāshtrakūṭa **Gōvinda I**, the great-grandfather of **Dantidurga** (c. 740-57 A.D.) who established the imperial status of the family. The section concludes with the description of king **Gōvinda III** in verses 23-28 (lines 29-36).

Of the remaining 13 stanzas describing the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor **Amoghavarsha I** (c. 814-78 A. D.) and his subordinate uncles **Karka** and **Gōvinda**, verses 29-30, 31, 35 and 39 are new stanzas, the other 8 stanzas being found either in the Kavi or P. W. Museum plates or in some other records of the family.<sup>5</sup> These new verses, however, do not contain any important historical information.

The following section in prose in lines 54-70 records the grant proper. The charter was issued by *Sauvādhīpatīśākhamahāśāhī Mahāsamantādhipati* **Gōvindarāja**, while he was staying at **Palitāpaka** (modern Pālitrāṇ in Kathiawar), in favour of the Brāhmana **Sōma** who was the son of **Karka** and a resident of **Vālabhī** and was a member of the Chaturvēdīn community of that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the P. W. Museum plates (above, Vol. XXVI, Plate facing p. 253).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the grant of Dhruva, son of Gōvinda's elder brother **Karka**, which is illustrated above, Vol. XXII, Plates between pp. 74 and 75 and facing p. 76, the charter being written in Northern characters but the signature in the Southern alphabet (cf. also the Harada plates of the same king illustrated in *Jed. As.*, Vol. XVI, Plates between pp. 200 and 201), though the record of **Karka** illustrated in Plates between pp. 82 and 83 of the same volume are written entirely in the Southern alphabet.

<sup>3</sup> To get the equivalent Christian year, 818-19 requires to be added to the current Kārttikādi Vālabhī year and 10-20 to the current Chaitrādi Gupta year according to some authorities (see Swaminann Pillai, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 54).

<sup>4</sup> See *Jed. As.*, Vol. V, pp. 145-47; above, Vol. XXII, pp. 80-83; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Verses 31-32, 35, 37-38 and 41 are found among the 11 stanzas of the corresponding section in the Kavi plates. For verse 33, cf. *Jed. As.*, Vol. XII, p. 160.



place. The donee belonged to the Śāṇḍilya gōtra and was a student of the Vājasaneyā-Mādhyaṇdina śākhā. The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to all the officers who were concerned with the gift land (*pathāsambādhyamānaka*) such as the *rāshtrapati*, *viśāyapati*, *grāma-lāṣa*, *āyukta*, *niguktaka*, *adhikāraka* and *mahattara*. The gift land consisted of a field (*śhetra*) called **Kōhala** which was situated within the boundaries of a locality named **Dāṣṭikā**.<sup>1</sup> The said land was bounded by the boundary of **Kōlaka-grāma** in the east, the **Śatruōjaya** river in the south, the boundary of **Alīśaka-grāma** in the west, and the **Jarat** river (or a dried up river bed) in the north. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the usual privileges known from many other records of the donor's family including his own Kavi plates.

The above section is followed by the donor's request to the future rulers for the protection of his grant and a quotation of some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas ascribed to *Vāda-eyāsa* Vyāsa (lines 66-77). Line 78 contains the statement that the executor of the grant was *Dhatta* Kumāra or Śaikumāra. The donor's signature on the original document is copied in the North Indian Siddhamātṛikā characters in the second half of the same line. Line 79, with which the document ends, states that it was written by Jajjulla who was the son of Kulaputra (nobleman) Padmanābha. This writer is already known from the P. W. Museum plates.

The most interesting feature of the inscription under study is its date in the **Valabhi Samvat 500**. The Maitrakas of Valabhi (modern Vaḷā in the Bhavnagar District, Kathiawar) were originally feudatories of the Imperial Guptas and continued to use the Gupta era of 319 A.D. (though the Valabhi year began a few months earlier than the Gupta year) even after the latter had lost their hold on the Western provinces of their empire. The latest Maitraka record is dated in the Gupta year 447 (765 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> After the fall of the Maitrakas, the use of the Gupta era was continued in the records of Kathiawar and it was often particularised as the Valabhi era,<sup>3</sup> the earliest such document so far known being the Una plate<sup>4</sup> of Valabhi-samvat 574. The present epigraph thus pushes back the use of the name Valabhi in association with the era in question by no less than 74 years.

It is interesting in this connection to note that no record of the early Kannadiga dynasties of the Gujarat region, so far published, expresses its date in the Valabhi era. The only answer to the question why the present charter was dated in that particular era seems to be that it recorded a grant of land in Kathiawar where the use of the said era was popular during the period in question. This is also suggested by the fact that Govinda made the grant from Pāṭitāpaka, i.e. modern Palitana to the south-west of Bhavnagar in Kathiawar. Thus the field called Kōhala, situated within the boundaries of Dāṣṭikā, would appear to have been situated in Kathiawar. Indeed, this Dāṣṭikā is no other than the village of Devali in the present Bhavnagar District, where the inscription under study was found.

The territories, ruled by the feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa family, to which the donor of the present charter belonged, is generally referred to as Lāṭa. This is because Indrarāja is described in the inscriptions of the family as having obtained the Lāṭeśvara or Lāṭiya *maṇḍala* from his brother, the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Govinda III, and also because Indrarāja's son Karkarāja is called *Lāṭeśvara* or 'lord of Lāṭa' in one of his charters.<sup>5</sup> As we shall see below, Karka's capital was at Khōtaka (modern Kaira), though Fleet believed that Navasācika (modern Nausāri in the Broach

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say whether the word *śhetra* in the expression *Dāṣṭikā-śhetra-grāma* means a small territorial unit like a Pargana. It is often used in this sense in the medieval inscriptions of South India.

<sup>2</sup> Bhanderkar's List, No. 1375.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1373-84.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1379.

<sup>5</sup> *CE. Rend. Gen.*, Vol. I, Part B, pp. 300-10; of *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160, text lines 31 and 41.



District] was the capital of this Lāṣa country which was originally bounded by the river Kim in the north, the Damabagāḡi in the south and the Western Ghāṭa in the east, the northern boundary of the land, however, being the Mahi during the age of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas.<sup>1</sup> B. Bhattacharya suggests that most of the charters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa houses in question record gifts of land in the former Baroda State and that all the villages granted by Svayamvaraha Karkarāja, elder brother of the donor of our charter, lay in that State.<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that these Rāṣṭrakūṭas are thus supposed to have ruled over Central and Southern Gujarat. The present inscription, however, proves that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Gōvindarāja was ruling over a territory including the south-eastern areas of Kathiawar. This is an important addition to our knowledge of the history of Kathiawar in general and of the second feudatory family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Gujarat region in particular.

We know that Gōvindarāja mentions himself as the younger brother of Karkarāja who issued his Baroda,<sup>3</sup> Nannari,<sup>4</sup> Ananta,<sup>5</sup> Surat<sup>6</sup> and Bādhmipallī<sup>7</sup> charters respectively in the Śaka years 734, 738, 739, 743 and 746, while the grants of Gōvinda himself were issued in Śaka 732, Valabhi 500-Śaka 740 and Śaka 749 and a grant of one of his son's successors bears a date in Śaka 735. This fact shows that the two brothers were ruling at the same time, Karka at least from Śaka 734 to 746 and Gōvinda at least from Śaka 732 to 749. Earlier writers like Bühler and Hultzsch, who wrote when only Karka's record of Śaka 734 and Gōvinda's charter of Śaka 749 were known, besides a few of Karka's descendants, referred to the absence of Gōvinda's name in the records of the descendants of his elder brother Karka and suggested that this was because the younger brother was the usurper of the elder brother's territories.<sup>8</sup> Since Gōvinda's record of Śaka 749 does not mention the name of the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavaraha I, it was also believed that he rebelled against the overlord whom his elder brother Karka is known to have seated on the throne. Plect writing after the discovery of the Torkhade plates of Śaka 735 belonging to Gōvindarāja's rule, which mention the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III, suggested that Gōvindarāja may have first rebelled against his elder brother Karka and opposed the accession of Amoghavaraha I in the earlier part of his career, that he rebelled against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor again about the end of his rule and that, as a result of the second rebellion on his part against Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa authority, sometime after the issue of his Kavi plates in Śaka 749, the administration of Lāṣa was taken out of his hands and was made over to his nephew Dhārāvārha-Nirupama Dhruvarāja, son of Karkarāja.<sup>9</sup> Without any knowledge of Karka's later records, these scholars apparently believed that Gōvinda ruled over Lāṣa after his elder brother's death.

After the discovery of Karka's Nannari (Śaka 738) and Surat (Śaka 743) plates bearing dates later than that of Gōvinda's Torkhade plates (Śaka 735), A. S. Altekar drew our attention to the respectful mention of Karka in the records of Gōvinda and concluded that the latter did not really revolt against Karka but was only 'a princely regent appointed by his brother'. Thus in Altekar's opinion, expressed when Gōvinda's P. W. Museum plates of Śaka 732 and the present grant of Valabhi 500-Śaka 740 were not known, Gōvinda was 'Karka's deputy governing

<sup>1</sup> *Bomb. Gov.*, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> *Ahwa*, Vol. XXII, pp. 79-80.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *JHBHAs*, Vol. XX, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Gades, Ins. I & Bar. St.*, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ahwa*, Vol. XXI, pp. 133 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 180; Vol. XIV, p. 107.

<sup>9</sup> *Bomb. Gov.*, Vol. I, Part B, pp. 406-40.



the Gajarat kingdom on behalf of his brother while he (i.e., Karka) was absent at Malkhed during Amoghavarsha's minority'.<sup>1</sup> About the same time, B. Bhattacharya also offered such a view as probable though he did not exclude other possibilities such as Gōvinda rebelling against his brother and being subdued by Karka with imperial Rashtrakūta help.<sup>2</sup> While editing the P.W. Museum plates issued by Gōvinda in Śaka 732, M. G. Dikshit suggested that 'both the brothers were ruling jointly or at least either of them had the full authority to make donation of land without each other's consent'.<sup>3</sup> But the evidence now at our disposal seems to suggest that these views are untenable.

In the first place, it has to be noticed that the records issued by Karkarāja and Gōvindarāja during the rule of their overlord Gōvinda III introduced their father Indrarāja as the brother of the overlord while their grants issued during the reign of Amoghavarsha I introduce Indrarāja as the uncle of the said Rashtrakūta emperor. The representation of Indra as the brother of Gōvinda III in the Kavi plates issued in Śaka 749 during the reign of Amoghavarsha I, however, follows the draft of the earlier records of Karka and Gōvinda apparently due to a clerical error. Altekar therefore seems to be right when he explains the non-mention of Amoghavarsha I in the Kavi plates as the result of a mistake.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, we now know that the dates of the eight records of the time of the two brothers, Karka and Gōvinda, if they ruled over the same territory, do not suggest only two periods of rule for the two brothers, viz. the first for Karka and the second for Gōvinda. It will be seen that the brothers were ruling in the following years: Gōvinda in Śaka 732; Karka in Śaka 734; Gōvinda in Śaka 735; Karka in Śaka 738 and 739; Gōvinda in Valabhi 500=Śaka 740; Karka in Śaka 743 and 746; Gōvinda in Śaka 749. If therefore Gōvinda rebelled against Karka and occupied the latter's territories, he must have done that not merely once but for many times. This does not look like a possibility at all especially in view of the respectful mention of Karka in all of Gōvinda's records. The other suggestion that Gōvinda ruled Lāṭa during Karka's absence at Malkhed is equally wrong since we now know that Gōvinda was ruling in Śaka 732, i.e. before the death of Gōvinda III. The theory does not also explain how Gōvinda was ruling even before the earliest known date and after the latest known date of his elder brother.

Thirdly, both Karka and Gōvinda enjoyed the same official designation, viz. *Samadhipatīśaśamahāśābda Mahāśamantādhipati*, and it is doubtful whether the regent would have enjoyed the same official status as the ruler he represented without indicating the difference in their official positions in any way.<sup>5</sup> Fourthly, if Karka was the real ruler of the land and Gōvinda merely his regent, the subordinate Śalutika chief, *Samadhipatīśaśamahāśābda Mahāśamanta* Buddhavarasa of Siharakhi-12, should probably have mentioned Karka as his master and not Gōvinda as he does in the Tarkhada plates. As regards Dikshit's suggestion, it is difficult to understand how two rulers could have exercised equal authority at the same time over the same land.

That Gōvindarāja was neither his brother's regent nor was he sharing the throne with his brother seems also to be proved by another piece of evidence. The Haroda (Śaka 734), Namsari (Śaka 735), Anasui (Śaka 739), Surat (Śaka 743) and Brāhmapapall (Śaka 746) records of Karka are known to have been written respectively by the following officers of the king: (1) Nēmaditya

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 78-79.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXII, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Apasmitavarsha, Dantivarman, who was a younger son of Karka and issued a grant in Śaka 759 with the clear approval of the ruling chief, his able brother Dhruva, enjoyed the title *Mahāśamantādhipati*, but is called *Samadhipatīśaśamahāśābda* and not *Samadhipatīśaśamahāśābda* (above, Vol. VI, pp. 253 ff.).



son of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Kulaputra Durgabhata*; (2) *Sāndhivigrahika Nēmalītya*; (3) *Nēmalītya*, son of *Kulaputras Durgabhata*; (4) *Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipati Nārāyaṇa*, son of *Kulaputra Durgabhata*; and (5) *Sāndhivigrahika Nārāyaṇa*. It will be seen that all these charters were written by two officers belonging to the same family. It is also interesting to note that the same *Nārāyaṇa* (wrongly given as *Kārāyaṇa*), son of *Durgabhata*, was also the writer of the Baroda plates<sup>1</sup> of *Karka's* son *Dhruva*, dated Śaka 737. If therefore *Gōvinda* really ruled over *Karka's* territory as a regent during the latter's stay elsewhere or if the two brothers ruled conjointly over the same territory, the same officers are expected to have served them. But it is quite significant that none of the four records of *Gōvinda's* time was written by the persons responsible for writing *Karka's* charters. The *Torkhede* plates (Śaka 733), issued by his subordinate *Buddhavarasa*, was written by *Kṛishṇa*, son of *Nanna*, while the P.W. Museum (Śaka 732), *Devali* (*Valabhi* 500 = Śaka 740) and *Kavi* (Śaka 749) plates, issued by *Gōvinda* himself, were written respectively by (1) *Jajjulla*, son of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Padmanābha*, (2) the same *Jajjulla* called the son of *Kulaputra Padmanābha*, and (3) *Yōgēvara*, son of *Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipati Kulaputra Avalōkita*. The name apparently of the said *Avalōkita* occurs in a grant (Śaka 806) of *Dhruva*, great-grandson of *Karka*, as that of the father of its writer *Valabhi-vastavya-Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipati-ādhipati Dānda*.<sup>2</sup>

The above discussion would suggest that, like the three Lāṭa Chālukya chiefs *Dhurōdāya Jayasiddha* and his sons *Śrīyāraya Śilāditya* and *Vinayāditya* Maṅgalama ruling over different areas of Gujarat at the same time at an earlier date,<sup>3</sup> the Rāshtrakūṭa chiefs *Karka* and his younger brother *Gōvinda* also must have been ruling over different parts of the Gujarat region contemporaneously. The internal evidence of the *Kavi* plates points to *Gōvinda's* hold over the Broach-Kavi region of the Broach District<sup>4</sup> while *Sāharakhi* mentioned in the *Torkhede* plates as the son of his subordinate *Buddhavarasa* has been supposed to be a place near Baroda.<sup>5</sup> The place names mentioned in the P. W. Museum plates have been located near *Vadaj* in the former Baroda State.<sup>6</sup> Thus the area ruled by *Gōvinda* lay very close to the land under his elder brother *Karka* and was apparently situated to the west of the territory under the latter. The present inscription shows that *Gōvinda* extended Rāshtrakūṭa rule as far as the *Paṭitana-Bharuagar* region of South-Eastern Kathiawar. It may be conjectured that the territory under *Gōvinda's* rule passed on his death to the descendants of his brother *Karka*. We have already referred to the fact that *Dānda*, son of *Gōvinda's Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipati Avalōkita*, was the *Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipati-ādhipati* under *Karka's* great-grandson *Dhruva*.

Attention may be drawn to another point in this connection. *Karka* issued his charter from certain places including *Khēṭaka* (modern *Kaira*, headquarters of the District of that name in Gujarat), which is stated to have been his *rājadhāni* or capital in the Anasut plates.<sup>7</sup> As indicated above, *Gōvinda's* *Kavi* plates were issued from Broach and the *Devali* plates from *Paṭitana*, though we do not know where his headquarters lay. Another point of interest is that, while *Gōvinda* issued his *Kavi* plates in Śaka 749 from *Bharukachchha*, *Karka's* Anasut plates of Śaka 739 record

<sup>1</sup> *Jed. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 76; text lines 70-71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 118-19.

<sup>4</sup> At the time of making the grant *Gōvinda* was stationed at *Bharukachchha* (Broach) and granted land in favour of a temple at *Kōṭipura* in *Kāpila* (modern *Kavi*) to the south of the mouth of the Mahi. The land granted by the charter lay to the south of *Kavi*.

<sup>5</sup> See, however, above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 216.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 248.

<sup>7</sup> *Gadre*, op. cit., p. 32, text line 43. *Khēṭaka* = *Kaira* was also the headquarters of the first feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of the Gujarat region (cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 214).



the gift of a village in the Bharnakachchha *visaya*, i.e. the district of which Broach was the headquarters. If the two brothers ruled over separate areas as suggested by us, this requires an explanation. It may be that, in Śaka 749, Karka was no more and that Gōvinda was also ruling over the territory previously held by his brother. It may also be alternatively conjectured that the Broach area formed a part of Karka's territory in Śaka 739 but of Gōvinda's ten years later owing to some adjustment of the two brothers' jurisdictions. A third possibility is that Gōvinda visited Broach in his brother's territory on pilgrimage and made the grant on that occasion. The fourth possibility would be that one part of Broach lay in Karka's territory and the other part in Gōvinda's as in the case of Jerusalem today, parts of which fall in Jordan and parts in Israel.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscriptions, the location of Lāṭa, Valabhi, Pālitarāṇka and Deūlikā has already been discussed. Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan is mentioned in verse 38 which states that Indrarāja of Lāṭa saved the frightened circle of the feudatory rulers of the Deccan when they were being deprived of their wealth by the Vallabhāsvara (Rāshtrakūṭa emperor) apparently by pleading on their behalf. The gift land is described as bounded by the villages called Kōlakagrāma and Ālōsakagrāma as well as of two rivers named Śatruñjaya and Jeraṭ, though it is probable that *jeran-nadi* really means 'a dried up river'. All these were near Devali, the findspot of the inscription under study, the Śatruñjaya-nadi being no doubt the modern Shetrungjoo river. But I have not been able to trace the other names on the maps available to me.

### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : verses 1, 22, 42-43, 45, 47 *Anuṣṭup* ; verses 2-3, 5-6, 8-9, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29-30, 32, 35, 40 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 4, 19, 37-38 *Uppajāti* ; verse 7 *Giti* ; verses 10, 17, 30, 28, 33-34, 36, 39 *Sārdūlavikrīṣita* ; verses 11-14, 24, 26, 41 *Argā* ; verses 16, 18 *Śruṅgharā* ; verses 21, 31, 44, 46 *Indravajrā* ; verse 48 *Puṣkpitūgrā*.]

### First Plate

- 1 Siddham\* [||\*] Sa vō=vyāt=Vēdhasā dhāma yan-nābhi-kamalaṁ=kṛitam(tam) | Harat=cha yasya kāt=śūdu-kalayā kam=alaṁ(la)kṛitam(tam) || [1\*] Āśid=dvishat-timiram=udya-
- 2 ta-maṇḍal-āgrō dhvastim nayam=abhimukhō rapa=śarvvarishu | bhūpaḥ śuśhir=vvidhur=iv= lāṭa(śaṭa)-diganta-kīrtti=Ggōvindarāja iti rāja-
- 3 [sa] rāja-siṅghaḥ[satṅghaḥ] || [2\*] Dṛishṭvā chasmām=abhimukh(m)kḥ[th\*] subhaṭ=āṭṭahāsām-(sā)m=unnāmitam sapadi yēna rapōshu nityam(tyam) | dashṭ=ādharōpa dadha-
- 4 tā bhrukutim jalāṭō khaḍgam kolaṇ=cha hṛdayaṇ=cha nijaṇ=cha sarvaṁ(ttvam) || [3\*] Khaḍgam(dgaḥ) kar=āgrōn=mukhataṣ=cha śūbhāch(bhā) ma(mā)nō [manastah] samam(ma)-m=va yasya |
- 5 mah-āhavē nāma nāamya sadyaṣ=trayaṇ ripūṇāṁ vigalaty=akṣogḍō || [4\*] Tasy=ātmaṣō jagati vīkruta-[śu]bhra-kīrtti=ārti-ārti-hā-
- 6 ri-Hari-vikrama-dhāma-dhārī | bhūpaṣ=trivishṭapa-nṛp-ānukṛitib kṛitajñah śri-Karkharāja iti gōta-maṇḍir=ababhūva [||] [5\*] [Ta]sya prabhī-

\* From impressions.

\* Expressed by symbol.



7. nua-kurata-chyuta-dāna-danti-danta-prahāra-rochir-āliklātāna(=āhāsa)-pāṭhaḥ || 7\* | kaṇṇāpaḥ  
kaṇṭhaṇ kaṇṇapita-kāraṇa-abhūt-tanūjaḥ | (ad-Rāṣṭra)kūṭa-Kaṇakā-

8. śrir-iv-Ēndrarājaḥ || [6\*] | Tāva=āpārijita-mabasa=tanā[ya]=chatur-udadhi-valaya-[m]āḥ-  
nyāḥ || 6\* | bhūktā bhavah | Śatakratu-aṣṭrījaḥ śri-Da-

9. utidurggarājō=bbūt || [7\*] | [K]āñchīśa-Kēraṇa-narādhīpa-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-śri-Haraha-  
Vajraṭa-vihhōda-vidhāna-dakṣaṇa(kāṇa) | Kārṇāṭakaṇṇaḥ balam=achintya-

10. m=ajeyam=anyair=śhṛityaḥ kiyāḥbhīr=api yāḥ sahasā jigyā || [8\*] | A-bhūr-vihhāgash(ūga)-  
m=agrihita-niṣṭa-śaṣṭraṇ(śra)m=āśrāntam=aprat[bat]-ājham=apā-

11. ta-yatnadh(tnam) | yō Vallabham aspaḍi daṇḍa-balōm | ita ā rājādhirāja-paramāśvaraṭādh-  
(tā)m=avāpa || [9\*] | Ā śrōṭr=evipul-āpal-āvali-la[sa\*]-

12. t-ti-ś[r\*]mami-māla-[jālō\*]d=ā prālōya-kalā[śh]it-āmala-śilā-jālā-Tuṣhārāchalā | ā pūrva-  
āpara-tōyurāśi-pulina-prānta-prasiddh-ā-

13. vadhēr=yyēn-ēyadh jagatī eva-rikramā-balōm=ak-ātapatīkrītā || [10\*] | Tasmā=divam prayātō  
Vallabharājō kaṇṇa-prajā-bādhaḥ || 10\* | śri-Karkkarāja-

14. sūtour-mahāpatīḥ Kriṣṇmarājō=bbūt || [11\*] | Yasya eva-bhūja-parākrama-niṣṭāś-śobhāś-  
(tā)dit-āri-dik-śhaktiḥ(kram) | Kriṣṇasya-ā-kriṣṇa-

15. cha[ritam] śri-Kriṣṇparājasya || [12\*] | Śubhatuāga-tuāga-tuāga-pravṛddha-rōg-ārdhva-  
mddha-ravi-kirāṇaḥ(nam) | grishmā=pi nabhō nikhilam prāvṛṭkā-

16. [lāyatō] spāṣṭadh(āṣṭam) || [13\*] | Dīn-ānātha-praṇayishu yathāśhṛta-śhāṣṭam samāhitam=  
ajāṣṭam(amam) | tat-kaṇṇam=Akālavarshō varshati sarva-ā[r\*]ti-

17. nīrvv[āpa]ṇadh(ṇam) || [14\*] | Rāhappam=āma-bhūja-jāta-bal-āvalōpam-ājan vijitya niṣṭ-  
āśi-lātām(tā)-prahāraḥ || 14\* | pāli-dhvaj-āval-śubhām=achir-

18. ṇa yō hī r[ā]jādhirāja-paramāśvaraṭām tatīka || [15\*] | Krōdhāt-utkhāta-khaṇḍa-praṣṭita-  
r[ūch]i-chayair=bbāsamānam samantōd=ājō-

19. v=ndepitta-vairi-prakata-gaja-ghaṭ-śtōpa-sadikshōbha-dakṣa[ṇa](kaṇa) | saurya[m] tyaktv=  
āri-vargō bhaya-śhakti-vaṇḍ kv=āpi dīkṣtv=at-

20. va sadyō darpp-ālmā[ti]-āri-śh[ā]kra-kaṇṇakaram=agamal-vayya [dō]riddaṇḍa-rūpaḥ-  
(nam) || [16\*] | Pātā yā=chatur-ambu-

\* The mark of punctuation should be deleted.

\* There is another partially beaten-in line of writing below this and that has to be read from the opposite side. The engraver began to inscribe the inscription from that side, but gave it up to the first line.



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Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. The leaf shows signs of age, including discoloration and some physical damage at the bottom edge.

66  
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Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The leaf is heavily damaged, with significant portions of the surface missing, particularly in the upper and lower sections, leaving large gaps in the text.



## Second Plate, First Side

- 21 [rāḥi]-ra[ḥa]n-ā[ḥi]lakāra-bhājō bhuvā[s=tra]jyāś=ch=āpi kṛta-dvij-āmara-guru-prājy-ājya-  
pūj-ādaraḥ | dātā mānabhid-agra-
- 22 pīr-guṇaratām yū=saṇ śrīyō vallabhō bhōktuḥ svargga-phalāni bhūti-tapasō sthānāni jagām=  
āmara[ni] || [17\*] Yēna svē-
- 23 t-ātapatra-prabhata-ravikara-vrāta-tāpāt=sa-līlāni jagmō nāstra-dhūli-dhavalita-āraṇḍ **Vallabh-**  
**ākhyah** sad=ājau | [krīmān]=**Gōvinda-**
- 24 rājō jita-jagad=ahitah[ta]-stryah[atra]ṇa-vaidhavya-dakṣha=tasy=āst=sānur=ēkaḥ kṣhaṇa-  
raṇa-dalit-ārāḥ-matībhā-kumbhaḥ || [18\*] Tasy=ātmanah
- 25 śrī-Dhruvarāja-nāma[mā] mah-ānubhāvō[vaḥ] prabhata-pratāpah ||\*|| prasādhit-āsēsha-narē-  
ndra-chakraḥ kramāṇa bāl-ārka-vapur=babhūva || [19\*] Jātē ya-
- 26 tsa [cha Rā]jshtrakṛta-tīlakē sat-bhūpa-chōḍāmaṇa gurvī tushṭir=ath=ākṣhaya jagataḥ  
an=svāmīni pratyahat[am] || satyāni satyasm=iti pra[ḥa]-
- 27 sati sati kṣmām=ā samudr-āntikām=āstī-dharmma-parō guṇ-āmpita-nidhau satya-vrat-ādhi-  
shūhīt || [20\*] Hṛishīḥ=av=ahatī nṛō[yō]=rīṣhi-janāya sarva[ḥ] sa-
- 28 rvasvam-ānandita-bandhu-varggaḥ | prādād=prarushṭō harati ima vāgāt=prāṇa Yamasy-  
āmi[pi] nītānta-viryah || [21\*] Raksha[tā] yō[na] nīhō[sham] chatu-
- 29 r-amhbhōdhi-sadyutah[tam] || rājyāni dharmmaṇa lōkānāni kṛtā tushṭiḥ parā hrīdi || [22\*]  
Tasy=ātmanajō jagati sat-prathit-ōru-kirtīr=**Gōvindarāja** iti
- 30 gōtra-lalāma-bhūtaḥ ||\*|| tyāgi parākrama-dhanaḥ prakṛta-pratāpa-saditāpit-āhita-janō jana-  
vallabhō=bhūt || [23\*] **Prithvivalla[bha\*]** iti cha prathi-
- 31 tarh yasy=āparah jagati nāma | yaś=cha [cha\*]tur-udadhī-nimān=ēkō vasudhām vaśō chakrē ||  
[24\*] Ekō=py=anūka-rūpō yō dadṛśō bhō-
- 32 da-vādibhir=ir=ātmā | para-bala-jaladhīm=apāraḥ taru=sva-dōrbhyām rapō ripubhiḥ ||  
[25\*] Ekō nirbōtir=aham grīhita-śastrā imō parō baha-
- 33 vaḥ | yō o=āivahvidham=akarōch=chittam evapnō=pi kim=ut=ājau || [26\*] Rājy-ā[ḥhish]-  
ka-kalāśir=abhūshichya dattām rājādhi[rāja]-paramōsvaratām
- 34 sva-pitrā | anyair=mmahā-nṛpatibhir=bahubhiḥ samētya Stambh-ādibhir=bhūja balād=avale-  
pyamānām[nām] || [27\*] Ekō=nāka-narēndra-vṛinda-sa-
- 35 hīnā vyastān samā[ma]stān=api prōtkhāt=ai-latā-prahāra-vīdhurān ba[d\*]dhvā mahā-  
sathyugē | lakṣmīm=apy=achalāni chakāra vilasa-
- 36 [t=sa\*]ch-chāmara-grāh[il]qudi sadhahād-guru-vīpra-sajjana-suhṛid-bandh-ūpabhōgyān bhuvī ||  
[28\*] Tasmād=babhūva āśi-suhṛa-yaśō-rītā-



- 37 na-vibhrājitā(ta)-tribhavanā nna(na)te-vairi-varggaḥ ||\*|| śrīmān=mahā-dhāna-payōbhīro  
Amōghavarsho nirrvāpit-ākṣila-jagad-ghaṣa(na)-tāpa-saṁpat || [29\*]
- 38 Pradyumna śha kimu Yādava-vaśā(vashā)-kṣetub kiṁ Kārttikya uta śakti-nicasta-śatruḥ  
||\*|| ki[śh\*] vai Jayanta iha saṁgata Indra-kōpāt |<sup>1</sup> saṁpaśyatāth
- 39 bhavati viśhma(ma)ya-hāri chētaḥ || [30\*] Asy-śbhavad=bhūmipatiḥ pri(pi)ptivyaḥ śrīmān-  
k[r\*]amāt-san-matir=Indrarājaḥ | āstā prabhūt-ādhhata-ki-
- 40 rti-śtīḥ sarvasya Lāḥ-śēvara-maṇḍalasya || [31\*] Yasy-śāga-mātra-jayinaḥ priya-  
sāhasasya kāmāpāla-vāha-phalam-śya babhūva
- 41 saṁyam(nyam) | muktivā cha sarva-bhuvan-śvaram-ādi-dēvān n-āvandat=śayam-  
amarēśhv=apī yō manasvi || [32\*] Yēn=aikeṇa cha Gūrjar-ā-
- 42 śvara-patir=vyōddhūḥ samabhyudyataḥ |<sup>2</sup> śaṁryya-prōddhata-kandharō mṛiga iḥa kṣipraḥ  
diśō grāhitaḥ ||(|) bhūt-āsaṁbhata-Dakṣhiṇ-
- 43 patha-mahā-sāmanta-chakrah yatō rakāḥm=āpa vīṇṭyūmāna-vibhavan Śrīvallabhēn-  
ādarāt || [33\*] Yēn=aikeṇa mah-ā-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 44 haṇa-vyasaninā krīḍā-vihār-ōdyama-prārambh[ō] vibhō nitānta-niv[ā]ḍa-dhvānta-pradōśhē  
aat ||\*|| durvārāḥ samam=śva saṁparipatan ba-
- 45 ndi-samūhaḥ kṣhaṇāt=tlkshṇa-prōdyata-śasira-saṁhati-karaḥ paśchaṭvam-śpāditaḥ || [34\*]\*  
Tasy=ātmaḥ prathita-vikrama-vairi-vargga-lakṣmī-
- 46 haṭh-āharaṇa-santata-labdha-krītiḥ ||\*|| śrī-Karkkarāja iti saṁhanta-pūrit-ākaḥ ātate-śrīcha-  
bōdha-paripa(pā)litu-sarva-lōkaḥ || [35\*] Rā-
- 47 jyē yasya na taakaraṇya vanti[r\*]=vyāḥhāḥ pramūti[r\*]=mptā durbhikṣhadi na cha vibhra-  
māya mahimā n-āiv=ōpasargg-ō(dhha)vaḥ | nō [dōch]ā-
- 48 bhyudaya=tathā rūpa-janā n-āiva pramōd-ōdgatir=mo vīdvat-paripanthinī prabharati krūrā  
khalānāḥ matīḥ || [36\*]\* Saurājya-jalpā patitā pra-
- 49 saṁgān=madatāmanā vīva-janān-saṁpat ||(|) rājyaḥ Balaḥ pūrvaḥ=ahō babhūva kṣitā(vj)-  
idān=ījn nripāya yasya || [37\*] Ichehḥ-ātirēkṣa kṛishṭha(va)-
- 50 [lānā] payō yathā mūḥhati jātu mēghā ||\*|| bhavēn=manas-tad-virataḥ va(ta)th-ālhūd-  
yamān dhanaḥ varahati āvakānāth(nān) || [38\*] Rāmāy=śya āpita-(vra)ta-

<sup>1</sup> The punctuation mark is redundant.

<sup>2</sup> The achievement alluded to here is not intelligible without further light on the poet.

<sup>3</sup> The P. W. Museum plates, written by the same person, reads the third foot differently.



- 51 sya vinaya-ethairyya-ekhitir-Lakshmanah Pārthasy-eva Dhanañjaya(h\*) kshaṇa-jita-  
pṛōdvṛitta-vairi-vrajah | Gōvindah prathita(h) kshītā-eva gu-
- 52 pail Samkarahapasy-ātmanān yasy-ārādhana-nirmala-ethira-matir-Gōvindarājō-nujah ||  
[39\*] Antahstha-Śākara-ārāh-[ethira]-chandra-rākhō-[sau]
- 53 tat-sudhā-rasa-vibhāvita-sarva-mūrti(h) [\*] rllō(lō)kasya nirvṛitkarah aprihāṣya-janmā  
jātaḥ sad-ānṛitamayatva-guṇi(y-ō)(daya)h-cha || [40\*]<sup>1</sup> Tēn-ēdam-anī-
- 54 la-vidyach-chañchalam-ālōkya jvitam-asārah(ram) | kshiti-dānāh-cha param pūṇam<sup>2</sup>  
pravartitō-yach dharman-dāyah || [41\*] sa cha samadhigatāh-
- 55 shamaśābda-mahāśābda<sup>3</sup>-mahāśāmantādhipati-Prabhūtavarsa-ēri-Gōvindarājah |<sup>4</sup>  
sarvām-eva yathā-sambadhyamānakān
- 56 rāh(trapati-vishayapati-grāmakū)-śyukta-niyuktah-ādhipārika-mahattar-ādīn samantub-  
dhayaty-asu rah samviditah yathā
- 57 mayā ēri-Pālitānak-āvesthitēna mātā-pitrōr-ātmanāh-ah-āhik-āmushmika-phal-ā-āpty-  
arthah dharman-yatō-bhivṛiddhayē ēri-{Valabhi-vā-ta}
- 58 sya-tach-chaturvidya-sāmānya-Śāṇḍilya-sagōtra-vāji<sup>5</sup>-Mādhyandina-sabrahmachāri-Brā-  
hmaṇa-Sūmāya Karaka-sūnatē Dēvīlaka-
- 59 śimā-pratibaddha-kshētrah Kōhal-ābhidhānam yasy-āghātanāni pūrvataḥ Kōlaka-grāma-  
śimā tathā dakṣiṇataḥ Śatruñjaya-na-
- 60 dī tathā<sup>6</sup> parata Ālōwaka-grāma-śimā | uttaratō Jaran-nadī | āvach chatur-āghātan-ōpala-  
kshitam-ōdāragam sa-parikaram<sup>7</sup> sa-bhū-
- 61 ta-vāta-pratyāyam sa-danḍa-dat-āparādham |<sup>8</sup> a-ōtpadyamāna-vishṭikam sa-dhānya-hīrasy-  
ādēyam(yam) |<sup>9</sup> a-ohāta-bhaṭa-prāvāsyam sarva-rāja-
- 62 kiyān(yā)nām-a-hasta-prakṣēpaṇiyam(yam) ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvata-  
samakāllnam putra-pantr-ānvaya-bhōgyam tathā bhūmi-
- 63 chehhidra-nyāyēna pūrvā-datta-dēva-brahma-dāya-rakham ēri-Vālabhiya-sarvavatsara-  
śatēshu pañchasu mahā-parvati sū-
- 64 ryya-bhātāraka-grahanō smāty-ōlak-ātisaraggaḥ bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ātithi-  
pañcha-mahāyajña-kriy-ō-
- 65 tsarppag-ārtham pratipāditam yatō-sy-ōchitayē brahmadāya-athityē bhuhjatō bhōjayataḥ

<sup>1</sup> The P. W. Museum plates read the first foot differently.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of the metre, read *kshiti-dhara-parama-pūṇat* as in the other records (cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 74, verse 31; p. 84, verse 30).

<sup>3</sup> This word is redundant.

<sup>4</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> *La. Vajrasūtra*.

<sup>6</sup> The expression is sometimes found in this form, though *a-parivāra* is commonly used in inscriptions.



## Third Plate

- 66 kṛishataḥ karahyataḥ pratidīśatō \*1 na kṛu=āpi paripanthanā kṛyyā | tath-āgāmi-āṇipatibhir-  
asmad-vz-
- 67 āhya(vadhāya)ṛ=anyair-vvā sāmānya[ū] bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avēṣṭya vidyā-lōlāny=anitya-ai-  
kavyāyāgi triṣ-āgra-lagna-ja-
- 68 la-bindu-chañchhalam cha jīva-lōkam-ākalayya eta-dāya-nirveśādhū-ṛam-asmad-dāyō-  
numantavyaḥ |<sup>1</sup> paripūlayitavyaḥ=cha ||\*|| yaś=ch=ā-
- 69 jñāna-timira-patal-āṇṇita-matir-āchchh[ū]dyāś=āchchhūdyamānam v=śrumōdatō sa pañcha-  
bhīr=umahi-pātakaḥ=apapātakaḥ=cha mah-
- 70 yuktas=vyād=ity=uktaḥ=cha bhagavatī Vādayāsāna Vyāśna || Shashṭir=vvārha-mahasrōpi  
shashṭir=vvārha-śatāni cha |<sup>2</sup> evarggē tishṭhati
- 71 bhūnūdal ||\*|| āchchhētā ch=śrumantā cha tāny=ōva narakā vaśē || [42\*] Vindhy-āṇṇish=ā-  
śōyāśu śushka-kōṭara-vāśinaḥ ||\*||
- 72 kṛishā-ūhayō hi jāyantē bhūmi-dāy-āpabhāṇaḥ || [43\*] Agnir=patyam prathamam suva-  
rnam bhūr=vvalekhavi sūrya=utā-
- 73 ā-cha gāvaḥ ||\*|| lōka-trayam tēna bhavēd-dhi dattach yaḥ kṛishanam gāḥ=cha mahū=cha  
dadyāt || [44\*] Bahubhir=vvasodhā bhuktā rajabhiḥ Sa-
- 74 gar-ūtibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmi=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [45\*] Yān=cha dattāni  
purā narēndrasir=śāśāni dharmārtha-yasa-
- 75 śkarōpi ||\*|| nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō-nāma sādhuḥ punar=śdadita || [46\*] Sva-dattāḥ  
para-dattām vā yatināḥ-raksha
- 76 narādhipa ||\*|| mahim mahibhīrāt śrēṣṭha dānāch=shreṣṭh=supālanarō(pam) || [47\*] Iti  
kamala-dal-āmba-bindu-lōlām śrīyan=annabhiṭya
- 77 manoshya-jīvitaḥ=cha | stivimāla-manōbhīnā(ṛ-ā)tmanūnair=ona hi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrtayō  
vilōpyā[h || 48\*] Iti ||\*||
- 78 dūtakaḥ=ch=ātra Bhāṭṭa-śrī-Kumārak<sup>3</sup> | aśa-hastō=ya[di\*] śrī-Gōvindarājasya<sup>4</sup> ||\*||
- 79 ūkhitaḥ=ch=aitan=mayā kulaputra-śrī-Padmānābha-sānuṇā Jajullō=āti || \* ||

<sup>1</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> The second half of this verse and one foot of the next stanza are omitted here through oversight. We may make one stanza by omitting shashṭir=vvārha-śatāni cha.

<sup>3</sup> The name may also be Śrīkumāra.

<sup>4</sup> After this (written in the Northern characters), there is a peculiar symbol which is also often found in some other records of the family (cf. above, Vol. XXII, Plate facing p. 76). The symbol is still used in South India in Kōlām (Kannuruli) decorations.

<sup>5</sup> There is a spiral symbol between the double donjas.











not in a position, whatever be the reason, to exert full control over subordinate allies and feudatories in the outlying areas. It should be remembered that Pulakēśin II, the powerful Chālukya emperor of the Deccan, died in 642 A.D., so that the Maitrakas now had no fear from the south also.

The charter was issued from **Valabhi** by king **Dhruvasēna (II) Balāditya** who is introduced in lines 1-34, in the style of his other records, as the younger brother of Dhruvasēna (III), son of Kharagraha (I) who was the younger brother of Śīlāditya (I) Dharmāditya, son of Dhruvasēna (II) who was the son of Guhasēna, a descendant of Bhaṭārka of the Maitraka dynasty. The inscription registers the grant of 150 *pālāśantas* of land (i.e. a plot of land measuring 150 feet square) in the northern border of the village called **Machchhōtika** in the division (*sthanā*) called **Uttama-Ijja** in **Surāshtra** in favour of the Brāhmana Somaśarma who was the son of Śāmbakumārasomaśarma and belonged to the Dākṣya *gotra* and the Vājasmūhya *śākhā* (lines 34-36). The donee was a resident of Valabhi and belonged to the Chaturvēdin community of that place; but his family hailed from **Ānartapura**. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the privileges usually attached to such gifts recorded in the copper-plate charters of the Maitrakas.

The gift land consisted of a single plot cultivated by Chūrjivaka and Mahattara Gaura. Its boundaries are described as follows: to the east—a field belonging to Lagojivaka (or Laghu-Jivaka, 'the younger Jivaka') and an adjoining field belonging to the Brāhmana Hastadēva; to the south—a field known by the name Kapittha-kshātra (probably because there were some Kapittha trees in it); to the west—a field apparently belonging to Chhādyānaka and another adjoining plot belonging to the Brāhmana Karka; and to the north—a field belonging to the said Karka and lying on the borders of the village of **Śaranapadraka** as also an adjoining plot of land belonging to a person named Kikkaka (lines 37-40).

The executor of the grant was **Rājaputra Dhruvasēna** (line 50). He seems to have been the king's son who later ascended the Maitraka throne as Dharmasena IV. This prince is not mentioned as the executor of any charter of Dhruvasēna II so far published, his other grants being known to have been executed by *Sāmanta Śīlāditya*<sup>1</sup> and *Rājaputra Kharagraha*.<sup>2</sup> The document was written by *Dīvrapati Śāundabhata*, son of *Saundhivagrakādhātya* *Divrapati Vatra-bhatti* (lines 50-51). Both the persons are known from many other Maitraka records<sup>3</sup> though Vatrabhatti's name has often been wrongly quoted as Vatrabhatti,<sup>4</sup> Chandrabhatti,<sup>5</sup> Valabhatti,<sup>6</sup> Vababhata<sup>7</sup> and Chutrabhatti.<sup>8</sup> The date of the record is quoted in the last line (line 51) as the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the year 323, which is followed by the endorsement, "[This is] my own signature", no doubt referring to the donor's signature on the original document later incised on the plates.

As regards the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Ānartapura** is identified by some with **Dvārakā** and by others with **Ānandapura** (Vadnagar in the Mehsana District).<sup>9</sup> Since, however, the name **Ānandapura** occurs in no less than five inscriptions of the Maitraka family,<sup>10</sup> **Ānartapura** does not appear to have been an alternative spelling of that name and may

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1341-42.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Nos. 1343-47.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Nos. 1340, 1342, 1346 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., No. 1337.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., No. 1338.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., No. 1341.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Nos. 1340, 1351.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., No. 1345.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. N. L. Day, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v.; Raychandhuri, *PHAI*, 1053, p. 500 and note.

<sup>10</sup> Varh. op. cit., p. 293; see also the plates of Śīlāditya III noticed above p. 282.







*[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme fading and significant damage to the manuscript.]*



28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, covering the entire page. The text is densely packed and appears to be a continuous passage. The script is highly stylized and characteristic of early South Asian writing systems. The page shows signs of age, with some wear and discoloration visible along the edges.

28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48











## No. 39—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 27.4.61)

### II.—Meaning of 'Upagata', etc.

Different versions of Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka contain the Prakrit words corresponding to Sanskrit *upagata*, *upagāta* and *upāta* (respectively from *upa-√gam*, *upa-√gā* and *upa-√ā*) in the same sense<sup>1</sup> which has been variously understood. Elsewhere we have suggested that *upagata*=*upayāta*=*upāta* in the context means *sasagata*, 'intimately associated'.<sup>2</sup> In our opinion, the passages in question indicate Aśoka's intimate association with the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. The lexicons, however, do not bear out this meaning quite clearly. In this connection, a study of similar words, often used in copper-plate grants to indicate the relation of the subordinates and officers of a king with the gift land or the district in which it was situated may be of interest. These words are generally understood in the sense of 'assembled',<sup>3</sup> though really some of them appear to support the above interpretation.

From the standpoint of the recording of grants of land, copper-plate charters can be primarily divided into two classes, viz. (1) those that merely announce that some land or a village was granted by the donor, and (2) those that contain an order of the donor in respect of the grant addressed to certain people. Among the records of the first category, mention may be made of a number of charters issued by the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa.<sup>4</sup> Copper-plate grants written in verse (e.g. many of the charters issued by the Vijayanagara kings)<sup>5</sup> and those written mostly in verse<sup>6</sup> generally fall in the same class. The passage *ś-ānṣaṃgāṇā prāṇa bhāṣpālā* occurring in the versified part of a charter<sup>7</sup> from Orissa is one of the few exceptions.

The second category of copper-plate grants, in which the donor's order is addressed to certain people, is important for our enquiry as it is some of these that contain the words in which we are interested. Such records can be broadly subdivided into five classes: (1) those in which the addressees are vaguely and generally indicated; (2) those in which the order is primarily addressed to the inhabitants of the gift village or the village wherein the gift land was situated or the district wherein the gift land or village was situated; (3) those in which the order is primarily addressed to the royal officers or agents including also the subordinate rulers, *jāgirdārs*, etc., in some cases; (4) those in which both the inhabitants of the locality in question and the royal officers or agents, etc., are mentioned; and (5) those in which the donor addresses neither the inhabitants nor his officers but only the future kings.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Mashī Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 24; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 9, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 12 and note 3; see vol. XII, p. 42 and note 4; Majumdar, *Ind. Lang.*, Vol. III, p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 24, lines 181 ff., 260, lines 125-27; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 190, lines 179-81, 194, lines 179 ff., 226, lines 122-26. For such records belonging to other dynasties or kings, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 15, lines 8-16, 190, lines 14-16, 212, lines 6-9; Vol. XXX, pp. 140, lines 11-16, 187, line 17-18; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 73, lines 3-6, 216, verses 17-21, 266, lines 7-13, 291, lines 17 ff.; Vol. XXVII, p. 77, lines 17-22.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 144. For such records belonging to other families, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 75; Vol. XXIX, pp. 103, 198; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 133-34.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 32; Vol. XXX, p. 304.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 225, text lines 15-16. In this article, we have quoted the epigraphic passages after removing scribal errors, etc.



The first and last of these subdivisions are simple. The first of the two is illustrated by the charters of the Chālukyas of Badami, in which we have the passage *sarvān-eva-ājñāpayati*.<sup>1</sup> The other, which is rare, is likewise illustrated by the passage *sarvān-eva bhāvi-bhūmipālān-samanubōdhayati* sometimes occurring in the grants of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Gūnatik region.<sup>2</sup> The other cases are complicated.

The order addressed to the inhabitants of a locality is simpler in passages like the following : (1) *tri-Skandacarmayā vacchanāna Kudrāhāra-Kōmparē grāmēyaka kaktaryāḥ* ;<sup>3</sup> (2) *grāmē sarva-samucātān-kuṣumbīnāḥ samāñjāpayati* ;<sup>4</sup> (3) *Gōḷghatāṇḍa-nivāsināḥ kuṣumbīnāḥ samāñjāpayati* ;<sup>5</sup> (4) *Sunikāyān prativāsināḥ samāñjāpayati* ;<sup>6</sup> (5) *Prastarardja-vāsināḥ sarva-samucātān-kuṣumbīnāḥ samāñjāpayati* ;<sup>7</sup> (6) *Rāyūra-grāmē grāmēyakaṁ-ittham-ājñāpayati* ;<sup>8</sup> (7) *Pharava-grāmē yathā-nivāsi-janapadān samāñjāpayati* ;<sup>9</sup> (8) *Andōrēppa-grāmē sarva-samucātān-kuṣumbīnāḥ samāñjāpayati* ;<sup>10</sup> (9) *Pratikāḥpura-nivāsināḥ sarva-samucātān-kuṣumbīnāḥ samāñjāpayati* ;<sup>11</sup> etc. But slight elaboration is noticed in such passages as follows : (1) *Brāhmaṇa-purāḍā-grāmāḥ-chharir-ādi-kulānāḥ prishṭā likhātī* ;<sup>12</sup> (2) *Kōṭṭinika-grāmē Brāhmaṇān-samucātān prativāsināḥ samāñjāpayati* ;<sup>13</sup> (3) *Kēlārakē Brāhmaṇa-purāṣarān-prativāsi-kuṣumbīnāḥ samāñjāpayati* ;<sup>14</sup> (4) *vīṭavānī-cha rājā tad-grāma-nivāsinā mahattama-jānapadān* ;<sup>15</sup> (5) *Kēḷalaka-grāmē Brāhmaṇ-āṭṭarān-kuṣumbīnāḥ-sirahakān-ch-ājñāpayati* ;<sup>16</sup> (6) *sarva-samucātān-kuṣumbīnāḥ bhājakūṇī-cha samāñjāpayati* ;<sup>17</sup> (7) *Gūḷurūra-vishaya-nivāsinā rāshṭradāṭṭa-pramukhān-kuṣumbīnāḥ-samāñjā-ittam-ājñāpayati* ;<sup>18</sup> (8) *vishaya Vardhamānāḥ grāmākūṭa-drōṣṭrāgraka-nāyaka-ācāryārika-gaṇḍaka-pramukhān-sarvān-eva yathā-prativāsināḥ samāñjāpayati* ;<sup>19</sup> (9) *Mēhūra-grāma-nivāsi-yathā-pradhāna-janapadān-mahattarānī-cha samāñjāntī* ;<sup>20</sup> etc.

In the first group of these passages, the inhabitants of a village (*grāmēyaka*, *kuṣumbīn*, *prativāsin*, *janapada*, etc. ; cf. *grāma*, *jānapada*, etc., in the second group) are referred to while, in the second group, they are mentioned along with their social or administrative leaders and with certain village officials in a few cases. Rarely, the villagers of a whole district are stated to have been ordered after having been summoned (*samāñjā*). The word used in some cases in respect of the villagers is *sarvasamavēta* which may mean 'assembled from all sides'. This seems to be supported by the expression *sarva-samavēgata* rarely used in place of *sarva-samavēta*. As will be seen below, the expression *samupasthita* is used in some cases in a similar context in respect of the villagers

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 118, note 2 ; p. 120, text line 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 251, text lines 29-30.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 9, text lines 8-9.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 290, text lines 9-10 ; Vol. XXX, p. 27, text lines 13-14 ; p. 117, text line 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 203, text lines 24-25.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 315, text lines 4-5.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 277, text lines 2-3 (on first plate, second side).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 96, text lines 12-13.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 113, text lines 8-9.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 178, text lines 5-6.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 219, text lines 8-9.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 92, text lines 5-6.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 221, text lines 10-11.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 265, text lines 2-4.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 146, text line 18.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 10, text line 3.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 23, text lines 2-3.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 45-46, text lines 15-16.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 142, text lines 35-36.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 184, text lines 15-16.



and local officials. Sometimes *sarva-samupēta* is also found in place of *sarva-samavēta*. The reference may be to an announcement to the people summoned by the beat of drums in respect of the grant in the gift village or the village containing the gift land or at the headquarters of the district in which the gift land or village was situated.

There are some charters in which the order is addressed not to the villagers but to others such as the subordinates, officers and agents of the king often with reference to a district. Cf. (1) *Śrī-Kāpālicarmarṣe cackandāva Śivapura-vishayā vartamāna-bhaviṣyad-bhōjak-āyuktaka-śihāyā-ādāyā vaktavyāḥ*;<sup>1</sup> (2) *sarvān-eva sarvān-āyuktaka-mahattara-śrāṅgika-chāṭa-bhāṭa-āhruvathānādāhikarava-dāṇḍapāṭik-ādīn-angūṁś-cha yathā-sambādhyamānakān-samudatrayati*;<sup>2</sup> (3) *asmin-Kāṅgōla-maṇḍalā kṛīḍamānta-mahāśūmanta-mahārāja-rāja-putra-śataraṅga-dāṇḍapāṭik-śparika-vishayapātī-tadāyuktaka-vartamāna-bhaviṣhya-vyavahārīṇaḥ sa-karaṇān-yathāhṛīṇaḥ pūjayati mānayati cha*;<sup>3</sup> (4) *sarvān-eva āyūmi-vartamāna-arīpatī-śūmanta-vishayapātī-bhōjika-rāṣṭra-grāmikūṭa-dēśīlaka-mahattar-ādāhikārīkādīn-samamudatrayati*;<sup>4</sup> (5) *sarvān-eva samupagata-vishayapātī-rāṣṭra-grāma-mahattar-ādāhikārīkādīn-samamudatrayati*;<sup>5</sup> (6) *Uttamālekā-vishayā samupagatān-vartamāna-bhaviṣhya-mahāśūmanta-mahārāja-rāja-putra-kumārānāṁ śparika-vishayapātī-tadāyuktaka-dāṇḍapāṭika-śihānāntarīkādīn-angūṁś-cha chāṭa-bhāṭ-ādīn-ādāhikaravāṇāḥ cha pūjayati*;<sup>6</sup> (7) *yatō-mat-santakāḥ sarv-ādhyakṣa-niyoga-niyuktā ājñavāṇchūrī-kulaputr-ādāhikṛitāḥ bhāṭā-ekhlitrāḥ-cha mīruta-pūṇy-ājñay-ājñāpayitavyāḥ*? etc. In these, the expressions *vartamāna-bhaviṣhya* and *yathā-sambādhyamānaka*, used in several cases, show that the order was meant for the king's officers, etc., who were associated with the administration of the area containing the gift village or land for the time being and also those who would be so associated in future.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes the word *samupagata* has been used in relation to 'the present and future' subordinates and officers of the donor in the district containing the gift village (No. 6). It is difficult to take *samupagata* here in the sense of 'assembled' since the whole district seems to be too big a place for an assemblage while it is not easy to understand how the 'future' subordinates and officers also assembled.

In a large number of copper-plate charters, the order regarding the grant is addressed to both the local people or people in general and the royal officers, etc. This is simply indicated in the records of some dynasties while the charters of some areas have it in a somewhat elaborate form. But it is the most elaborate in the records of some of the early medieval ruling families of Northern India, especially those of its eastern regions. The simple and semi-elaborate forms of indication are illustrated in the following quotations.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 233, text lines 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 300, text lines 11-12; p. 303, text lines 16-18.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 308, text lines 31-34; cf. p. 272, text lines 23-26.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 31, text lines 16-17.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 301, text lines 12-13.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 334, text lines 3-6. Cf. *Kāṇḍīyapūre-vishayā samupagatān-sarvān-eva nīpāyathān-āṅg-āṅgānāḥ*, etc. (Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 290, text line 11; cf. p. 287, text line 10; p. 294, text line 13).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 100, text lines 20-21.

<sup>8</sup> For *sambādhyamānaka*, see *Lalitpurāṇa-sambādhyamānaka-Tamra-grāma* (Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 312, text line 8). In the charters of the Bhāma-Kāra of Orissa, a distinction is generally made between the subordinates and officers of the district or province and those of a village or a group of villages; e.g. *Paṭāṇa-Tāṇḍīyā varta-ādāhikārīkādīn-samamudatrayati-rājānāṁ rājaputra-kumārānāṁ śparika-vishayapātī-tadāyuktaka-dāṇḍapāṭika-śihānāntarīkādīn-angūṁś-cha chāṭa-bhāṭ-ādīn-ādāhikaravāṇāḥ cha pūjayati mānayati cha* (see *Paṭāṇa-Tāṇḍīyā-Tamra-grāma* (Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 312, text line 8)). Here the local officers of the western subdivision of the Tamra district have been mentioned separately from the subordinates and officers associated with the province of South Tōṣāl in which Tamra-vishaya was situated.



For simple indication, cf. (1) *Plāki-vishaya-vishaya-nivāsinā-adhikārīṇaḥ Kunda-grāma-kupumbināś-cha samājñāpayati*;<sup>1</sup> (2) *Kaśīganagarāt . . . . . samant-āmātya-pramukha-janapadān-samādhūya samājñāpayati*;<sup>2</sup> (3) *sarvān-eva sādā-āyuktāka-viniyuktāka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-kupumbi-mahattara-dādāgikūn-bōdhayati*;<sup>3</sup> (4) *Ramulava-vishaya-Paichima-khaṇḍa yathā nivāsi-va-karāṇa-samanta-bhōgy-ādī-janapadān-yathārham mānayati bōdhayati samādīśati cha*;<sup>4</sup> etc.

For semi-elaborate indication, see (1) *Nāṭmāḍī-vishaya-nivāsinā rūkshakūta-pramukhān-kupumbināś-samādhūya mantri-purōhita-senāpati-yuvarāj-ādya-ashṭāśa-tirth-ādhyakṣham-ittam-ājñāpayati*;<sup>5</sup> (2) *Maniśāura-grām-ūpagatān-Brāhmaṇān-angānāś-cha mānyān-adhikṛitān-kupumbi-kīyastha-dāta-caidyā-mahattarān-mān-chaṇḍāla-paryantān-sarvān-sambōdhayati samājñāpayati cha*;<sup>6</sup> (3) *grāmīyakān-rājaputrah-talavara-daṇḍapāyaka-rūkhtrika-dāta-bhaṭa-nāṭa-chāṭaka-pari-chāraka-niyukt-ādhyakṣha-pravāsi-umāhartṛ- nāyakaś-cha-ājñāpayati*;<sup>7</sup> (4) *°bhūman yathāyatham samupasthita-vishayakarāṇa-cyavahārīka-pramukha-janapadān-rāja-rājāi-rājāś-ādihkṛitān-angān-āpī-rājanyaka-rājaputra-rājacallobha-prabhritān-yathā-kāla-bhāvinā-pī sarvān-mānān-pūrvakam samādīśati*;<sup>8</sup> (5) *Jilāṇḍā-vishaya bhavishyad-yathākāla-bhāvinā rājanyakān-rājaputrān-Brāhmaṇa-purīgān-samanta-nivāsi-janapadān-adhikārīṇaḥ sa-karāṇān-angānāś-cha chāṭa-bhaṭa-callo-bha-jātīgān-rāja-pād-ōpajīvināḥ sarvān-yathārham mānayati bōdhayati kuśalayaty-ādīśati ch-ānyat*;<sup>9</sup> (6) *Vatapadmaś Brāhmaṇān-samprōjya sa-pradhānān-pratīcāsinā yathā-kāla-ādhyakṣha-samāhartṛ-samādhūtri-pramukhān-adhikārīṇaḥ sa-karāṇān-angānāś-cha-samant-pād-ōpajīvinā-sarvā-rājapuru-ṣhān-samājñāpayati*;<sup>10</sup> (7) *Māṇḍīḍā-vishaya rāja-rājanaka-rājaputrān-vishayapati-daṇḍapāṭikān-yathā-kāla-ādhyakṣhīnā cyavahārīṇā Brāhmaṇān-karāṇa-purīgān-nivāsi-janapadānāś-cha yathārham mānayati bōdhayati samādīśati cha sarvataḥ śivam-samākam-ānyat*;<sup>11</sup> etc.

In these instances, the word *upagata* has been used once in relation to the inhabitants and local officials of the gift village (No. 2 of Group II). In one case (No. 4 of Group II), the local people and officials are stated to have been *samupasthita* at the gift land while the subordinates, etc., are separated from the said class by the epithet *yathā-kāla-bhāvin*. The same distinction is also made in another case (No. 5 of Group II) by using the expressions *bhavishyad-yathā-kāla-bhāvin* and *samanta-nivāsin*. Similar use of the expressions *pratīcāsin* and *yathā-kāla-ādhyakṣin* are noticed in one case (No. 6 of Group II) and *yathā-kāla-ādhyakṣin* and *nivāsin* in another (No. 7 of Group II). This distinction is made clear in the Gūhāṇḍā records in which, in the course of an elaborate indication, we have *grāma-nivāsinā nāṭhā-janapadān-ūpagatān-āpī cha rāja-rājāi*, etc. Here the relation of the subordinates and officers of the king with the gift village is indicated by the word *upagata*.<sup>12</sup> Some charters indicate the same distinction by enumerating the two classes as *sarvān-ā-āmātya-mantri-purōhita*, etc., and *tan-nivāsi-Brāhmaṇ-ōttarā*, etc.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 133, text lines 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 196, text lines 44-47; p. 308, text lines 40-41.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 4, text line 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 122-93, text lines 13-15.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 42, text lines 31-34.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 72, text lines 7-9.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 78, text lines 22-24.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 207, text lines 20-32.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 138, text lines 27-29. Cf. Vol. XXVI, p. 79, text lines 24-27; also Vol. XXVII, p. 329, text lines 22-27 where we have *yathā-kāla-ādhyakṣin* for *yathā-kāla-bhāvin*.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 296, text lines 6-8; cf. p. 323, text lines 4-6.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 329, text lines 11-14.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 73, text lines 12-14.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 202, text lines 28-30. A stanza ascribed to Vyāsa says *śāhnam saśi-danapari-cha śāhnam grāmān-ūpagatān*; *Brāhmaṇān-cha tathā chāḍayān-mānyān-ādihkṛitān bhikṣu*.



The word found in the Gāhaḍavāla records as *upagata* is often found in the form *samupagata* or *samupagata* in the same context in many other charters,<sup>1</sup> especially in the elaborate indication in the grants of the Pālas and Śēnas of Eastern India.<sup>2</sup> We have seen above how the 'present' and 'future' subordinates, etc., of a ruler are described as *samupagata* with reference to a *vishaya* or district. The question now is what *upagata*, *samupagata* or *samupagata* in this context really means. In our opinion, it means the same thing as *sambalhyamānaka*, *yathā-kāla-bhāva* and *yathā-kālābhyāsa* as found in the same context in many records. This may be clear from the study of a few corresponding passages from the charters of the Gāhaḍavālas, Pālas and Śēnas.

The Gāhaḍavāla grant referred to above has: *upagatān-api cha rāja-nijai-yuvarāja-mantri-patibhiḥ-pradhāna-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārīk-ākṣapatalika-bhishag-naimittik-antahpurika-dūta-karita-vajrapattānāḥ-nucchānag-akulādhipāri-purushān-ājñāpayati bādhaṃyati-ādīkati cha*. It is difficult to believe that all the said kinds of subordinates and officers of the king would have assembled in a gift land or village whenever he made a grant especially in view of the fact that the Gāhaḍavāla kings are known to have often issued such charters. The number of these classes of people is much higher in the Pāla and Śēna charters. It has also to be noticed that often the subject of the gift was a plot or several plots of land including tanks, etc., and the assemblage of subordinate rulers, their queens and sons and of all the officers (*nāṭika-rājapuruṣān*) therein becomes inconceivable. The list sometimes includes also, besides others, the mercenary soldiers of various nationalities such as Gauda, Mālava, Khass, Kulika, Karpāta and Lāṭa and also people performing menial services such as Mēda, Andhra and Chāṇḍāla. An assemblage seems to be physically impossible in such cases. It should also be noted that different plots of the gift land sometimes lay in different districts.

Thus the Belawa plate of Mahipāla has: *grāma-pudharigāṇa-samupagat-dīśha-rājapuruṣān-rāja-nijayaku-rājaputra-rājān-āpāya-mahāsēnādhipati-grahika-mahāākṣapatalika-mahāśamantha-mahā-sēnāpati-mahāyudhīhāra-danādhipādhanika-mahādānāgārīka-mahākumārāmōtya-rājasthān-ōparika-dāhīparādhipika-chauvādīharayika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāṇḍika-saulika-gaṇmīka-kāṭṭhapāla-jrūṇṭapāla-kāṭṭhapāl-āṅgarāṇa-tadāyuktaka-minigūṇika-kartyaśrāṣṭraṇa-balarāṅgāpṛitaka-kīrtanādanāgōma-kāṇḍavīkādīhyakaka-dūta-praharika-gaṇagema-ābhavarāmāga-vishayapati-grāmapati-tarika-ḥamḍa-Mālava-Khass-Hāpa-Kulika-Karpāta-Lāṭa-chūṭa-bhaṭa-sāuk-sālin-ānyānī-ek-āṇḍīrītān-rāja-pāl-ōrajīvāṇaḥ prajāpānīn Brāhman-śūdrān-mahātmanānānā-kūṣāṇḍi-purāṇa-Māla-Andhra-Chāṇḍāla-paryantān gathāṭhakaḥ mānayatī bādhaṃyati samādīkati cha.<sup>3</sup>*

#### 18.—*Hamyamana-Rahjoman-Rahjamāna-Paṇcharappa-Añjuvayam*

While editing the Chinchini (Thana District, Maharashtra) plates above,<sup>4</sup> which contain the expression *hamyamana-pura* or *hamyamānīya-mukhya* in the list of people addressed in respect of the grants in question, we pointed out that the evidence of one of them, mentioning *Sahyāna* and *Hamyamana* in the same passage, clearly disproves the view that *Hamyamana* is just another form of the place name *Sahyāna*, modern *Sanjān* in the Thana District of Maharashtra.<sup>5</sup> We thought that those who trace the origin of *hamyamana*, sometimes also spelt as *haṣṭamāna*, to Avestic *hanjamāna* and Persian *aufuman* and understand the word

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 280, text lines 11-17; p. 287, text line 10; p. 294, text line 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 7-8, text lines 31-41; pp. 11-12, text lines 29-38.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 7-8, text lines 31-41. In the Śēna charters, the list of subordinates and officers is concluded with the passage: *upagat-cha saśa-rāja-pāl-ōrajīvānādīhyakaka-pudhar-śrāṣṭra-kāṭṭhīrītān-ek-āṇḍīrītān-cha*. Cf. Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 8, text lines 22-24.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. XXXII, pp. 48, 53, 60, 74.

<sup>5</sup> The identification was controverted by Fleet long ago on inadequate evidence even though he regarded *Hamyamana* as a place name (Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 256-59).



in the sense of a colony or settlement of the Parsees may be right. Further consideration has, however, made us doubtful about the correctness of the suggestion.

The expression is found in some of the records of the ruling families of Kannada origin, which flourished in the Northern Konkan. Besides the epigraphs cited above, we may refer to the Bhandup, Thana and Kharepatan plates<sup>1</sup> containing the expression *hañyamana-nagara-paura-trivarga* though the last named inscription has *hañjamana* in place of *hañyamana*. The difficulty is that, if it is the name of a place in the Northern Konkan but cannot be identified with Sanjān, we do not have any other geographical name with a similar sound in the area in question and cannot explain why this place name should be specially mentioned in a few records of the Kannadaḍiga ruling families of the Northern Konkan. This would suggest that *hañyamana-hañjamana* may be a word of Kannada or South Indian origin, and, in that case, it would scarcely indicate a Parsee colony which is not known to have existed in the areas where the Dravidian languages are spoken.

A similar word is noticed in Kannada epigraphs discovered in places far away from the Northern Konkan. Thus an inscription<sup>2</sup> from Kaikini in the North Kanara District, Mysore, dated 1427 A.D., refers to Unnamanurakāla, the *mukhya* of the Hañjarañnas of Honnāvura and to the molestation of the women of the said community at Kāsarakōḷu by *Mohāprodhāna* Tinmana Oḍeya ruling from Honnāvura. Another inscription<sup>3</sup> of 1465 A.D. from the Mahalingēśvara temple at Basrūr in the Coimbatūr Taluk of the South Kanara District, records that Pañḍaridēva Oḍeya, the ruler of Bārakūra-nāya, made in favour of the local god Mahādēva a gift of the gold which the *hañjamāna* people of Basarūru (*Basarūr oḍagana hañjamānūl-atarū*) were paying. Since there is little possibility of the references here being to Parsee settlements in the North and South Kanara Districts, it is very probable that *hañyamana-hañjamana-hañjamāna* should be understood in the sense of Kannada *pañcha-varga* of the lexicons, the same as Tamil *añju-vaṇṇam* (Sanskrit *pañcha-varṇa*) understood in the sense of the five artisan classes, viz. the goldsmith, blacksmith, brañin, carpenter and stone-mason, who are also known in Tamil as *Añju-pañchāḷattār*, *Pañchāḷar*, *Pañchāḷattār* and *Pañcha-kamāḷar*.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, of the expressions quoted above from the inscriptions, *hañyamana-paura* or *hañjamana-paura* would mean 'the artisans and other citizens' while *hañyamana-nāya-mukhya* would indicate 'the elders of the artisan communities'. The expression *hañjamana-nagara-paura-trivarga* means 'the three classes, viz. *hañjamana*, *nagara* and *paura*'. Among these, *nagara* seems to mean 'the merchant community'. The word is used in the said sense in Kannada inscriptions, often in the forms *nakara* and *nakhara*,<sup>5</sup> cf. also *nagaram* of Tamil inscriptions explained as 'a guild of merchants, a mercantile town'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 263; *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, pp. 337; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> R. S. Pancharaṁkhi, *Kannada Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 110 ff. (No. 48). The length of the vowel in and in this record and a few others may be due to the modification of the following conjunct to a simple consonant, although lengthening has been avoided in the other forms.

<sup>3</sup> *II1*, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 470-71 (No. 490).

<sup>4</sup> See T. N. Subramaniam, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part II, Glossary, pp. vi and xlviii.

<sup>5</sup> *III*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 112; Part II, Nos. 138, 172, 175; R. S. Pancharaṁkhi, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 30; Vol. II, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> T. N. Subramaniam, op. cit., p. xlv. Cf. also *nagaramāḷar*, *nagaramāḷin*, *nagaramāḷi* and *nagaramāḷu*.



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[The figures refer to pages, a after a figure to foot-notes, and add to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: au, =author; ca, =capital; ch, =chief; *Chron*, =Chronicle; ci, =city; co, =country; com, =composer; de, =deity; di, =district or division; do, =ditto; dy, =dynasty; E, =Eastern; engr, =engraver; ep, =epithet; f, =family; fe, =female; *find*, =findatory; gen, =general; gr, =grant, grants; hist, =historical; ins, =inscription, inscriptions; k, =king; l, =locality; l.m., =linear measure, land measure; m, =male; min, =minister; mo, =mountain; myth, =mythological; n, =name; N, =Northern; off, =office, offices; pop, =people; pl, =plate, plates; pr, =prince, princes; prov, =province; q, =quern; rel, =religious; ri, =river; S, =Southern; s.s., =same as; ser, =sermon; t, =temple; Tel, =Telugu; t.d., =territorial division; tit, =title; to, =town; tL, =table; vi, =village; W, =Western; wk, =work; wt, =weight.]

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